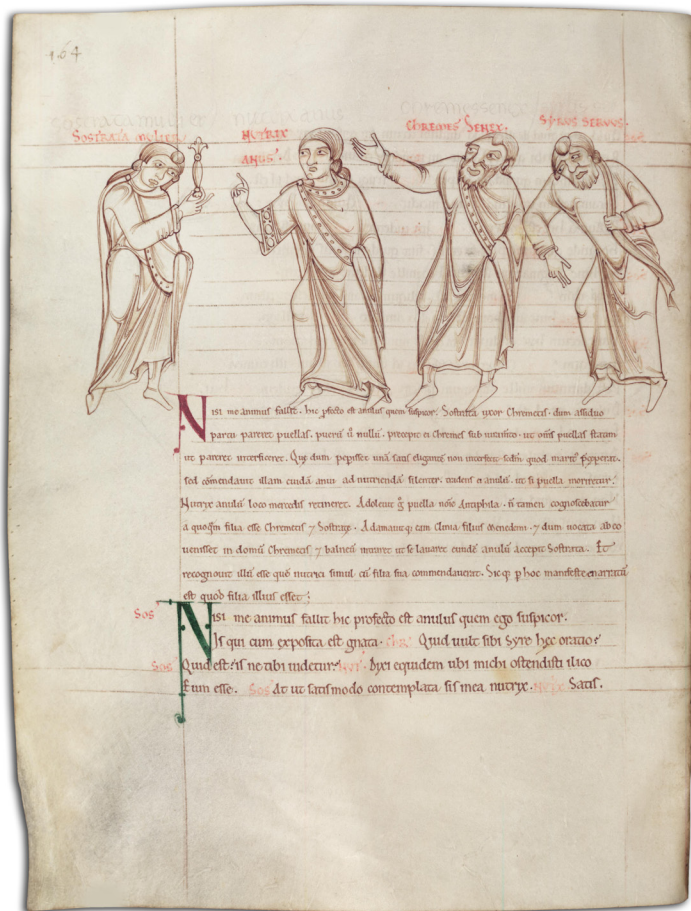




A COMPANION TO TERENCE

EDITED BY ANTONY AUGOUSTAKIS
AND ARIANA TRAILL



VISIT...

LANZAROTE
Caliente.COM

A COMPANION TO TERENCE

BLACKWELL COMPANIONS TO THE ANCIENT WORLD

This series provides sophisticated and authoritative overviews of periods of ancient history, genres of classical literature, and the most important themes in ancient culture. Each volume comprises approximately twenty-five and forty concise essays written by individual scholars within their area of specialization. The essays are written in a clear, provocative, and lively manner, designed for an international audience of scholars, students, and general readers.

ANCIENT HISTORY

Published

A Companion to the Roman Army

Edited by Paul Erdkamp

A Companion to the Roman Republic

Edited by Nathan Rosenstein and Robert Morstein-Marx

A Companion to the Roman Empire

Edited by David S. Potter

A Companion to the Classical Greek World

Edited by Konrad H. Kinzl

A Companion to the Ancient Near East

Edited by Daniel C. Snell

A Companion to the Hellenistic World

Edited by Andrew Erskine

A Companion to Late Antiquity

Edited by Philip Rousseau

A Companion to Ancient History

Edited by Andrew Erskine

A Companion to Archaic Greece

Edited by Kurt A. Raaflaub and Hans van Wees

A Companion to Julius Caesar

Edited by Miriam Griffin

A Companion to Byzantium

Edited by Liz James

A Companion to Ancient Egypt

Edited by Alan B. Lloyd

A Companion to Ancient Macedonia

Edited by Joseph Roisman and Ian Worthington

A Companion to the Punic Wars

Edited by Dexter Hoyos

A Companion to Augustine

Edited by Mark Vessey

A Companion to Marcus Aurelius

Edited by Marcel van Ackeren

A Companion to Ancient Greek Government

Edited by Hans Beck

A Companion to the Neronian Age

Edited by Emma Buckley and Martin T. Dinter

LITERATURE AND CULTURE

Published

A Companion to Classical Reception

Edited by Lorna Hardwick and Christopher Stray

A Companion to Greek and Roman Historiography

Edited by John Marincola

A Companion to Catullus

Edited by Marilyn B. Skinner

A Companion to Roman Religion

Edited by Jörg Rüpke

A Companion to Greek Religion

Edited by Daniel Ogden

A Companion to the Classical Tradition

Edited by Craig W. Kallendorf

A Companion to Roman Rhetoric

Edited by William Dominik and Jon Hall

A Companion to Greek Rhetoric

Edited by Ian Worthington

A Companion to Ancient Epic

Edited by John Miles Foley

A Companion to Greek Tragedy

Edited by Justina Gregory

A Companion to Latin Literature

Edited by Stephen Harrison

A Companion to Greek and Roman Political Thought

Edited by Ryan K. Balot

A Companion to Ovid

Edited by Peter E. Knox

A Companion to the Ancient Greek Language

Edited by Egbert Bakker

A Companion to Hellenistic Literature

Edited by Martine Cuyper and James J. Claus

A Companion to Vergil's *Aeneid* and its Tradition

Edited by Joseph Farrell and Michael C. J. Putnam

A Companion to Horace

Edited by Gregson Davis

A Companion to Families in the Greek and Roman Worlds

Edited by Beryl Rawson

A Companion to Greek Mythology

Edited by Ken Dowden and Niall Livingstone

A Companion to the Latin Language

Edited by James Clackson

A Companion to Tacitus

Edited by Victoria Emma Pagán

A Companion to Women in the Ancient World

Edited by Sharon L. James and Sheila Dillon

A Companion to Sophocles

Edited by Kirk Ormand

A Companion to the Archaeology of the Ancient Near East

Edited by Daniel Potts

A Companion to Roman Love Elegy

Edited by Barbara K. Gold

A Companion to Greek Art

Edited by Tyler Jo Smith and Dimitris Plantzos

A Companion to Persius and Juvenal

Edited by Susanna Braund and Josiah Osgood

A Companion to the Archaeology of the Roman Republic

Edited by Jane DeRose Evans

A Companion to Terence

Edited by Antony Augoustakis and Ariana Traill

A COMPANION TO TERENCE

Edited by

Antony Augoustakis and Ariana Traill

Associate Editor

John Thorburn

 **WILEY-BLACKWELL**

A John Wiley & Sons, Ltd., Publication

This edition first published 2013
© 2013 Blackwell Publishing Ltd

Blackwell Publishing was acquired by John Wiley & Sons in February 2007. Blackwell's publishing program has been merged with Wiley's global Scientific, Technical, and Medical business to form Wiley-Blackwell.

Registered Office

John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

Editorial Offices

350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148-5020, USA

9600 Garsington Road, Oxford, OX4 2DQ, UK

The Atrium, Southern Gate, Chichester, West Sussex, PO19 8SQ, UK

For details of our global editorial offices, for customer services, and for information about how to apply for permission to reuse the copyright material in this book please see our website at www.wiley.com/wiley-blackwell.

The right of Antony Augoustakis and Ariana Traill to be identified as the authors of the editorial material in this work has been asserted in accordance with the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted, in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, except as permitted by the UK Copyright, Designs and Patents Act 1988, without the prior permission of the publisher.

Wiley also publishes its books in a variety of electronic formats. Some content that appears in print may not be available in electronic books.

Designations used by companies to distinguish their products are often claimed as trademarks. All brand names and product names used in this book are trade names, service marks, trademarks or registered trademarks of their respective owners. The publisher is not associated with any product or vendor mentioned in this book. This publication is designed to provide accurate and authoritative information in regard to the subject matter covered. It is sold on the understanding that the publisher is not engaged in rendering professional services. If professional advice or other expert assistance is required, the services of a competent professional should be sought.

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

A companion to Terence / edited by Antony Augoustakis and Ariana Traill ; associate editor John Thorburn.
pages cm. – (Blackwell companions to the ancient world ; 103)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-4051-9875-2 (hardback) – ISBN 978-1-118-30199-9 (epub) – ISBN 978-1-118-30197-5

1. Terence–Criticism and interpretation. 2. Latin drama (Comedy)–History and criticism. 3. Theater–History–To 500. 4. Theater–Rome. I. Augoustakis, Antony, editor of compilation. II. Traill, Ariana, 1969– editor of compilation. III. Thorburn, John E., editor of compilation.

PA6768.C66 2013

872'.01–dc23

2012048374

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Cover image: Folio from *Terence's Comedies*, mid-twelfth century. Bodleian Library, University of Oxford, MS Auct. F.2.13, folio 82v

Cover design by Workhaus

Set in 11/13.5pt Galliard by SPi Publisher Services, Pondicherry, India

Contents

Notes on Contributors	viii
Acknowledgments	xiii
Introduction	1
<i>Antony Augoustakis and Ariana Traill</i>	
PART I Terence and Ancient Comedy	15
1. Terence and Greek New Comedy	17
<i>Peter Brown</i>	
2. Terence and the Traditions of Roman New Comedy	33
<i>George Fredric Franko</i>	
3. Terence and Non-Comic Intertexts	52
<i>Alison Sharrock</i>	
4. <i>Fabula Stataria</i> : Language and Humor in Terence	69
<i>Heather Vincent</i>	
5. Meter and Music	89
<i>Timothy J. Moore</i>	
PART II Contexts and Themes	111
6. Terence and the Scipionic <i>Grex</i>	113
<i>Daniel P. Hanchey</i>	
7. <i>opera in bello, in otio, in negotio</i> : Terence and Rome in the 160s BCE	132
<i>John H. Starks, Jr.</i>	

8.	Religious Ritual and Family Dynamics in Terence <i>T.H.M. Gellar-Goad</i>	156
9.	Gender and Sexuality in Terence <i>Sharon L. James</i>	175
10.	Family and Household in the Comedies of Terence <i>Z.M. Packman</i>	195
11.	Masters and Slaves <i>Evangelos Karakasis</i>	211
PART III	The Plays	223
12.	<i>Andria</i> <i>Robert Germany</i>	225
13.	<i>Heauton Timorumenos</i> <i>Eckard Lefèvre</i>	243
14.	<i>Eunuchus</i> <i>David M. Christenson</i>	262
15.	<i>Phormio</i> <i>Stavros Frangoulidis</i>	281
16.	<i>Hecyra</i> <i>Ortwin Knorr</i>	295
17.	<i>Adelphoe</i> <i>Ariana Traill</i>	318
PART IV	Reception	341
18.	History of the Text and Scholia <i>Benjamin Victor</i>	343
19.	Terence in Latin Literature from the Second Century BCE to the Second Century CE <i>Roman Müller</i>	363
20.	Terence in Late Antiquity <i>Andrew Cain</i>	380
21.	Hrotsvit of Gandersheim Christianizes Terence <i>Antony Augoustakis</i>	397
22.	“Thou shalt present me as an eunuch to him”: Terence in Early Modern England <i>Martine van Elk</i>	410

23.	<i>Mulier inopia et cognatorum negligentia coacta</i> : Thornton Wilder's Tragic Take on <i>The Woman of Andros</i> <i>Mathias Hanses</i>	429
24.	Terence in Translation <i>John Barsby</i>	446
25.	Performing Terence (and Hrotsvit) Now <i>Mary-Kay Gamel</i>	466
	References	482
	General Index	515
	Index Locorum	523

Contributors

Antony Augoustakis is Associate Professor of Classics at the University of Illinois (Urbana–Champaign, Illinois, USA) and editor of the journal *Illinois Classical Studies*. He is the author of *Motherhood and the Other: Fashioning Female Power in Flavian Epic* (Oxford, 2010) and *Plautus' Mercator* (Bryn Mawr, 2009). He has edited the *Brill Companion to Silius Italicus* (Leiden, 2010), *Ritual and Religion in Flavian Epic* (Oxford, 2013), and co-edited with Carole Newlands *Statius' Silvae and the Poetics of Intimacy* (Arethusa, 2007). He is currently working on a commentary on Statius' *Thebaid Book 8* (Oxford) and the *Oxford Readings in Flavian Epic*, co-edited with Helen Lovatt (Oxford).

John Barsby is Emeritus Professor of Classics at the University of Otago (Dunedin, New Zealand). He has published editions of Ovid's *Amores* I (Oxford, 1974), Plautus' *Bacchides* (Aris & Phillips, 1986), and Terence's *Eunuchus* (Cambridge, 1999) and is the editor of the new Loeb edition of Terence (Harvard, 2001). He has

also edited a collection of essays *Greek and Roman Drama: Translation and Performance* (J.B. Metzler, 2002). He is currently working on a history of the Otago Classics Department.

Peter Brown is an Emeritus Fellow of Trinity College, Oxford University (United Kingdom) and a member of the Advisory Board of the Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama. He has published extensively on Greek and Roman drama, and his translation of the Comedies of Terence appeared in the Oxford World's Classics series in January, 2008. He is co-editor with Suzana Ograjensek of *Ancient Drama in Music for the Modern Stage* (Oxford, 2010).

Andrew Cain is Associate Professor of Classics at the University of Colorado (Boulder, CO, USA). He is the author of *The Letters of Jerome: Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity* (Oxford, 2009), *St. Jerome, Commentary on Galatians* (Catholic University of America Press, 2010), *Jerome's Epitaph on*

Paula: A Commentary on the Epitaphium Sanctae Paulae, with an Introduction, Text, and Translation (Oxford, 2013), and *Jerome and the Monastic Clergy: A Commentary on Letter 52 to Nepotian, with an Introduction, Text, and Translation* (Brill, 2013). He also has edited *Jerome of Stridon: His Life, Writings, and Legacy* (Ashgate, 2009) as well as *The Power of Religion in Late Antiquity* (Ashgate, 2009).

David M. Christenson is Professor of Classics at the University of Arizona (Tucson, AZ, USA). He is the author of an edition with commentary of Plautus's *Amphitruo* (Cambridge, 2000), and is currently working on a new edition of Plautus's *Pseudolus* (Cambridge) and a book on Roman comedy for I.B. Tauris Publishers' Understanding Classics series. He has published two volumes of translations, *Roman Comedy: Five Plays by Plautus and Terence* (2010) and *Four Plays by Plautus: Casina, Amphitryon, Captivi, Pseudolus* (2008), both with Focus Publishing, and his collection, *Four Ancient Comedies About Women: Lysistrata, Samia, Hecyra, Casina*, is forthcoming in 2013 (Oxford).

Stavros Frangoulidis is Professor of Latin at Aristotle University of Thessaloniki (Greece). He has been co-organizer of several RICAN conferences (devoted to the study of the Ancient Novel) and co-editor of the relevant proceedings (published as *Ancient Narrative Supplementa*). He is the author of *Handlung und*

Nebenhandlung: Theater, Metatheater und Gattungsbewusstsein in der römischen Komödie (Stuttgart, 1997) and of *Roles and Performances in Apuleius' Metamorphoses* (Stuttgart, 2001). His latest monograph is *Witches, Isis and Narrative: Approaches to Magic in Apuleius' Metamorphoses* (Berlin, 2008).

George Fredric Franko is Professor of Classical Studies at Hollins University (Roanoke, Virginia, USA). He holds degrees from the College of William and Mary and Columbia University. Although a generalist, much of his scholarly work has been on Plautus.

Mary-Kay Gamel is Professor of Classics, Comparative Literature, and Theater Arts at the University of California (Santa Cruz, CA, USA), and has been involved in staging twenty-six productions of ancient and medieval drama, many in her own translations and versions. She has written widely on ancient drama in performance, and is completing a book on definitions of authenticity in staging this drama. She received the 2009 Scholarly Outreach Award from the American Philological Association.

T.H.M. Gellar-Goad is the Teacher-Scholar Postdoctoral Fellow in Classical Languages at Wake Forest University (Winston-Salem, NC, USA). He has published on Plautus and Roman religion, and holds degrees from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and from North Carolina State University.

His other major research interests are Lucretius and Roman satire.

Robert Germany is Assistant Professor of Classics at Haverford College (Haverford, PA, USA). He is the author of “The Politics of Roman Comedy” in the forthcoming *Cambridge Companion to Roman Comedy* and has a forthcoming monograph entitled *Mimetic Contagion: Art and Artifice in Terence’s Eunuchus*. His next project is a study of the unity of time in ancient drama.

Daniel P. Hanchey is Assistant Professor of Classics at Baylor University (Waco, TX, USA). He has published several articles on Cicero, and is currently working on a larger project focusing on the ideas of memory and social/commercial exchange in Cicero’s dialogues.

Mathias Hanses is a Doctoral Student in Classics at Columbia University (NY, USA) and holds Master’s degrees in both Classics (M.Phil., Columbia; M.A., University of Illinois) and American Studies (University of Münster, Germany). He has published on political bias in Roman historiography, the Classics in the American Revolution, and the History of Classical Scholarship. In New York, he is preparing a dissertation on “The Life of Comedy after the Death of Plautus,” tracing the Romans’ creative engagement with the comic heritage from Terence to Seneca (and beyond).

Sharon L. James earned B.A. degrees in Spanish Literature and

Classical Studies at UC Santa Cruz, and her M.A. and Ph.D. in Comparative Literature at UC Berkeley. She is Associate Professor of Classics at the University of North Carolina (Chapel Hill, NC, USA). She has published articles on gender, Latin poetry, and Roman comedy, including *Learned Girls and Male Persuasion* (2003), a study of Roman love elegy. She is presently completing a major book project on women in New Comedy.

Evangelos Karakasis is Assistant Professor of Latin at the University of Ioannina (Greece). He is the author of *Terence and the Language of Roman Comedy* (Cambridge, 2005), *Song Exchange in Roman Pastoral* (Berlin, 2011), and of several articles on Roman comedy, elegy and pastoral.

Ortwin Knorr is Associate Professor of Classics at Willamette University (Salem, OR, USA), Chair of its Classical Studies Department, and Director of its Center for Ancient Studies and Archaeology. Trained in Göttingen, Heidelberg, and Berkeley, he received his Ph.D. from the University of Göttingen in Germany. He is the author of *Verborgene Kunst: Argumentationsstruktur und Buchaufbau in den Satiren des Horaz* (Hildesheim, 2004) and articles on Terence, Plautus, Horace, and early Christian writers.

Eckard Lefèvre is Professor Emeritus of Classics at the Albert-Ludwigs-Universität at Freiburg (Germany). He holds degrees from Christian-Albrechts-

Universität at Kiel (Dr. phil. 1962; habilitation 1967) and Université Marc Bloch at Strasbourg (Dr. h.c. 2000). He is author of several books on Greek and Roman literature, particularly on Roman comedy (Plautus and Terence).

Timothy J. Moore is John and Penelope Biggs Distinguished Professor of Classics at Washington University in St. Louis (Missouri, USA). He holds degrees from Millersville University and the University of North Carolina. He is the author of *Artistry and Ideology: Livy's Vocabulary of Virtue* (Frankfurt, 1989), *Playing to the Audience: The Theater of Plautus* (Austin, 1998), *Roman Theatre* (Cambridge, 2012), and *Music in Roman Comedy* (Cambridge, 2012), and of articles on ancient music, Latin literature, and Japanese kyōgen comedy.

Roman Müller is Privatdozent at the University of Heidelberg (Germany). 1996 Dr. phil. in Classics (University of Heidelberg), 2001 Habilitation. He is the author of books on Terence's dialogues (*Sprechen und Sprache: Dialoglinguistische Studien zu Terenz*, Heidelberg, 1997), on stylistic consciousness in Roman literature (*Sprachbewußtsein und Sprachvariation im lateinischen Schrifttum der Antike*, München, 2001) and on poetic theory in Greek and Latin (*Antike Dichtungslehre: Themen und Theorien*, Tübingen, 2012). Additionally he has published numerous articles in his fields of interest: ancient comedy, literary

criticism, rhetoric, history of poetry, interdependence of language and literature.

Z.M. Packman is retired from North Carolina State University (Raleigh, NC, USA) after earlier service of some length at Washington University in St. Louis (Missouri) and The University of Natal in Pietermaritzburg (South Africa). She has published several articles on Roman comedy, and several on related aspects of Roman law.

Alison Sharrock is Professor of Classics at the University of Manchester (UK). She is the author of several books and articles on Latin poetry and comedy, including *Reading Roman Comedy: Poetics and Playfulness in Plautus and Terence* (Cambridge, 2009).

John H. Starks, Jr. is Assistant Professor at Binghamton University, State University of New York (Binghamton, NY, USA), with degrees from Washington & Lee University and the University of North Carolina. He has published on Punic and Syrian stereotyping in Plautus and racially tinged epigrams in Vandal-era satire (Oxford, 2011), as well as extensive work on actresses in the Greek and Roman worlds (Oxford, 2008, and two Cambridge monographs in progress). He has also adapted and directed a dozen productions of ancient comedy, including Plautus' *Curculio* and *Poenulus* in Latin.

Ariana Traill is Associate Professor of Classics at the University of Illinois

(Urbana-Champaign, Illinois, USA). She holds degrees from the University of Toronto and Harvard. She is the author of *Women and the Comic Plot in Menander* (Cambridge, 2008) and several articles on Greek and Roman drama and its reception. She is currently working on a commentary on Plautus' *Cistellaria*.

Martine van Elk is Associate Professor at California State University (Long Beach, CA, USA). She has co-edited, with Lloyd Kermode and Jason Scott-Warren, a collection of essays entitled *Tudor Drama Before Shakespeare* (Palgrave, 2004) and is the author of numerous articles and essays on Shakespeare, early modern vagrancy, and early modern women writers. She is currently working on a comparative study of early modern English and Dutch writers.

Benjamin Victor is Associate Professor of Latin Language and Literature at the Université de Montréal (Canada). His interests include textual criticism and the history of the book. He is co-editor, with Albert Derolez and Wouter Bracke, of *Corpus Catalogorum Belgii* (Brussels, Royal Flemish Academy, 1994–present). He is currently working on a new edition of Terence for the Budé series of classical texts.

Heather Vincent is Associate Professor of Classics at Eckerd College (St. Petersburg, FL, USA). She holds degrees from Vanderbilt University, the University of Maryland, and Brown University. She is the author of book chapters and articles on Roman satire and modern humor theory. She is currently working on a book manuscript concerning cross-disciplinary approaches to verbal and performative humor in ancient satire.

Acknowledgments

As editors of this volume, we would like to thank first and foremost all the authors for their contributions and their patience for as long as this Companion took to be published. To Haze Humbert, Galen Young, Ben Thatcher, and the whole team at Wiley Blackwell, we extend a warm thank you, for the several extentions and supreme display of patience and indulgence. A lesson we have learned is that a Companion of this size does obviously meet with several delays and other obstacles along the way, but ultimately we hope that this publication will make its readers as proud as it has made us, authors and editors alike. John Thorburn, the associate editor, is to be thanked for dropping the idea for a Companion to Terence initially and for having helped at various points during this long trip. Both of us would like to thank our families and colleagues for their moral support and general patience with the endless needs of book editors.

A note on texts and translations used: the Latin text comes from the Kauer, Lindsay, and Skutsch OCT edition of Terence (1958) or from Barsby's (2001) Loeb edition; translations of Terence are taken from Barsby's (2001) Loeb edition (at times modified); the only exceptions are to be found in Brown's and Christenson's essays, since both authors have used their own published translations (2006 and 2010 respectively), as well as Victor's who often cites a passage of Terence as given by the manuscripts. For Plautus, we used the text and translation of De Melo's Loeb edition (2011–), at times modified, and for Menander, Arnott's (1979–2000, with modifications from Kassel and Austin). Quotations from Donatus are taken from Wessner's Teubner edition (1902–8). All translations of other sources are the authors' own, unless otherwise indicated. The spelling of ancient authors and abbreviations follows the system of the *OLD*, *OCD*⁴, *LSJ*, and *L'Année Philologique*.

Introduction

Antony Augoustakis and Ariana Traill

1 Biography

According to the very important biography composed by C. Suetonius Tranquillus in the second century CE (*Vita Terenti*, edition Wessner 1902–8, translation modified and adapted from Rolfe 1914, 2.452–63) and preserved by Terence’s fourth century CE commentator, Aelius Donatus (see chapters 18 and 20, this volume), Publius Terentius Afer was born in Carthage in 195/4 BCE (or ten years later, see the fifth chapter of the *Vita*) and was a slave of the senator Terentius Lucanus at Rome (on the life and times of Terence, see most recently Kruschwitz 2004, 9–24 and Manuwald 2011; on later lives, such as Petrarch’s, see Ruiz Arzálluz 2010). Allegedly, Terence was good looking, and his master granted him his freedom, as well as a good grounding in liberal education. His charming looks are given as the reason for Terence’s connections with the rich and famous of the mid-republic (see chapter 6, this volume). According to the biographer, however, ultimately Terence did not profit from his relations with the mighty men, Scipio, Laelius, or Furius:

1. Publius Terentius Afer Carthagine natus servivit Romae Terentio Lucano senatori, a quo ob ingenium et formam non institutus modo liberaliter sed et mature manu missus est. quidam captum esse existimant: quod fieri nullo modo potuisse Fenestella docet, cum inter finem secundi Punici belli et initium tertii <et> natus sit et mortuus: nec, si a Numidis vel Gaetulis captus sit, ad ducem Romanum pervenire potuisse nullo commercio inter Italicos et Afros nisi post

deletam Carthaginem coepto. 2. Hic cum multis nobilibus familiariter vixit, sed maxime cum Scipione Africano et C. Laelio, quibus etiam corporis gratia conciliatus existimatur: quod et ipsum Fenestella arguit contendens utroque maiorem natu fuisse, quamvis et Nepos aequales omnes fuisse tradat et Porcius suspicionem de consuetudine per haec faciat

“dum lasciviam nobilium et laudes fucosas petit,
 dum Africani vocem divinam inhiat avidis auribus,
 dum ad Philum se cenitare et Laelium pulchrum putat,
 dum [se amari ab his credit] in Albanum crebro rapitur ob florem aetatis suae:
 suis postlatis rebus ad summam inopiam redactus est.
 itaque e conspectu omnium <ubi>abit Graeciae in terram ultimam,
 mortuust Stymphali, Arcadiae <in> oppido. nil P <ublio>
 Scipio <tum> profuit, nil Laelius, nil Furius,
 tres per id tempus qui agitabant nobiles facillime:
 eorum ille opera ne domum quidem habuit conducticiam,
 saltem ut esset quo referret obitum domini servulus.”

1. Publius Terentius Afer, born at Carthage, was the slave at Rome of the senator Terentius Lucanus, who because of the young man's talent and good looks not only gave him a liberal education, but quickly gave him his freedom. Some think that he was captured in war: Fenestella shows that such a thing could not have happened, since Terence was born and died between the end of the Second Punic War and the beginning of the Third; and even if he had been seized by Numidians or Gaetulians, he could not have come into the hands of a Roman general, because commercial activities between the Italic and the African people did not begin until after the destruction of Carthage. 2. He lived on intimate terms with many men of high rank, in particular with Scipio Africanus and Gaius Laelius. It is even thought that he won their favor by means of the beauty of his body. Fenestella, however, denies this too, maintaining that he was older than either of them. But Nepos writes that they were all three of the same age, and Porcius rouses a suspicion of great intimacy with the following words:

“While he courted the wantonness of great men and their counterfeit praise, and with greedy ears he drank in the divine voice of Africanus; while he thought it fine to frequent the tables of Philus and Laelius, and he was often carried off to the Alban villa because of his youthful charms, having neglected his affairs he was reduced to utmost want. So when he withdrew from the sight of men to a remote part of Greece, he died in a town of Arcadia, Stymphalus. Publius was not at all then helped by Scipio, Laelius, Furius—the three aristocrats who at the time lived most comfortably. Their help did not give him even a rented house, to provide at least a place where his slave might announce his master's death.”

Ancient biography is marred by the invention of stories that verge on the romantic or sentimentalist side. Terence's poverty could easily be disputed, as well as his alienation from his circle of friends; and the story with Caecilius

could easily be discounted based on Caecilius' own death in 164 BCE. Certainly, Terence's provenance from Africa cannot be coincidental; the cognomen *Afer* indicates some connections with the continent, and surely such rise to prominence is intriguing if we stop to think that a generation before Terence, Rome had beaten Hannibal and a few years after Terence's death, Carthage was raised to the ground during the Third Punic War and became a Roman colony. Appropriation of a child prodigy from Carthage, who comes to Rome to be educated and rises to prominence, is certainly something that makes the Romans very proud, a validation of the mechanisms in place of so-called Romanization.

The *didascaliae* of Terence's plays, preserved in the fourth century CE commentary to Terence by Donatus, inform us of the details of the performances of his plays. From 166 to 160 BCE, Terence produced six plays; of these, *Hecyra* was performed three times, since the actors abandoned the stage during the two previous performances, as Terence informs us in his Prologue: *Andria* (Megalesian Games, 166); *Hecyra* 1 (Megalesian Games, 165); *Heauton Timorumenos* (Megalesian Games, 163); *Eunuchus* (Megalesian Games, 161); *Phormio* (Roman Games, 161); *Adelphoe* and *Hecyra* 2 (Funeral Games for Aemilius Paullus, 160); *Hecyra* 3 (Roman Games, 160).

3. Scripsit comoedias sex, ex quibus primam *Andriam* cum aedilibus daret, iussus ante Caecilio recitare ad cenantem cum venisset, dicitur initium quidem fabulae, quod erat contemptiore vestitu, subsellio iuxta lectulum residens legisse, post paucos vero versus invitatus ut accumberet cenasse una, dein cetera percucurrisset non sine magna Caecilii admiratione. et hanc autem et quinque reliquas aequaliter populo probavit, quamvis Vulcatius <in> dinumeratione omnium ita scribat

“sumetur *Hecyra* sexta ex his fabula”.

Eunuchus quidem bis die acta est meruitque pretium, quantum nulla antea cuiusquam comoedia, id est octo milia nummorum. propterea summa quoque titulo ascribitur. <...> nam *Adelphorum* principium Varro etiam praefert principio Menandri. 4. Non obscura fama est adiutum Terentium in scriptis a Laelio et Scipione, eamque ipse auxit numquam nisi leviter refutare conatus, ut in prologo *Adelphorum* (15–21). videtur autem levius <se> defendisse, quia sciebat et Laelio et Scipioni non ingratis esse hanc opinionem, quae tum magis et usque ad posteriora tempora valuit. C. Memmius in oratione pro se ait “P. Africanus, qui a Terentio personam mutuatus, quae domi luserat ipse, nomine illius in scaenam detulit.” Nepos auctore certo comperisse se ait C. Laelium quondam in Puteolano kalendis Martiis admonitum ab uxore, temperius ut discumberet, petisse ab ea ne interPELLARETUR seroque tandem ingressum triclinium dixisse non saepe in scribendo magis sibi successisse, deinde rogatum ut scripta illa proferret, pronuntiasset versus, qui sunt in *Heautontimorumenos* (723). Santra Terentium existimat, si modo in scribendo adiutoribus indiguerit, non tam

Scipione et Laelio uti potuisse, qui tunc adolescentuli fuerint, quam C. Sulpicio Gallo, homine docto et quo consule Megalensibus ludis initium fabularum dandarum fecerit, vel Q. Fabio Labeone et M. Popillio, consulari utroque ac poeta. ideo ipsum non iuvenes designare, qui se adiuvare dicantur, sed viros quorum operam et in bello et in otio et in negotio populus sit expertus. 5. Post editas comoedias nondum quintum atque vicesimum (XXX?) egressus annum, animi causa et vitandae opinionis, qua videbatur aliena pro suis edere, seu percipiendi Graecorum instituta moresque, quos non perinde exprimeret in scriptis, egressus <urbe> est neque amplius rediit. de morte eius Vulcatius sic tradit

“sed ut Afer populo sex dedit comoedias,
iter hinc in Asiam fecit. <in>navem ut semel
conscendit, visus numquam est: sic vita vacat.”

Q. Cosconius redeuntem e Graecia perisse in mari dicit cum [C et VIII] fabulis conversis a Menandro. ceteri mortuum esse in Arcadia Stymphali †sive Leucadiae† tradunt Cn. Cornelio Dolabella M. Fulvio Nobiliore consulibus morbo implicitum ex dolore ac taedio amissarum sarcinarum, quas in nave praemiserat, ac simul fabularum, quas novas fecerat.

3. He wrote six comedies, and when he offered to the aediles the first of these, *Andria*, they urged him to read it to Caecilius in advance. Having come to the poet's house when he was dining, Terence is said to have read the beginning of his play sitting on a bench near the great man's couch, because he was not dressed properly. But after a few lines he was invited to take his place at table, and afterwards he ran through the rest of the play to his host's great admiration. Moreover, this play and the five others were equally pleasing to the people, although Vulcatius in enumerating them all, writes the following: “The sixth play, *Hecyra*, will not be included.” *Eunuchus* was even acted twice in the same day and earned more money than any previous comedy of any writer, that is, eight thousand sesterces, and for this reason the amount is included in the title-page. <...> For Varro rates the beginning of *Adelphoe* above Menander's. 4. It is common gossip that Scipio and Laelius aided Terence in his writings, and he let the rumor grow by never attempting to refute it, except in a half-hearted way, as in the prologue to *Adelphoe* (15–21). Now he seems to have made this half-hearted defense, because he knew that the report did not displease Laelius and Scipio; it gained ground then and came down even to later times. Gaius Memmius in a speech in his own defense says: “Publius Africanus, who borrowed a mask from Terence, put upon the stage under his name what he had written himself for his own amusement at home.” Nepos says that he learned from a trustworthy source that once at his villa at Puteoli on the Kalends of March Gaius Laelius was urged by his wife to come to dinner at an earlier hour, but he begged her not to be interrupted. When he at last entered the dining-room at a late hour, he said that he had rarely written more to his own satisfaction; when she asked him to read what he had written, he declaimed the lines of *Heauton Timorumenos* (beginning at 723). Santra thinks that if Terence had really needed help in his writing, he would not have

been so likely to use Scipio and Laelius, who were then mere youths, as much as Gaius Sulpicius Gallus, a scholarly man, in whose consulship during the Megalesian Games he brought out his first play, or to Quintus Fabius Labeo and Marcus Popillius, both of whom were ex-consuls and poets. For this reason, Santra says, he spoke not of young men who allegedly helped him, but of men whose services the people had tried in war, in peace, and in their daily business. 5. After publishing these comedies before he had passed his twenty-fifth (thirty-fifth?) year, for the sake of diversion and to escape from the gossip, according to which he seemed to pass the work of others as his own, or else to become versed in Greek manners and customs, which he felt that he had not been wholly successful in depicting in his plays, he left Rome and never returned. Of his death Vulcatius writes in these words: “But when Afer had presented six comedies to the people, he journeyed from here to Asia. From the time he embarked, he was never seen again: thus he was deprived of life”. Quintus Cosconius writes that he was lost at sea as he was returning from Greece with [one hundred and eight] plays adapted from Menander. The rest of our authorities declare that he died at Stymphalus in Arcadia †or at Leucadia† in the consulship of Gnaeus Cornelius Dolabella and Marcus Fulvius Nobilior, having fallen ill from grief and annoyance at the loss of his baggage, which he had sent ahead by ship, and with it of the new plays which he had written.

According to Suetonius, the death of Terence is placed a year after the staging of the last play, *Adelphoe*, in 159 BCE (in 158 according to Jerome), and the reasons for his trip to Greece (Achaia is most probably meant, not Asia) at the age of twenty-five (or thirty-five, by an alternate reading according to MS V) are variously explained. The last part of the *Vita* comprises some further standard elements of ancient biographies and the epitaphs composed for the playwright, who is widely admired for the morals lessons and his use of language, though criticized for his “lack of force” (for criticism, cf. Quintilian’s *Institutio Oratoria* 10.1.99: *Terenti scripta ad Scipionem Africanum referantur (quae tamen sunt in hoc genere elegantissima, et plus adhuc habitura gratiae si intra versus trimetros stetissent)*: “Terence’s works are attributed to Scipio Africanus (and they are in fact the most elegant of their kind, and would have possessed even more attraction if they had been written wholly in trimeters)”, trans. Russell; see also chapter 19, this volume).

6. Fuisse dicitur mediocri statura, gracili corpore, colore fusco. reliquit filiam, quae post equiti Romano nupsit, item hortulos XX iugerum via Appia ad Martis [villam]. quo magis miror Porcium scribere: “Scipio ... servulus” [vide supra 2].
7. Hunc Afranius quidem omnibus comicis praefert scribens in *Compitalibus*

“Terenti num similem dicetis quempiam?”

Vulcatius autem non solum Naevio et Plauto et Caecilio, sed Licinio quoque et Atilio postponit (cf. Gellius 15.24). Cicero in *Limone* hactenus laudat

“tu quoque, qui solus lecto sermone, Terenti,
 conversum expressumque Latina voce Menandrum
 in medium nobis sedatis vocibus effers,
 quiddam come loquens atque omnia dulcia dicens.”

item C. Caesar

“tu quoque, tu in summis, o dimidiate Menander,
 poneris, et merito, puri sermonis amator.
 lenibus atque utinam scriptis adiuncta foret vis,
 comica ut aequato virtus polleret honore
 cum Graecis neve hac despectus parte iaceres!
 unum hoc maceror ac doleo tibi desse, Terenti.”

6. He is said to have been of moderate height, slender, and of dark complexion. He left a daughter, who afterwards married a Roman knight, and also gardens twenty acres in extent on the Appian Way, near the villa of Mars. I am therefore surprised that Porcius should write: “Scipio ... slave” (see above 2). 7. Afranius ranks Terence above all other writers of comedy, writing in his *Compitalia*: “You will not declare anyone else is the equal of Terence, will you?” But Vulcatius puts him not only below Naevius, Plautus, and Caecilius, but even below Licinius and Atilius (cf. Gellius 15.24). Cicero in his *Meadow* gives him this much praise: “You, Terence, who alone re-clothed Menander in choice speech, and render him in the Latin tongue, you present him with your quiet utterance on our public stage, speaking with a certain graciousness and with sweetness in every word” (Cic. fr. 2 *FLP*⁸). Also Gaius Caesar: “You too, are ranked among the highest, you half-Menander, and justly, you lover of language undefiled. But would that the graceful verses had force as well, so that your comic power might have equal honor with that of the Greeks, and you might not be scorned in this regard and neglected. It hurts and pains me, my Terence, that you lack this one quality” (Caes. fr. 1 *FLP*⁸).

Suetonius ends his biography with the above epitaphs, and Donatus supplements the *Vita* with three short chapters. In the eighth chapter, he reports two poets under the name “Terence,” Terentius Libo and Terentius Afer. In chapter 9, he adds Volcacius’ (Vallegius, in the MS) epigram on Terence’s use of Scipionic scripts in his plays, passing them as his own:

“tua, <Terenti>, quae vocantur fabulae,
 cuiae sunt? non has, iura qui populis dabat,
 summo <ille> honore affectus fecit fabulas?”

“Whose are the comedies, which are called yours, Terence? He wrote them, who was ruling the people and was bestowed with the highest rank, did he not?”

In the final chapter (10), Donatus reports that two comedies were based on Apollodorus of Carystus and the rest on Menander; then he repeats the information concerning the success of *Eunuchus* and the failure of *Hecyra*.

2 Terentian Scholarship

By contrast to Plautine studies, literary criticism on Terence has remained in the relative margins of Classical scholarship for many decades: the author has avowedly suffered in comparison to his popular predecessor. In the 1980s and 1990s, new commentaries appeared, sometimes accompanied by translation (for example, Barsby 1999a, Brothers 1988, 2000, Gratwick 1999, Ireland 1990), and in 2001 J.A. Barsby produced a new, elegant Loeb edition of Terence. Most recently, a greater interest has also been shown in a more comprehensive study of Terence's plays and their context, as exemplified by P. Kruschwitz's German monograph and introductory study of the playwright (2004). In 2006, two new translations appeared (Brown and Clayton), while two collections of essays (special issue of *Ramus* 2004, appeared in 2007, edited by A.J. Boyle; Kruschwitz, Ehlers, and Felgentreu 2007) point to the need for a wide-ranging guide to studying Terence's plays within the historical and socio-political context in which they were produced, a gap that this volume aims to cover (there is a third collection in Spanish, less widely circulated, by Pociña Pérez, Rabaza, and Silva (2006) that addresses a variety of topics, from Terence's use of Menander to the modern reception of the playwright in Spain).

If one must single out the most important Anglophone studies of Roman comedy in general in the past six years, then three present themselves: G. Manuwald's detailed and judicious overview of Roman republican theater (2011); A.R. Sharrock's reading of Plautus and Terence through intertextuality (2009); and C.W. Marshall's penetrating study of the mechanisms of stagecraft and performance (2006). T.J. Moore's most recent monograph on music in Roman comedy must be consulted by students and scholars of the field (2012). N.J. Lowe's introduction to comedy offers a quick overview dedicated to Terence and his plays (2007).

The work of all these scholars is based on earlier studies on various topics related to Roman theater and the traditions of Roman comedy. Cupaiuolo's (1984) exhaustive reference book offers a synopsis of bibliography on Terence from 1470 through 1983. Büchner's monumental *The Theater of Terence*, written in German (1974), addresses the question of Terence's originality: thematic and stylistic, the *Terenzisches im Terenz* so to speak (cf. Beare's 1964 and Beacham's 1991 essential books on Roman theater). The question of Terence's use of his Greek models is an old one, perhaps best handled early on by Haffter (1967) and Ludwig (1968), while Lefèvre's systematic examination of individual plays and their antecedents in Greek New Comedy (1994), (1999), (2003), (2008) is an indispensable guide. But even before Büchner and others, Norwood's (1923) study of Terence

and Duckworth's (1952) study of Roman comedy in general and Plautus and Terence in particular laid the groundwork for students and critics of the playwright, addressing, among others, issues such as Terence's use of his models and of the technique of *contaminatio*. Among the early useful and meticulous studies of Terence, three also deserve special mention here: Lefèvre's (1969) investigation of the *Expositionstechnik*; Denzler's (1968) analysis of the monologues; and Perelli's (1973) influential *Teatro Rivoluzionario* of Terence. J. Wright's (1974) *Dancing in Chains: The Stylistic Unity of the Comoedia Palliata*, made a strong case for Terence's exceptionality. S. Goldberg's (1986) *Understanding Terence* was another milestone in Terentian scholarship (partially visible in Forehand's 1985 short study). Here Goldberg situates Terence in the intellectual and cultural environment of the period (issues which are further developed in Goldberg 2005 and Konstan 1983). This systematic study of the socio-politics of literature in the 160s BCE leads Goldberg to conclude that Terence's world is different from Plautus' in terms of Greek culture: "The comic fantasy of Plautus' Greece ... became more difficult to maintain. Greeks were no longer so exotic, and the conflict Plautus exploits between Greek and Roman values was no longer so laughable" (215). As Goldberg observes, "Terence's response to the new interests and demands of his time has turned the comic conventions upside down (217) ... By inverting the comic forms, [Terence] also took the fun out of them. Terentian comedy thus gained a certain inner tension" (219). As a result, Goldberg concludes, the successors of Terence were not dramatists but satirists, such as Lucilius. This is what Goldberg dubs "the death of comedy" (*contra* see most recently Manuwald 2011: 257). This approach to Terentian comedy can also be found in Gruen's (1990, 1992) and Leigh's (2004) historicist readings of the plays; both try to find the relevance of Terence's plays in Rome of 166–160 BCE (on the centrality of legalistic disputes in Greco-Roman New Comedy, and Terence in particular, Scafuro's 1997 study is essential).

An important aspect of Terentian artistry studied in the scholarship is, of course, Terence's language: it has attracted the attention of scholars in the past decade, especially Müller (1997), Bagordo (2001), and Karakasis (2005); the German monographs of the first two examine aspects such as dialogue in Terence and colloquialisms, whereas Karakasis provides the most systematic analysis of Terentian usages vis-à-vis Plautus and other writers of Roman New Comedy and the playwright's differentiation, as well as the stylistic unity within the tradition of the Roman *palliata*. Some older works, such as Fantham (1972), are still well worth consulting.

Finally, recent gender studies focus on the role of women, going back to Fantham (1975). For instance, Dutsch (2008) both gives a wide-ranging study of female speech in Roman and illustrates some of Terence's verbal

similarities and differences from Plautus, while much ink has been spilled on the interpretation of rape in Terentian plots (a good starting point is Rosivach 1998).

3 Essays in this Companion

This Companion is divided into four parts. The essays in the first section (“Terence and Ancient Comedy”) address the relationship between Terence and his Greek models from Middle and New Comedy, his precursors and contemporaries on the Roman stage, Terentian *contaminatio*, and the influence of other genres, such as Roman epic and tragedy. They also discuss issues of performance, as well as Terence’s dramatic technique (language and music). P. Brown surveys the evidence furnished by Donatus, the Menander papyri, and Terence himself for both large- and small-scale changes made to Terence’s Greek models. It is not easy to deduce his specific purposes or even his broader approach to adaptation. He famously incorporated material from secondary source plays and eliminated divine prologues—probably as much for their artificiality and awkwardness, coming after his literary prologues, as for the purpose of maintaining suspense. Terence preserved more of the Athenian ambience of his plays than Plautus: he omitted minor references to Greek customs but retained larger plot-points, Greek titles, and settings. He has, accordingly, been accused of rejecting Roman Comic traditions. G.F. Franko argues that he did critique and modify them but operated within the bounds of Roman Comic precedent. Specifically, he emphasized the double plot and the element of surprise but curtailed traditional farcical elements, such as the clever slave, and allowed the events of the plays to effect permanent changes in characters’ lives. Terence gave his stock types a level of complexity not found in Plautus and a restrained style of speaking closer to Menander than to the *palliata*. Moreover, his preference for accompanied iambs over complex meters reinforced the naturalism of his dialogue.

Terence’s poetics, as A.R. Sharrock demonstrates, place him in a direct line between Callimachus and Catullus. The polemical and programmatic content of his prologues is markedly Callimachean, but he engages with other genres too—tragedy, love poetry, philosophy, didactic, and even rhetoric – which furnish more than just occasions for parody. Tragic models provide serious tone, complex structural relationships, and the talismanic items that effect resolutions. Terence’s discourse of romantic love traces back to Greek lyric, offering a missing link to Lucretian parodies of a tradition seemingly older than Catullus. Philosophically, Sharrock argues, the plays offer more than just aphorisms in ludicrous contexts: they make space for serious ethical debate.

H. Vincent explores how sound effects mark humor in the text of Terence. She surveys his use of iterative effects at the phonemic level, such as puns, alliteration, anaphora, and *homoioteleuton*, as well as bilingualisms, register shifts, metatheatrical humor, and reported speech (as a parodic device). Drawing on Attardo's General Theory of Verbal Humor, Vincent identifies new examples of each phenomenon and shows how they mark, facilitate, or trigger jokes in the text, thus indicating opportunities for physical humor. The *fabula stataria*, in Terence's hands, allowed for a fine balance between performative and linguistic humor. Terence's meters also accomplish diverse effects, from setting emotional tone and characterizing speakers, to providing structure, unity, and contrast. The meters shed light on musical elements in the plays. T.J. Moore explains how they work, starting with a review of Latin quantitative verse and a survey of the meters in use in the plays. One prominent effect in Terence is the alternation between accompanied meters, such as the trochaic septenarius, which often marks movement and excitement, and the unaccompanied iambic senarius, which is often used to transmit essential information. *Eunuchus* furnishes an illuminating case study of these metrical effects at work.

In the second section ("Contexts and Themes"), the essays examine the socio-political background that shapes the themes, characters, structures, and political concerns in Terence's comedies. These include Terence's association with the so-called Scipionic circle. D.P. Hanchey reassesses the evidence that Scipio headed a circle of leading figures in second-century Rome, brought together by their shared love of Greek culture. The principal source, Cicero's dialogues, do not represent historical reality, while earlier texts attest only to Scipio's friendships with Laelius and Lucilius and his influence on Polybius and Panaetius, without proving connections between these figures, much less that Terence—any more than Lucilius—served as Scipio's mouthpiece. Terence certainly knew Scipio and Laelius, but they are not the *homines nobiles* mentioned in his prologues, whose identity must remain a mystery. Terence does refer to Roman conventions, locales, and even recent events in his plays, despite his tendency to universalize culturally specific material from his source plays. J.H. Starks surveys these "intruded cultural memes," ranging from debt slavery, family gods, and patronage relationships, to the defeat of Pyrrhus and tensions with Rhodes. He argues that Terence upholds Roman aristocratic ideals, foiling attempts to subvert the power of the *paterfamilias* and educating his characters in the proper balance of *otium* and *negotium*, a politically salient topic in the 160s. The plays all resolve with a conservative message of the containment, socially and politically, of the nouveau riche.

T.H.M. Gellar-Goad looks at religion in Terence, drawing attention to the striking absence of the act of sacrifice from the plays. Unlike Menander and Plautus, Terence's characters do not refer to sacrifice, or even sacrificial meats,

offer no significant prayers to the gods, make virtually no use of the stage altar, and use little religious language in general. His suppression of normal religious activity is at odds with genre conventions and lived reality alike: sacrifice was a sign of a healthy and stable community and also integral to the wedding ritual. Its exclusion communicates a strong message of familial dysfunction and instability in Terence's households. S.L. James examines tensions within the family along gender lines. She argues that sex and gender in Terence are subordinate functions of class and age, and sexuality is often a marker for development into proper gendered behavior. Female characters are subject to men and repeatedly victimized, despite their strict adherence to the rules for their gender and class. Wives, *senes*, young women, and slaves are not allowed active sexuality—only courtesans, who often have no choice, and young men, who exhibit a range of sexual development, from helpless inactivity to a full sense of sexual privilege, often expressed by rape. Because women's chastity was a state concern, rape marks the asymmetry of gender roles in Terence in specifically Roman terms.

Z.M. Packman surveys the types of characters and households represented in Terence. The plays center on the challenges faced by citizen class, propertied families in ensuring that their grown sons marry citizen woman with dowries, in order to maintain the household into the next generation. Fathers struggle to avoid alienating sons who, lacking access to eligible women, form attachments to *meretrices*, slaves, or dowerless citizens. The marked shortage of legitimate daughters raised in their birth families is regularly addressed by the fortuitous recovery of exposed or lost girls, a comic solution to the underlying problem of the competing interests of community, household, and individual. Focusing on the figure of Syrus in *Adelphoe*, the playwright's only *servus callidus* in the Plautine mold, E. Karakasis surveys Terence's slave types. Syrus exhibits the characteristic traits and behaviors of Plautine tricksters—eavesdropping, boasting, impudence, conniving in furtherance of a young man's love affair, and ultimately succeeding in his deceit. The scenes involving Syrus reflect a Plautine aesthetic both in their use of slapstick comedy and farcical motifs and in their linguistic choices, including Romanisms, innuendos, Plautine idioms, and even syntax. Syrus has been assimilated thematically and aesthetically to Plautine models.

In the third section ("The Plays"), a thorough analysis of the six Terentian plays is offered, not as a mere summary of each play but as an engaging discussion of the key issues that make each play unique. Is Terence just a stylist or also a playwright shaping the genre in a different direction than Plautus had before him? R. Germany shows how the literary rivalry recounted in the *Andria* prologue offers a template for the play's innovations, such as beginning the first scene in *medias res* and leaving the audience to play catch-up, as elements of the *argumentum* appear later. The prologue

foregrounds the oxymoron of a “woman from man-land,” and offers the critical lens of source play combination, as well as the idea of an antithesis between Terence’s felicitous *neglegentia*, which is duplicated by the passive but successful Chremes, Charinus, and Byrria, and his rivals’ *obscura diligentia*, echoed in Simo’s futile overactivity and Davos’ complex and shifting schemes. E. Lefèvre’s essay on *Heauton Timorumenos* offers a thorough overview of the key aspects of Terence’s play by examining the combination of various plots between old and younger men to show that Terence’s aim is to produce a unified whole: the intrigues are certainly more sophisticated than scholars have allowed. Furthermore, this essay considers the role of the *meretrix* Bacchis, the influence from Plautine comic scenes, and Terence’s differentiation from Menander. D.M. Christenson’s analysis of Terence’s most famous play, *Eunuchus*, focuses on the role of rape in the comedy and its various ramifications for ancient and modern audiences. Why does Terence underscore the act by placing a vivid description in the middle of the play? And what is the role of Thais, the *bona meretrix*, in this comedy? As Christenson concludes, *Eunuchus* challenges comic conventions by parading a set of finely nuanced and surprising characters. S. Frangoulidis looks at Terence’s *Phormio* from the perspective of disease and its cure, a recurrent motif in the play. The parasite Phormio assumes the role of the poet himself and comes up with several plots to treat the sicknesses of the other characters; Phormio performs these plots as embedded plays in a manner distantly reminiscent of works by Terence himself. Through these embedded performances, Phormio ultimately cures the *morbis amoris* of the young men, while the old man is punished for his anomalous behavior. O. Knorr studies Terence’s *Hecyra*, a play performed three times and fairly marginalized in modern discussions of Terence. As Knorr points out, this is a fast-paced farce, full of comic plot twists and suspense, eye-catching spectacle, and dramatic irony. The play’s dramatic innovation must have been one of its most appealing aspects, especially its unusual employment of characters, subverting comic conventions. In *Hecyra*, a lot of attention is placed on unjustly suspected women, in relation to the male character, Pamphilus, who by refusing to take back his wife and son, stands in the way of his own happiness. Finally, A. Traill offers a thorough examination of Terence’s celebrated *Adelphoe*. The play’s main theme is devoted to a contest between opposing theories of parenting, a “battle” between the two different brothers, the stern and the easy-going. *Adelphoe* poses questions and offers answers; its end is open-ended. Traill discusses how ambivalent this play is by looking at Terence’s models, especially Menander’s *Dyskolos* and *Samia*. While Terence’s innovation is evident, the Menandrian plays offer a template for the characterization of Demea in this comedy: both *Dyskolos* and *Samia* show actual change of conduct, in response to new revelations,

but no wholesale transformation of the distinctive qualities that make up the character's *tropos*.

Finally, the fourth and last section ("Reception") of this volume examines the long reception of Terentian plays from antiquity to modern times. B. Victor presents a detailed analysis of the history of Terence's text and scholia through antiquity and the earlier Middle Ages. The direct tradition is discussed, followed by an overview of the various classes of ancient manuscripts and the relations among the families of manuscripts. Victor looks at the ancient scholiasts, such as Donatus, and gives examples from the scholia; he also discusses some of the modern editions. R. Müller examines the reception of the playwright through the second century CE, while A. Cain continues the same investigation through late antiquity. Müller surveys the first performances, *didascalie* notices, and revivals, before looking at Terence's influence on Cicero and Horace through Apuleius. Terentian intertexts are exploited in rhetorical praxis, and the various comic characters are interpreted as moral examples. Cain reviews late antique editions of the playwright and Terence's use at schools; he also discusses how Christian authors exploit specific aspects of Terentian comedy. Augustine is especially fond of Terence's observations on the human condition, while he also recognizes the harm that may come from reading certain scenes, such as rapes. Several centuries after Terence, the nun Hrotsvit of Gandersheim undertakes the task of Christianizing the ancient playwright, as A. Augoustakis discusses. By looking at Hrotsvit's plays and especially the role of women in them, Augoustakis concludes that the German nun appropriates Roman comedy to turn it into tragedy with a happy ending, with the finale involving a marriage-reunion in heaven with God through martyrdom. M. van Elk studies the reception of Terence in early modern England, especially by Shakespeare. As she demonstrates, "determining the importance of Terence to early modern England is not merely a matter of detecting his presence as an explicit source in plays, but rather requires reading historically, socially, and intertextually, with an awareness that the different histories in which Terence is involved, including dramatic, theatrical, educational, and social histories, are frequently in tension with each other." Van Elk surveys Terence's role in the formulation of comic theory, his use at schools, his appropriation by the dramatists, and finally his pervasive presence in Shakespeare as well as in later English drama. M. Hanses takes us a few centuries later to the world of Thornton Wilder and his tragic take on Terence's *Andria* in his own *The Woman of Andros*. In his novel, Wilder does not engage with a mere reproduction of Terence's play, but rather endorses, rejects, or expands various elements he finds in Terence, with a propensity towards the tragic versus the comic. J. Barsby's discussion of English translations of Terence goes back to Udall in the sixteenth century. Barsby offers examples from every period through the eighteenth century and beyond, ending with

the twentieth-century translations of the plays. In the final essay in this section, M.-K. Gamel elaborates on the performance of Terence and Hrotsvit on the modern stage, as she discusses her experience staging Terence's *Eunuchus* and Hrotsvit's *The Conversion of Thais* in 2003.

PART I

**TERENCE AND
ANCIENT COMEDY**

CHAPTER ONE

Terence and Greek New Comedy

Peter Brown

From the start to the end of his career Terence is explicit that his plays are based on Greek models, and he chooses to preface them with prologues in which questions about his use of these models are often to the fore. The tone is set by the prologue to *Andria*, which he claims he was obliged to write in order to “reply to abuse from a malicious old author” (*qui malevoli / veteris poetae maledictis respondeat*, *An.* 6–7): he tells us that in adapting Menander’s *Andria* (“The Girl from Andros”) he has incorporated “what was suitable” (*quae convenere*, 13) from Menander’s very similar *Perinthia* (“The Girl from Perinthos”), and that he has been criticized for “spoiling” (*contaminari*, 15) the Greek plays by doing this (there has been much discussion of *contaminatio*, but there is no reason to think it meant anything very precise; see also chapter 19, this volume). In reply, he insists that he is maintaining an established Roman tradition and following in the footsteps of Naevius, Plautus, and Ennius: “he’d much rather try to match their carelessness than the undistinguished carefulness of his critics” (*quorum aemulari exoptat neglegentiam / potius quam istorum obscuram diligentiam*, 20–1). It is taken for granted that the playwright sets about his business by adapting Greek comedies, but he claims some freedom in the way he does so (see Germany’s analysis of the *Andria* prologue, chapter 12, this volume). Terence returns to this question in a more general way in his prologue to *Heauton Timorumenos* (*Hau.* 16–21), not denying that “he has ‘spoiled’ a large number of Greek plays in writing a small number of Latin ones” (*multas contaminasse Graecas, dum facit / paucas Latinas*, 17–18),

and again invoking “the precedent of good writers” (*bonorum exemplum*, 20). In the case of this play, he says it is “a fresh comedy taken from a fresh Greek play” (*ex integra Graeca integram comoediam*, 4) but does not specify the name of the Greek author, claiming that most of the audience already know it anyway (7–9); we have other evidence that it was a play by Menander of the same name, and with his remark in line 4 Terence proclaims the Greekness of his play quite clearly—as he does also by keeping the ostentatiously Greek title. As far as we know, Terence had so far attempted to put on two plays, *Andria* and *Hecyra*, only the first of which had been based on more than one Greek play. There seems to be some reckless exaggeration in the reference to “a large number of Greek plays,” either on the part of Terence’s critics or on Terence’s part in reporting the criticism, which may well have had no relevance to *Heauton Timorumenos* itself. It is widely believed that Terence draws attention to his having made a significant change in line 6 of the prologue, *duplex quae ex argumento facta est simplici*, which is generally interpreted to mean “which has been made double [by Terence] out of a single plot [by Menander],” though what Terence has done to make the play “double” is much disputed. However, *facta est* need not imply a change: the words could mean “which has been constructed as a double play with a single plot,” perhaps conveying that the plot (both of the Greek play and of its Latin version) forms a unified whole in spite of having two main strands. On either view, it is not clear why Terence makes this comment at this point (see Dunsch 1999 for a full discussion of the line).

In the prologue to *Eunuchus* Terence tells us that it is based on a play by Menander of the same name (*Eu.* 19–20), with two characters (the parasite and the soldier) added from another play by Menander, his *Kolax* (“The Toady”, 30–4). This time the charge against him is not his “spoiling” of Greek plays but the alleged fact that he has stolen the characters from earlier versions of *Kolax* by Naevius and Plautus (23–6). Similarly, in the case of *Adelphoe* the charge is that he has stolen a scene from Plautus’ version of Diphilus’ *Synapothneskontes* (“Comrades in Death”) and added it to his play (*Ad.* 6–14); the author of the original of *Adelphoe* is not named, but again we know him to have been Menander. For *Kolax* Terence claims to have worked directly from Menander’s Greek and to have been unaware of the earlier Latin versions; for *Synapothneskontes* he claims to have rescued from oblivion a scene which Plautus had carelessly failed to include in his version and to have translated it “word for word” (*verbum de verbo*, 11)—an unexpected claim, given his insistence on his freedom in other respects in other cases (see chapter 17, this volume). In this case we have no difficulty in identifying the scene in question (lines 155–96) from his description of it in lines 8–9 of the prologue. In the case of *Eunuchus* it is not so clear what the addition of two characters has involved, since at least one of them (the soldier) is likely to have had a counterpart in Menander’s *Eunuchos* (see Barsby 1993 for a discussion).

Two plays derive from an original not by Menander but by the less distinguished Apollodorus of Carystus; in their case Terence again does not name the author of the original, and he gives no hint of any alterations that he has made. For *Phormio* he discusses only its title: “the Greeks call it *Epidicazomenos* (‘The Claimant at Law’); in Latin they call it *Phormio*, since the man who plays the leading part will be Phormio the parasite” (*Epidicazomenon quam vocant comoediam / Graeci, Latini Phormionem nominant / quia primas partis qui aget is erit Phormio / parasitus*, *Ph.* 25–8; “they call it” is odd, as if Terence himself had not chosen this title, but no doubt he liked the balance with “the Greeks call it” in the same sentence). We do not have a prologue for the first production of *Hecyra*; those for the two later productions simply give its title and discuss its previous misfortunes.

None of this tells us a great deal about Terence’s treatment of his Greek models. There was already a well-established tradition of adapting Greek comedies for the Roman stage, and of doing so with some freedom, and Terence claims to be upholding this tradition. The characters added to *Eunuchus* are traditional stock characters, and the scene added to *Adelphoe* is lively and boisterous; by discussing them in his prologues Terence no doubt aims to whet his audience’s appetite for them. But it is no part of his purpose to draw attention to all the changes he has made, nor to explain his choice of models, his approach to adaptation, or his aims (other than having a successful career) in writing his plays.

Scholars have seen significance in the fact that Terence chose only plays by Menander and Apollodorus to adapt: Menander is regarded as the subtlest and most refined of the authors of Greek New Comedy, and Apollodorus is seen as having followed very closely in his footsteps. However, Terence was not to know that he would write only six plays, and his limitation to these two authors may have been more haphazard than his early death makes it seem. (Admittedly, one account of his death recorded in the fifth chapter of Suetonius’ *Vita Terenti* has it that he died on his way back from Greece with some plays by Menander that he had translated, which might suggest that he planned to continue concentrating on that author. But we have no way to test the reliability of this account.) In any case, *Eunuchos* and *Kolax* were by no means Menander’s most refined plays, and Terence’s combination of them clearly aims at strong comic effects; *Adelphoe* is more what people think of as characteristically Menandrian, with its contrast between the approaches of two fathers to the upbringing of their adolescent boys, but Terence was happy to add the boisterous scene from Diphilus, and Geta’s “running slave” entry at 299 introduces another lively scene, no doubt considerably expanded from Menander’s original text. Demea’s triumph at the end may also be a considerable surprise introduced by Terence, as noted below. It might be added that the portions of Menander’s plays rediscovered since the start of

the twentieth century show him to have written livelier and funnier comedies than you might guess from much of what is written about him even now; both Menander and Terence wrote livelier plays than they are often given credit for. As for Apollodorus, our picture of his plays derives essentially from Terence's *Hecyra* and *Phormio*. *Hecyra* reproduces the situation of Menander's *Epitrepontes* ("The Arbitration"), in which a young man has unknowingly married the very girl he had raped a few months earlier, but the treatment of the situation is very different in the two plays, and *Phormio* has a different ethos from *Hecyra*, with more overt entertainment, a more complex plot, and a wider range of traditional comic characters. If it were not for the supposed similarities of *Hecyra* and *Epitrepontes*, no one would have regarded the author of the original of *Phormio* as a close follower of Menander in respect of subtlety and refinement, though he certainly worked within the established traditions of Greek New Comedy.

The prologues of *Heauton Timorumenos* (31–2), *Eunuchus* (7–13) and *Phormio* (6–8) include criticisms of Terence's rival and critic, whom we know from Donatus (see next paragraph) to have been called Luscius. These criticisms are not easy to pin down but seem to amount to mockery of Luscius for including improbable scenes in his plays. When he says at *Eu.* 7–8 that Luscius "by translating plays well and at the same time writing them badly has turned good Greek plays into bad Latin ones" (*bene vortendo et easdem scribendo male / ex Graecis bonis Latinas fecit non bonas*), Terence perhaps implies that he has been too slavish in his translations, displaying the "undistinguished carefulness" that Terence criticized him for at *An.* 21. If so, the allegedly improbable scenes had been reproduced by Luscius from the Greek plays that he was translating. However, we have only Terence's side of this debate, and it is probably futile to analyze the composition of the mud that he slings or to hope for serious insights from this quarter into his attitude towards Greek Comedy.

Like Plautus and others before him, Terence modeled his plays on Greek "New Comedies," plays written from the last quarter of the fourth century onwards which typically deal with personal relationships in fictional well-to-do families, above all with the love-life of boys in their late teens or early twenties and with associated tensions in their relations with their fathers. We have no reason to suppose that Terence expected his audience to know the plays of Menander, Diphilus, and Apollodorus at first hand, and there is no evidence for regular performances of Greek plays at Rome; Latin adaptations may well have been the main channel for the audience's acquaintance with both Greek tragedies and Greek comedies. Our own knowledge of the original Greek plays used by Terence is pitifully inadequate, since none of them has survived. We learn some details from Donatus' commentary, written in the fourth century CE, but Donatus' aim is above all to elucidate the Latin text, and he only occasionally says anything about the Greek models (on Donatus, see

chapters 18 and 20, this volume). He tells us, for instance (on line 301), that Terence has added the characters Charinus and Byrria to *Andria* so that Philumena will not be left unattached at the end of the play when Pamphilus (who had been betrothed to her) marries the girl he loves. The motive for the addition is a matter of interpretation, and we might be more inclined to stress the comedy added by the fact that Charinus is in love with the girl Pamphilus is determined not to marry and by his reactions when it looks at one stage as if Pamphilus is agreeing to marry her after all. Some have thought that Charinus and Byrria were imported into *Andria* from *Perinthia*, but what Donatus says is that “they do not come in Menander” (*non sunt apud Menandrum*), so perhaps Terence added them entirely out of his own head. (It is perhaps telling that on *Andria* 977, in discussing the fact that Terence’s play contains the loves of two young men and ends with the promise of two weddings, Donatus says that this is “beyond what was laid down by Menander, whose comedy he was translating” (*extra praescriptum Menandri, cuius comœdiam transferebat*), showing no awareness that one of the young men could have been imported from Terence’s secondary source play.)

Donatus does tell us a little about Menander’s *Perinthia*: in commenting on line 10 of the prologue he says: “The opening scene of *Perinthia* is written in almost the same words as *Andria*, otherwise they are different except for two passages, one of about eleven lines and one of about twenty, which are found in both plays” (*prima scaena Perinthiae fere isdem verbis quibus Andria scripta est, cetera dissimilia sunt exceptis duobus locis, altero ad versus XI, altero ad XX, qui in utraque fabula positi sunt*). However, this tells us nothing about what Terence has imported from the one play into his adaptation of the other. More informative (but requiring us to qualify Donatus’ claim that the opening scenes were “written in almost the same words”) is his comment on line 14 that Terence “has imported his opening scene from *Perinthia*, where an old man talks with his wife in the same way as he talks with an ex-slave in Terence’s play; but in Menander’s *Andria* he is on his own” (*primam scaenam de Perinthia esse translatam, ubi senex ita cum uxore loquitur, ut apud Terentium cum liberto. at in Andria Menandri solus est senex*). Donatus does not point out the consequence that Terence must have composed the bulk of the opening twenty lines of his first play without reference to either of his proclaimed Greek models, since those lines are devoted to establishing the character of the ex-slave and his former master’s treatment of him; but his comment enables us to work that out for ourselves. This leaves it unclear how much the scene really does owe to *Perinthia*, and altogether one cannot help suspecting that there must be other ways in which Terence’s play uses recognizably *Perinthia*—rather than *Andria*—material, as his prologue suggests that it does. But Donatus does not help us to define these ways, unless we take his remark about Charinus and Byrria as a pointer.

When Antipho appears at *Eu.* 539, Donatus praises Terence for adding him to be the recipient of Chaerea's account of his off-stage exploit in raping the girl of his desires "so that one character does not talk for a long time, as in Menander" (*ne unus diu loquatur, ut apud Menandrum*). Antipho, like the ex-slave of *Andria*, appears only in this scene and brings no complications to the plot: his function is to break up Chaerea's narrative and to conjure up something of the laddish friendship of these two boys doing their military service. But many have felt that his presence enhances and enlivens the central scene of the play—so much so that some have refused to believe that he did not appear in this scene in Menander's play. It is harder to see why Terence has converted the wife of *Perinthia* into an ex-slave in the opening scene of *Andria*. He may sometimes simply have taken a delight in doing things differently: we learn from an ancient commentator on Persius 5.161 that he changed the names of some characters in *Eunuchus*, where the new names have no obvious advantage over the old ones. But that does not quite satisfy as an explanation of the opening of *Andria*; since the ex-slave contributes nothing further to the play, we may suspect that his dialogue with his former master serves as much as anything to introduce us to the master (for a suggestion of how this works, see Anderson 2004).

More significantly, in commenting on *Ad.* 938 Donatus says that "in Menander the old man does not make a fuss about the marriage" (*apud Menandrum senex de nuptiis non gravatur*). Since Micio in Terence's play is at this point making a lengthy fuss about the suggestion that he should marry, it looks as if Terence has altered the emphasis considerably in the closing scene of his play so as to represent Micio as being forced by Demea to agree to his suggestion—a reversal of the situation in the opening scene, where Micio forced Demea to agree not to interfere in the upbringing of Aeschinus. Donatus' comment reinforces the feeling of many readers that it is Terence rather than Menander who has reversed the power relationship between the two men in the closing scenes so as to give the play a surprising finale: the marriage is not the only thing to which Micio has reluctantly to agree. But this is the only point at which Donatus draws attention explicitly to a change from Menander in these scenes.

Some of Donatus' remarks suggest smaller-scale changes. There is no need to list them all, but here are some examples. On *Eu.* 971 he tells us that Phaedria's father, whom Terence leaves unnamed, was called Simon in Menander's play; on *Eu.* 1001 he says that Menander spelled out more fully than Terence the father's hostility to Thais. On *Ph.* 339 he quotes some lines, probably from Ennius' *Satires*, which appear to have been the model for lines 339–41 and says there was no corresponding passage in Apollodorus' play. On *Ad.* 81 he praises Terence for improving on Menander by making Demea readier to start a row than to return Micio's greeting. On *An.* 959 he tells us

that a sentence has been imported from Menander's *Eunuchos* (a third Menandrian source for the play!); on *Eu.* 590, that Terence is parodying Ennius; on *Ad.* 761, that he is writing in the style of Caecilius.

Other remarks are simply puzzling. When Chremes first appears at *Eu.* 507 Donatus comments that "this character in Menander is that of a rustic young man" (*haec persona apud Menandrum adulescentis rustici est*), as if his presentation in Terence's play were different. But he is a rustic young man in Terence too, as several of Donatus' own comments attest. At *Hec.* 825, where Bacchis reports a conversation she had had with Pamphilus ten months earlier, Donatus says "Terence aims for brevity, since in the Greek play these things are performed, not narrated" (*brevitati consulit Terentius, nam in Graeca haec aguntur, non narrantur*); but it is most unlikely that the action of a Greek play spanned ten months, and it is unclear what it was that was performed rather than related. Furthermore, we do not always know what weight to give to Donatus' comments. At *Eu.* 228, where the parasite Gnatho is first seen coming into view, Donatus reminds us that this character has been imported from Menander's *Kolax* and says that "these things do not come in Menander's *Eunuchos*" (*haec apud Menandrum in Eunucho non sunt, ut ipse professus est "parasiti personam et militis" [Ter. Eu. 26], sed de Colace translata sunt*). If we knew what he meant by "these things," and if we believed that Donatus consulted the Greek text of one or both of Menander's plays before writing his note, that would help us to define more precisely what it was that Terence imported. As it is, Donatus may not have looked any further than Terence's own prologue, which he refers to at this point. We can well believe that Gnatho's entrance-monologue at 232–64 derives at least in essence from Menander's *Kolax*, but Donatus' note (which comes at line 228) offers uncertain support to that belief. This is, incidentally, the only place in his comments on the body of a play (with the possible but inexplicit exception of the comment on Charinus and Byrria in *Andria* discussed above) where Donatus tells us that a passage has been taken from one of Terence's main Greek originals and not the other. He discusses the sources of the opening scene of *Andria* in commenting on the prologue but not in commenting on the opening scene itself, and he does not remind us in his comments on *Adelphoe* 155–96 that the scene has been added from a different play by Diphilus, nor does he discuss the insertion of material from *Kolax* anywhere else in his commentary on *Eunuchus*. Donatus' commentary does not survive in a complete form, but it looks as if his interest in such questions was sporadic, and we cannot tell whether the information he does give us derives from his own study of the Greek plays or is reproduced selectively from earlier commentaries.

One question that has been debated is whether Donatus sometimes indicates that Terence has made a change by ascribing a feature to "Terence" without stating explicitly that he means "Terence and not Menander (or

Apollodorus).” Thus, for instance, on *Eu.* 198 Donatus praises “Terence” for his novel treatment of familiar characters such as the prostitute: Terence introduces a good prostitute (whereas prostitutes are usually portrayed as bad) but nonetheless delights his spectators (*hic Terentius ostendit virtutis suae hoc esse, ut pervulgatas personas nove inducat et tamen a consuetudine non recedat, ut puta meretricem bonam cum facit, capiat tamen et delectet animum spectatoris*). If the implication were that Terence’s portrayal of Thais in this play was more favorable than Menander’s had been, that would be an important clue to the aims of his adaptation. However, the case for this has not been made out, and there are places where Donatus ascribes to “Terence” features of the plays that everyone would agree must derive from the Greek originals. Sometimes he refers to “Terence,” sometimes to “the poet,” and in most cases it is simply the qualities of the Latin text in front of him that he is assessing. (Sandbach (1978) tried to show that there was more significance in Donatus’ use of Terence’s name but had to admit that he could not prove it; see Barsby 2000a: 500–2.)

Donatus occasionally quotes the Greek phrase that Terence was adapting, and some further short passages from the Greek originals are quoted by other ancient authors. Quite a number of the passages quoted by other authors do not correspond at all obviously to anything in Terence’s version of the relevant play (which is significant for our understanding of his approach to translation), but other passages do correspond quite closely. We learn from Donatus, for instance, that the lively opening words of *Eunuchus*, *quid igitur faciam?* (“So what am I to do?” *Eu.* 46), reproduce the effect of “But what am I to do?” (ἀλλὰ τί ποιήσω) in Menander’s play; and Stobaeus quotes from Menander’s *Eunuchos* what are clearly the lines lying behind Parmeno’s advice at lines 76–8 of Terence’s play: *si sapis, / neque praeter quam quas ipse amor molestias / habet addas, et illas quas habet recte feras* (“If you’re sensible, you won’t add troubles to those that love already contains, and you’ll put up properly with those that it does contain”); Menander had written μὴ θεομάχει μηδὲ προσάγου τῷ πράγματι / χειμῶνας ἑτέρους, τοὺς δ’ ἀναγκάσιους φέρε (“Don’t fight against the god, and don’t add further storms to the affair, but put up with those that it necessarily contains”). In this case Terence’s version omits some of Menander’s color: love in Terence is never said to be a god, and the storms have been reduced to “troubles.” But there are colorful metaphors elsewhere in Terence, and we need not suppose this case to be typical: on *An.* 891, at a key moment when Simo is expressing bitter disappointment at his son’s behavior shortly before the true identity of his son’s girlfriend is revealed, Donatus comments that the stylistic intensity of the passage has been created by Terence and not reproduced from Menander. Even when following Menander’s text, Terence does not always translate “word for word.”

In two cases, *Perinthia* and *Kolax*, we have fragmentary papyrus remains that give us a slightly fuller picture of Menander's play. For *Perinthia* we have a fragment in which a slave called Daos (the Greek name of which Davos is the Latinized version), who has taken refuge at the altar on stage, is threatened with being smoked out by a bonfire prepared round the altar. There is perhaps a faint echo of this scene towards the end of Terence's *Andria*, when Simo has Davos carried indoors and tied up (860–5). It is also clear that Daos in *Perinthia* had set about tricking his master, just as Davos does in *Andria*, but we cannot otherwise tell how great the similarity was between the two plays. For *Kolax* we have excerpts from several scenes that have survived in fragmentary papyrus texts, but tantalizingly little overlaps at all with Terence's *Eunuchus* (only one small scrap published by Handley (1983) is a possible candidate, perhaps coming from the scene discussed in the next sentence). Most informative are in fact some passages quoted by ancient authors which make it clear that Menander's play included at least one scene for the boastful soldier and his parasite that was similar in overall effect to the scene for Thraso and Gnatho at *Eu.* 391–433, where the soldier boasts of his achievements and the parasite praises him with double-edged praise, though the details of the soldier's boasting are different in the two cases. (On Menander's *Kolax* and its relationship to Terence's play, see Pernerstorfer 2009.)

Our understanding of Menander was transformed in the twentieth century by the discovery of papyrus texts of his plays, which had been unavailable for at least twelve centuries: we now have one complete play, substantial portions of six others, and smaller portions of several more. Sadly we do not yet have much that we can compare with Terence's versions, and it has been calculated that we so far have only about eight percent of Menander's total output (and hardly anything by any other author of New Comedy). Nonetheless, we can now form some judgment of ways in which Terence is likely to have deviated from his originals, by comparing his plays in matters of technique with the texts that have been recovered. One technical difference between Terence and Menander is that the latter regularly composed his plays in five acts, separated by interludes in which a chorus danced and sang. Terence, like Plautus before him, has no chorus and no consistent pattern of act-breaks. The act-breaks identified in most modern editions do not go back to the authors and are sometimes marked at points where the stage is not even empty. Terence must have rearranged the movements of the characters, at least at some points, so as to eliminate the empty stages that coincided with act-breaks in the original plays. For the most part, like Plautus, he wrote for continuous action, and the rhythm of his plays is created by the alternation of accompanied and unaccompanied passages of text, not by musical interludes. (For more on this, see chapter 5, this volume).

Another technical difference is that in all Terence's plays except *Hecyra* there are some scenes with four speaking characters on stage (six at *Eu.* 771–816). There are good reasons to think that Menander and his contemporaries never constructed scenes for more than three speaking characters. The effect of the additional characters is not always particularly striking: sometimes Terence seems to have given just a few words to a character who probably remained mute at this point in the Greek original. In other cases, however, by adding an eavesdropper or even two to overhear and comment on a monologue or dialogue Terence has created opportunities for comic or emotional asides; the effect is sometimes similar to that of operatic ensembles in which different characters give vent to different emotions simultaneously. At *An.* 412–25 Byrria, whom we know to have been added to the play by Terence, eavesdrops on a dialogue between three other characters from which he thinks he learns that Pamphilus has broken his word to his master Charinus; his emotional asides add comedy for the spectators, since they know more than he does. At *Eu.* 1031–49 Thraso and Gnatho (both Terentian additions) eavesdrop on a dialogue between two other characters which celebrates the success of Thraso's rival Phaedria, with the expectation that "the soldier [Thraso] will be driven out" (*miles pelletur foras*, 1041); there is a clear contrast between their reactions and those of the characters they are overhearing, Phaedria's brother and slave. (On Terence's four-speaker scenes, see Lowe 1997.) It is also notable that all the plays except *Hecyra* have a four-character scene either at or shortly before the very end. In addition, all the plays end with trochaic septenarii, a meter that was almost certainly performed with musical accompaniment. We cannot know that his Greek originals did not likewise end with accompanied lines, but on current evidence the odds are against it, and in the plays as a whole Terence certainly has a higher proportion of accompanied lines than we find in the surviving remains of Menander. It looks as if he strives for particularly strong effects at the end of his plays, with more characters on stage and music in addition. In *Adelphoe*, as we have seen, he may also have aimed at a surprising reversal; and there is lively comedy at the end of other plays as well, particularly *Eunuchus* and *Phormio*. The end of *Eunuchus* gives some prominence to the characters imported from *Kolax*, with the parasite securing his own position and encouraging the other characters to laugh at the soldier even while he ostensibly negotiates a deal on the soldier's behalf as well (there has been much debate whether the deal negotiated derives from *Kolax*, reflects a similar arrangement at the end of Menander's *Eunuchos*, or is Terence's own way of combining characters from Menander's two plays at the end of his play; see chapter 14, this volume). In *Phormio* the two old men Demipho and Chremes try to restrain Phormio physically from entering Chremes' house and from calling out to his wife.

A further difference concerns the use of prologues. Terence's prologues, in which he replies to criticisms from a rival playwright, are quite unlike anything in Greek New Comedy, and he does not use the standard Greek device of a prologue in the mouth of a divinity or deified abstraction (such as Chance or Misapprehension) to explain the background of the plot to the spectators in cases where none of the characters is in a position to reveal the true state of affairs. At least for *Andria*, *Hecyra*, *Heauton Timorumenos*, and *Phormio* there is general agreement that it would have been characteristic of Menander (and also, it is assumed, of Apollodorus) to include such a prologue at or near the beginning of the play; there is less agreement about *Eunuchus* (where Thais is in a position to explain almost everything at 81–206) and *Adelphoe* (which is not a “recognition comedy,” and where the insertion of the scene from Diphilus may have disrupted a sequence of scenes in which the entire background could have been explained by various characters perhaps slightly sooner than it is explained in Terence's play), but some have supposed that in these cases too Terence has eliminated a divine prologue that came in Menander's play. According to Suetonius, “Varro prefers the beginning of *Adelphoe* even to Menander's beginning” (*Adelphorum principium Varro etiam praefert principio Menandri, Vita Terenti* 3); but Suetonius does not tell us what differences there were, nor what counts as the beginning: did Varro have in mind the insertion of the scene from Diphilus, or is the lack of a divine prologue in Terence's play somehow relevant?

In cases where Terence has eliminated such a prologue, it is likely that he incorporated at least some of the material that he was cutting in the mouths of the characters at an appropriate stage of the play. *An.* 215–24 is an obvious candidate: here Davos changes from accompanied lines to unaccompanied iambic senarii to inform the audience that Pamphilus has got Glycerium pregnant, that they plan to bring up the baby when it is born, and that they are claiming that Glycerium is an Athenian citizen who was shipwrecked on Andros as a small child and brought up there. Davos remains in character by saying that they are mad to think of bringing up the baby and that he does not believe the story about the shipwreck, but these are the sort of details that could well have been included in an expository prologue. More subtly, Myrrina at *Hec.* 572–4 (in accompanied lines) explains why her daughter was unable to identify her rapist nine months previously: *nam quom compressast gnata, forma in tenebris nosci non quitast, / neque detractum ei tum quicquamst qui posset post nosci qui siet; / ipse eripuit vi, in digito quem habuit, virgini abiens anulum* (“When our daughter was raped, she couldn't see what he looked like in the dark, and she didn't take anything from him that could have helped us subsequently to discover who he is; he himself forcibly pulled off a ring that the girl had on her finger as he left her”).

It is often suggested that Terence's motive for doing without divine prologues was that he preferred to take his audience by surprise as the plot developed, and to involve them in the emotional seesaw of the characters, whereas the authors of Greek New Comedy generally chose to give their audiences enough information at an early stage to enable them to perceive the irony of the situation from a position of superior knowledge. Thus in *Phormio* only at 755–61 do we learn that Phanium is Chremes' daughter and that the marriage to which Demipho objects so violently is the very marriage on which he and Chremes had agreed. Similarly in *Andria* only at 923–50 do we discover that the liaison which makes Pamphilus so unwilling to marry Chremes' daughter, and which makes Chremes think him an unsuitable match, is in fact a liaison with another daughter of Chremes; if we had been told this at an earlier stage, it might have made some difference to our appreciation of the play—especially perhaps at 740–89, where Chremes is unknowingly on stage with his own grandson. In *Heauton Timorumenos* it is not until 614–67 that we learn that Antiphila is Chremes' daughter; in *Hecyra*, it is not until 816–32 that we learn that Pamphilus had raped Philumena some time before their marriage. On the other hand, it is clear at an early stage that the Chremes of *Heauton Timorumenos* does not know about his son's affair with Bacchis, just as Demea in *Adelphoe* does not know what Ctesipho has been doing, and we know from *Eu.* 110 that Pamphila is probably from an Athenian citizen family: not all opportunities for irony are lost, though *Hecyra* has been seen as significantly different from the other plays in offering no scope for ironic reflection to an audience that does not foresee how the situation is to be resolved. Otherwise, the balance between surprise and irony is different in different plays, and *Adelphoe* combines both to excellent effect, whether or not Menander's play had a divine prologue. We are given one surprise after another in the early stages of the play (the discovery that Aeschinus has stolen the prostitute not for himself but for his brother is soon followed by the discovery that he has got the girl next door pregnant), but from line 298 onwards we know everything we need to know to appreciate the irony of the various misunderstandings that arise. Terence's reason for cutting divine prologues (when he has done so) may have been that he felt they were too artificial a device, and he may also have felt that it would be awkward to include one in addition to the polemical prologue that he evidently preferred to write (though *Adelphoe* does start with a lengthy expository monologue by Micio immediately after Terence's prologue).

Terence preserves the Greek titles of all his plays except *Phormio*, and there the character name that he has chosen to use instead is Greek, as are the names of all the characters in his plays. He also preserves the Greek setting (without drawing attention to it very much), though he sometimes omits specific details that might perhaps have been distractingly unfamiliar for his audience. Thus

at *Ph.* 49, where an initiation ceremony is mentioned, Donatus tells us that Apollodorus referred more specifically to initiation in the mystery religion associated with the island of Samothrace (but he rejects the idea that Terence had Italian initiation ceremonies in mind); at 92 (again according to Donatus) “a young man in tears” replaces the barber who had cut a girl’s hair as part of Athenian mourning ritual, and the ritual is not mentioned, *ne externis moribus spectatorem Romanum offenderet* (“so that Terence would not upset the Roman spectator by referring to alien customs”). At *Hau.* 63–4 Terence makes Chremes say to Menedemus *agrum in his regionibus / meliorem neque preti maioris nemo habet* (“No one in this area has a better or more valuable property”), not reproducing the precise specification of the region of Attica that we know to have come in the Greek text at this point. These are trivial changes, and on a larger scale Terence preserves details of Athenian law that are fundamental for the plots. The basic law of Athenian citizenship, that only couples of Athenian parentage on both sides could produce legitimate citizen children, would not have surprised his Roman audience (see Watson 1967: 32–40). But the plot of *Phormio* depends to a considerable extent on the Athenian law summarized at lines 125–6 (*lex est ut orbae, qui sint generi proximi, / eis nubant, et illos ducere eadem haec lex iubet*, “There’s a law that orphan girls have to marry their nearest male relatives, and this same law says that the relatives have to marry the girls”; see chapter 15, this volume), and the same law underlies Micio’s teasing of Aeschinus at *Ad.* 645–77. We can see from Menander’s *Aspis* (“The Shield”) what a convenient law this was for generating complications in comic plots, and Terence relies on his audience’s acceptance of it as part of the Athenian ambience of his plays. Even when importing Antipho into *Eunuchus*, Terence preserves authentic Greek details of the sort of dinner party that he and Chaerea have arranged at 539–41. Furthermore, at 987, when Chaerea’s father asks *an in astu venit?* (“Has he come up to town?”), Terence keeps the Greek word *astu* to designate the town of Athens as opposed to the harbor of Piraeus. Similarly at *An.* 51 and *Eu.* 824 characters use the word *ephebus*, the term applied to Athenian male citizens during their two years of compulsory military service between the ages of eighteen and twenty. In this case Plautus too had used the word; there was no precise equivalent to the ephebes at Rome, and both authors evidently relied on their audience’s knowledge of the Athenian institution.

Details that are distinctively Roman are rare and incidental to the plot: there is a quotation from the praetorian interdict at *Eu.* 319 (*vel vi vel clam vel precario*, “whether by force or by stealth or by loan”), and there are echoes of Roman legal language and practice at *Ph.* 450–1 (*quod te absente hic filius / egit, restitui in integrum aequomst et bonum*, “what your son has done here in your absence should be rendered null and void,” in a scene which altogether parodies the Roman institution of an advisory body to offer guidance on legal

matters) and *Ad.* 194 (*ego liberali illam adsero causa manu*, “I hereby formally declare her to be free-born!”). Some of Donatus’ comments suggest that there may be more, but it is hard to know what to make of them.

1. At *An.* 770–1 Mysis rejects the accusation that the newly-born baby is supposititious with the words *dis pol habeo gratiam / quom in pariundo aliquot adfuerunt liberae* (“Well, thank heaven there were some free-born women present at its birth”), and Donatus comments: *testimonia libera contra servum. et hoc proprium Terentii est, nam de Romano more hoc dixit* (“Free-born evidence against a slave. And this is Terence’s own way of putting it, since she said this in accordance with Roman custom”). If Donatus thought that differences between Athens and Rome in the ability of either women or slaves to give evidence in court were relevant, his comment is besides the point, since in both cities it was possible to obtain evidence from women and slaves and present it to the court by one means or another. Some commentators have thought he was referring to a rule (cited at *Digest* 25.4.1.10) requiring between five and ten freeborn women to be present to establish the legitimate birth of a child; but that was required only as part of an elaborate procedure to be followed when a woman whose husband had died claimed to be pregnant: if Donatus did have that in mind, he was once again missing the point. There is admittedly something strange about Mysis’ remark, since we cannot say who these freeborn women were or how they came to be in Glycerium’s house; the only woman we have seen coming or going is the midwife. But it remains unclear what “Roman custom” Donatus was thinking of.
2. At *Eu.* 257, commenting on a list of market tradesmen (*cetarii, lanii, coqui, fartores*, “tunny-sellers, butchers, cooks, poulterers”), Donatus remarks on the “comic effect” (*σχῆμα comicum*) of including Roman details in a play with a Greek setting. Once again it is not clear what he means, since there is nothing un-Greek about the tradesmen listed, except that it was normal at Athens for the same man to act as both butcher and hired cook, so one would not expect butchers and cooks to be listed separately in an Athenian context; that seems rather a subtle point for the audience to appreciate as a comic effect. Perhaps Donatus had in mind the use of the word *macellum* (“market”) at 255, since that might seem to locate the incident being related in the center of Rome. On the other hand, Plautus and Terence both regularly use the word *forum* (not the Greek *agora*) for the central town square: did that seem incongruously Roman every time? Donatus never comments on it.
3. At *Ph.* 149–50 *sed epistulam ab eo adlatam esse audiui modo / et ad portitores esse delatam* (“But I heard just now that a letter had arrived from him and been delivered to the customs officers”), Donatus invites us to

consider whether this remark is in accordance with Athenian or Roman practice (*ex quo more hoc dixerit vide, Attico an Romano*, “consider according to what custom, Greek or Roman, he said this”). Whatever he thought the answer was, it is not clear why he picks on this detail in this way, and there is nothing obviously un-Athenian about the remark.

4. Donatus’ reference to “Roman custom” in commenting on *Ph.* 324–5 is perhaps only a comment on the fact that *nervus* in Latin can mean both “fetter” and “prison.”
5. At *Ph.* 393 *at si talentum rem reliquisset decem* (“But if he’d left you an estate worth ten talents”), Donatus comments that it is Roman to give a financial value to a bequest but adds that a talent is a Greek sum of money. However, there is nothing un-Athenian about quantifying a property in terms of its monetary value. Whatever Donatus had in mind in commenting on these five cases, it is not clear that any of them is intrusively Roman in a play with a Greek setting.

Overall, Terence was far more consistent than Plautus in preserving the Athenian ambience, and in spite of his claim to follow Plautus’ *neglegentia* most readers feel that he reproduces the spirit of his Greek originals far more faithfully than Plautus had done, with more consistent characterization and more care over the plot construction. He does not follow his originals slavishly, but he does not subvert them in ways that Plautus has been interpreted as doing. (Attempts to show Terence as influenced by Italian traditions of improvised drama have had mixed success and have tended to be based on assumptions about differences between Greek New Comedy and improvised drama which not everyone shares; for examples, see Lefèvre 1999, 2003, 2008.) Stylistically, too, Terence seems closer to Menander: his style lacks Plautus’ exuberant variety and is notable for its beauty and elegance. Nonetheless, he treated his Greek originals with some freedom in a number of respects, as we have seen. The extent of his freedom is a matter of interpretation and analysis, as is the relevance of his plays to current Roman concerns even when they remain consistently Greek; subsequent chapters in this volume will discuss such questions.

Some have regarded Terence as a propagandist for Greek culture, but he gives no hint in his prologues that he is conscious of any such mission. He represents Luscius as taking too narrow a view of fidelity to the Greek plays and claims for himself the more reckless approach of his distinguished predecessors; analysis of his techniques, combined with the evidence we have for his addition of scenes and characters, confirms that he gave himself a free hand. His recklessness may seem rather timid in comparison with that of Plautus, but the additions clearly increase the liveliness and complexity of his plays, and there can be little doubt that that was his main motive for making them and that he wished above all to have a successful career.

FURTHER READING

The classic analysis of Terence's artistic aims in the light of the changes he is believed to have made in adapting his Greek models is that of Haffter (1953). There are more recent surveys, going over much of the same ground but with different emphases, by Ludwig (1968) and Barsby (2002). Lowe (1983) starts with four pages summarizing some types of change that can be shown to be characteristic of Terence before discussing two passages of *Eunuchus* in detail. Duckworth (1952: 202–8) summarizes the debate about *contaminatio*.

CHAPTER TWO

Terence and the Traditions of Roman New Comedy

George Fredric Franko

This chapter examines how Terence converges with and diverges from inherited norms of the genre we call Roman New Comedy, or *comoedia palliata*, Roman adaptations of Greek New Comic scripts (on the Roman quality of Terence's plays, see chapter 7, this volume). The assessment of Terence's relationship to the traditions of Roman New Comedy is not an academic or tangential issue, for Terence himself devotes the bulk of his prologues to articulating that complex relationship. Presumably, then, Terence's place within the Roman New Comic tradition was of keen interest to Terence, his audience, his peers, and his sponsors.

The scarcity of full evidence for direct comparison makes modern assessment difficult. For Roman New Comedy, we have only six complete scripts from Terence (slightly over 6,000 verses) and twenty from Titus Maccius Plautus (over 21,100 verses). To these totals we may cautiously add several hundred verses from lost plays and authors quoted by ancient scholars, bearing in mind that interpreting those fragments can be as perilous as taking a book of quotations without consulting entire works. The fact that complete scripts from only two representatives of the genre have survived has sometimes resulted in an unfortunate tendency to view the *palliata* as a two-dimensional spectrum, with Terence on one end and Plautus on the other. The fuller picture is more complicated and three-dimensional, with Terence and Plautus from some

perspectives appearing quite close, from others very far apart. For us, they shine as the brightest and the only fully visible stars in the genre's constellation, but the other stars—dimmed or occluded through time—ought to be charted, albeit tentatively, to apprehend the full image.

After consideration of what Terence himself says in his prologues about his place in the Roman New Comic tradition, this chapter compares the significant features of Terentian comedy with corresponding features in the works of Plautus and Caecilius Statius. Caecilius' work merits our attention for two reasons. First, almost 300 complete verses of his works have survived, which, coupled with some assessments by ancient scholars, provide just enough material to enable reasonable conjecture. Second, he was one of the three acknowledged superstars of the genre. As the eminent Roman scholar Varro declared: "Caecilius deserves the palm in plot construction, Terence in characterization, Plautus in language" (*Menippean Satire* 399b).

1 Terence, Popularity, and the *Palliata*

The origins and early history of Roman drama are murky. Prior to Terence's premier in 166 BCE, scripted drama had flourished for decades at Rome, and theatergoers in his era were acquainted with what we might label tragedies, history plays, and comedies. For mapping the *palliata*, we may begin with a top-ten list from a critic named Volcacijs Sedigitus (ca. 100 BCE; see also chapter 19, this volume):

For comedy, I give the palm to Caecilius Statius. Plautus, in second place, easily beats the rest. Then Naevius, who's hot stuff (*fervet*), gets third prize. If there must be a fourth place, it goes to Licinius, after whom I rank Atilius. Terence will follow these in sixth place. Turpilius takes seventh, Trabea eighth; in ninth I readily rank Luscius. I add Ennius as tenth, in honor of his antiquity. (Aulus Gellius, *Attic Nights* 15.24)

The list illuminates and frustrates. While Volcacijs gives his personal opinion, remarks from other ancient critics suggest that his rankings for Caecilius, Plautus, and Terence are not terribly skewed. We do not know the criteria for his rankings, though we may suspect that Volcacijs was reading the scripts, and thus his opinion might reflect an aristocratic bias towards the literary merits of the poets rather than their theatrical acumen. That said, plays by these poets continued to be staged in Volcacijs' day and beyond, and the datum that Terence's *Eunuchus* at its premier "was even acted twice on the same day and earned more money than any comedy previously," according to Suetonius' *Vita Terenti*, suggests that Terentian plays enjoyed great success on the stage. Terence installed himself in the canon of Roman New Comedy with a very

slender body of high-quality work. We know of forty-two titles attributed to Caecilius (ca. 180s–168 BCE), thirty-four for Naevius (last quarter of third century), and of Plautus' comedies (ca. 210–184) we consider genuine a minimum of twenty-one out of the roughly 130 plays attributed to him in antiquity. Their careers spanned decades. Terence fares quite well in capturing sixth place based on only six plays in seven years.

Yet grounds exist for denying Terence's popularity. The performance of his *Hecyra* was aborted in its first two attempts, and the inability to perform the entire play has been taken as evidence of his dramaturgic failure and his audiences' disapproval. To explain this purported failure and disapproval, scholars point to ways in which Terence differs from Plautus, who apparently suffered no such setbacks. Since Plautus appears similar to other poets of the *palliata*, Terence thereby appears isolated from the traditions of Roman New Comedy. The portrait of our artist as a disgruntled and unsuccessful young man can be corroborated by the prologues, which beg for a fair hearing in testy, defensive tones. Terence's grand success, *Eunuchus*, can be seen as selling out, a concession to writing *palliata* in the Plautine style. In short, it is possible to view Terence as a playwright lacking popular support (but not rich aristocratic patrons), whose unpopularity directly results from rejecting the traditions of Roman New Comedy (see further chapter 16, this volume.)

The thesis has its attractions and its adherents (especially Segal 1987, 2001), but two points undermine it. First, the supposed "failure" of *Hecyra* is inaccurate. The play was not abandoned by unsatisfied spectators leaving during the show; rather, crowds from outside disrupted the performances. It appears that rumors of boxers and a tightrope walker roiled a crowd whose entry into the theater area prevented continuation of the first performance; at the second performance, Terence's audience was enjoying the show when rumor of gladiators in the same venue incited a flash mob to burst in and displace Terence's audience (Gilula 1981; Sandbach 1982; Parker 1996). Even plays of the successful Caecilius were occasionally driven from the stage (*Hec.* 14–15). Second, the questions of Terence's popularity and his adherence to the genre's traditions are separate issues. A poet could be traditional and unpopular, or untraditional and popular. Terence was, in fact, very popular, as Parker (1996) has convincingly demonstrated. For assessment of Terence's relation to earlier traditions, there can be no simple answer based upon the plays' popular reception.

2 The Prologues and the Roman Comic Tradition

The feisty opening lines of Terence's first play pick up the gauntlet (cf. also Germany's extensive analysis, chapter 12, this volume and the quotation in Latin):

When the poet first put his mind to writing, he believed that his only challenge would be for the plays that he crafted to please the public. But now he realizes that things have turned out very differently. So he wastes his effort in writing prologues, not to explain the plot but to respond to the slanders of a malicious old author. (*An.* 1–7)

The speaker takes us into the middle of a running feud, as if Terence has already staged several plays with traditional expository prologues but now has been forced to change his strategy in response to a nasty competitor (elsewhere identified as Luscius, ninth in Volcacius' list). But we should resist the temptation to see Terence's prologues as honest, autobiographical confessions, just as we have learned to see in the writings of lyric poets less an outpouring of private sentiment than a carefully crafted public persona. This is not to assert that a feud between Terence and Luscius is complete fabrication; but we should allow for the possibility of expediently exaggerated feuding, not unlike the publicity-generating spats in Hollywood. This is show business: the speaker of the prologues delivers what Terence, or the speaker himself, believes will best serve the promotional needs of the play (see Sharrock 2009: 232–95).

The speaker proceeds to trumpet Terence's adherence to tradition, a technique that pulls us in two contradictory directions. On the one hand, it promises that the upcoming show conforms to the established and enjoyed tradition. On the other hand, it may raise suspicions that somehow the show's adherence to tradition requires a defense or explanation, suggesting that Terence is desperately asserting that his innovative work is really traditional after all.

In transplanting Menander's *Andria* to Rome, Terence grafted in material from another play of Menander, *Perinthia*. But "critics" (now plural) berate the poet for "contaminating" plays (15–16), that is, for using two scripts to produce only one play (see also chapters 1 and 19, this volume). Why this is taboo is unclear; perhaps there was a writers' stigma against exhausting a limited supply of Greek originals. Like a fine attorney, Terence's response redirects the question:

When rivals criticize this author, they criticize Naevius, Plautus, and Ennius, whom he takes as his models: he chooses to imitate their carelessness (*neglegentia*) rather than the critics' dreary diligence. (*An.* 18–21)

Terence invokes previous masters to assert his status as their legitimate heir to the traditional method of adapting Greek New Comedy. *Neglegentia* is generally a negative term meaning "negligence," but such is the appeal of the established tradition that the names Naevius, Plautus, and Ennius can turn *neglegentia* into a positive value, seeming to imply a happy insouciance, a joyfully unbuttoned

manner of free adaptation that is the opposite of “dreary diligence,” the faithful adherence to a single original Greek script (see chapter 12, this volume). No one knows whether that first audience cared about the compositional genetics of the play they were about to hear, but Terence gambled that they would be delighted to learn that the play would follow the model of Naevius, Plautus, and Ennius.

Perhaps audiences enjoyed these opening salvos more than an expository prologue or no prologue, for after an aborted performance of *Hecyra* from which no prologue survives, Terence’s next production (*Heauton Timorumenos*) returned to a combative prologue. Claiming that Terence’s critics persist in their objection to using multiple Greek originals to produce fewer Latin plays, the speaker declares that Terence “is not ashamed to do so and declares that he will do it again. He has the precedent of good [playwrights], and following their precedent he thinks that he is permitted to do what they did” (*Hau.* 19–21). Terence does not name those “good playwrights” but once again links his compositional techniques to those of his predecessors in the genre, presumably Plautus, Naevius, and others.

Under the guise of responding to critics, Terence also uses his prologues to tempt his audience with references to formulaic plots and stock characters. In the opening lines of his final play, defense becomes a preview:

Since the poet learned that his works are being subjected to unfair criticism, and opponents rip apart the piece that we will perform, he will testify for himself. You will be the judges as to whether what he has done deserves praise or blame. *Synapothmeskontes* is a comedy of Diphilus. Plautus made that his play *Commorientes*. At the beginning of the Greek version there is a young man who steals a courtesan from a pimp. Plautus left out the entire scene; our poet has appropriated it for his *Adelphoe*, reproducing it word for word. We shall perform it as a brand new play. You determine whether you judge this an act of plagiarism or of recovering what was omitted from carelessness (*neglegentia*). (*Ad.* 1–14)

Slipped under the veil of an argument about Plautus, plagiarism, and *neglegentia*, Terence conveys the titillating information that today’s play will contain a slave dealer and a courtesan. The prologue’s invocation of tradition serves as both a defense and a tease to whet our appetites.

Terence uses this same mixture of defense spiced with teasing in his prologue to *Eunuchus*. After lambasting Luscius for botched adaptations of Menander (7–13), Terence deflects a charge that he committed plagiarism in stealing a soldier and a parasite from Naevius and Plautus (25–34). In choosing to broadcast Luscius’ accusation, Terence again links his play to the works of Naevius and Plautus and advertises the presence of two

beloved, farcical stock characters. Terence's defense celebrates his adherence to the genre's traditional features:

But if he is not permitted to reuse the same characters, how is it more permissible to script a running slave, to fashion good matrons, wicked courtesans, a gluttonous parasite, a braggart soldier, a baby being switched at birth, an old man being tricked by a slave, loving, hating, suspecting? In the end, nothing is said now that hasn't been said before. So it's right for you to peruse and excuse new playwrights if they do what the old ones have always done. (*Eu.* 35–43)

Terence's prologues portray his compositions as faithful to the established traditions of Roman New Comedy, while suggesting that the tidier works of his adversary Lucius represent a betrayal of the spirit of Plautus, Naevius, and the *palliata*. Should we believe him? Ultimately, the prologues invite and empower the audience to play the judge.

3 Plot and Characterization

The engine of the *palliata* is the interplay of formulaic plots with stock characters. Families consisting of young men in love, worried mothers, pregnant daughters, angry or helpful fathers, and their clever or cloddish slaves face some sort of crisis. Although the crisis can extend outward to involve helpful friends, parasitic associates, slave dealers, courtesans, midwives, soldiers, bankers, cooks, and so on, its focus remains narrowly domestic rather than broadly civic, political, or religious. The crisis deepens through misapprehensions produced either by innocent mistakes or guileful deceptions. Eventually, by fortune or cleverness, a resolution clarifies the errors and alleviates the crisis. More specifically, a majority of the surviving plays present variations on the following situations:

1. A lovesick young man wishes to obtain or maintain relations with a young woman, either for marriage or for sex. She may be a girl he has impregnated or a courtesan, often a freeborn (hence marriageable) girl somehow lost by her respectable natal family.
2. One or more adult figures obstruct this union: perhaps the boy's father, perhaps a slave dealer who owns the girl, or perhaps a rival lover, such as a soldier who has purchased her.
3. The young man, hamstrung by his lack of financial and intellectual resources, seeks help from an ally, usually his slave, but sometimes a hanger-on (a "parasite"), a peer, or even a jolly old fellow.
4. The action consists of some combination of misunderstandings, deceptions, and happy coincidences, after which the young man obtains access to the girl.

Of course, this outline does not describe all the extant scripts; for example Plautus' *Menaechmi*, the model for Shakespeare's *The Comedy of Errors*, is a play of mistaken identities that bears little resemblance to the above. But the basic outline does recur so often that we can usefully consider it a formula (Frye 1957: 163, with caution), and even describe it in algebraic diagrams (Bettini 1982; Lowe 2007). So entrenched is this pattern that, based on roughly fifty legible words on a carbonized papyrus roll, one can plausibly reconstruct the outline of Caecilius' *Moneylender*: Boy loves girl who belongs to a pimp; boy borrows money from a loan shark; father and heir-apparent brother refuse to help pay the debt; legal action threatens the pimp; someone (a slave?) appears with money; the united lovers wed; applaud! (Kleve 1996).

Formulaic plots and stock characters are no more restrictive than the inherited features of modern sitcoms. Like sitcoms, the traditions of the *palliata* provide the audience with a comfortable and satisfying familiarity within which one finds ample variety. Where there is structure, there is freedom. Since the rules are set, authors and audiences can concentrate on *how* things happen rather than *what* will happen, for there is no contemplating the possibility of a giant dung beetle whisking a character off to Olympus, as in freewheeling Aristophanic Old Comedy. Playwrights obtain flexibility and freshness principally in two ways. First, by paradigmatic substitution, whereby different stock characters assume new roles within formulaic plots. For example, in Plautus' *Persa*, the young man in love is a slave and the person who dupes the pimp is a parasite's daughter. Second, by conglomeration, whereby plots do not progress in simple, linear fashion. For example, in Plautus' *Poenulus*, the machinations of the clever slave duplicate and compete with luck in effecting the anticipated happy ending. The clever slave legally frames the pimp so that he will suffer financial ruin and his master will obtain his beloved, but a fortuitous conversation reveals that the girl is actually freeborn and thus can simply be liberated in front of a magistrate. Rather than do so, the slave plans an unnecessary second ruse to have someone pretend to be the girl's father; but by luck her real father arrives and renders the second ruse moot. The *palliata* thrives on the kind of easy paradigmatic substitution and conglomeration manifest in *A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum* (1966), a modern pastiche of Plautus' *Pseudolus*, *Mostellaria*, and *Miles Gloriosus*, with smatterings of his *Casina*, *Curculio*, and *Mercator*.

Terence does not ignore or overturn the inherited traditions of plot and character. His plots all fit comfortably within the above paradigm. He adds no new character to the stock types of the *palliata* tradition, and thus the inhabitants of Terentopolis—though more nuanced and less flamboyant than those of Plautinopolis—remain the usual suspects (Gratwick 1982: 104 coined the name "Plautinopolis"). While Terence may exhibit less variety than Plautus, we should perhaps attribute that to sheer numbers (six scripts versus twenty),

for within those six scripts Terence shows a knack for amplifying, refining, and reorienting the traditional plots and characters in important ways. Here are five of his most salient modifications.

First, in broad structural terms, Terence creates or amplifies double plots, in which we find sets of characters whose activities mirror each other's. He is especially good at creating contrasting pairs of fathers, sons in love, and slaves. We find this "duality method" in all of Terence's plays, though *Hecyra* shows it in attenuated form (Duckworth 1952: 184–90; Goldberg 1986). While in *Andria* one set of lovers is clearly subordinate to the other, Terence's duality method typically generates parallel plots more than main plots and subplots. This compositional strategy is almost entirely absent from Plautus, and where we do find sets of doubles (e.g., twin sisters, two sons, and two fathers in *Bacchides*), Plautus does nothing that would entitle us to speak of a coherent parallel plot or subplot. We have no idea whether Caecilius, so highly praised for excellence in plot construction, employed the duality method. Thus it is Terence who sowed the seed in Western drama that will bear exquisite fruit in authors such as Shakespeare, where the wit and passions of Beatrice and Benedick enchant us all the more because of the contrast with the wilting Hero and callow Claudio in *Much Ado about Nothing*.

Second, Terence unfolds events so as to maintain or increase surprise (Frank 1928; Lefèvre 1969). Partly by dispensing with the expository prologue, partly by plot construction, Terence often withholds vital information until comparatively late in the play. *Hecyra* offers an extreme example, where the key discovery that the young man Pamphilus has violated the girl Philumela comes in the final seventy lines of the play. Plautus often will reveal the essentials early; for example, the prologue to *Poenulus* declares that the Punic uncle Hanno will arrive to find his daughters and his nephew (121–5). The audience thereby knows who and what, but not when or precisely how. It will take some 800 lines (longer than some plays) for Uncle Hanno to appear, which increases anticipation but diminishes surprise. Since the audience knows that Hanno really is the girls' father, irony abounds when he agrees to impersonate their father in a ruse. Terence abandoned the convention of previewing the particulars not because he sought to keep the spectators on the edge of their seats, but perhaps because he could be confident that they understood the traditions of plot and character and could piece together the clues of his puzzle. It is wrong to say that Terence invents surprise and eliminates irony; rather, he emphasizes the former and minimizes the latter in comparison with Plautus (Duckworth 1952: 223–35).

Third, Terence diminishes the role of the clever slave. Plautus is most famous for the exploits of servile tricksters. His clever slaves frequently dominate the action as the architects of deceit, commanders of guerilla forces, and even playwrights scripting the drama before our eyes. Their *malitia* ("heroic badness," Anderson 1993: 88–106) can reach epic proportions, as seen in this song by Chrysalus in *Bacchides*:

The twin sons of Atreus are renowned for having done a most glorious deed when they sacked Troy, the paternal city of Priam, fortified by divine hand, after ten years with their arms, horses, army, noble warriors, and 1,000 ships. That was barely a blister on the toe compared to how I'll destroy my master without a fleet, army, and such a horde of soldiers. (*Bac.* 925–30)

Terence provides plenty of trickery in his comedies, but often in spite of rather than on account of a purportedly clever slave. Slaves who try to perpetrate deceits in a Plautine manner are foiled, or rendered irrelevant, or upstaged as Terence focuses on the machinations of free citizens, especially fathers and sons. Significantly, Terence's trickiest hero is not a slave but the free man Phormio; though nominally a parasite, he emerges as the most altruistic character in the play (Moore 2001). One consequence of the decision to diminish the role of the clever slave is that plays reach happy resolutions through luck or benevolent fortune more than trickery.

Fourth, and of extreme importance, Terence depicts characters rather than caricatures. Plautus offers us some of drama's most memorable personages, outrageously over-the-top figures who epitomize stock character types. Pyrgopolynices in *Miles Gloriosus* is *the* braggart soldier for all time, while Pseudolus is *the* clever slave extraordinaire. Where Terence recycles the same realistic, trite names (Geta, Chremes, Davus, etc.), many Plautine creations carry fantastical "speaking names" which celebrate the function or archetypal nature of the characters. For example in *Miles Gloriosus*, we meet the braggart soldier Pyrgopolynices ("Conqueror of Many Citadels"), the fawning parasite Artotrogus ("Bread Muncher"), the tricky slave Palaestrio ("Wrestler/Juggler"), and the delightful girl Philocomasium ("Partylover"). Plautine creations have an archetypal quality partly because Plautus seems comfortable playing within the boundaries of the stock character's mask rather than exploring or stretching those limits. As with Italian Renaissance Commedia dell'Arte, the mask defines the character and predetermines his *lazzi* (comic routines or shtick). Plautine characterization draws upon and celebrates the native traditions of the Atellan Farce, short and simple bits peopled with such recurrent masked characters as Pappus the gullible old man, Bucco the gluttonous braggart, and Maccus the foolish clown. The pervasive exaggeration of inherited character traits reveals, and perhaps derives from, a species of metatheatricality. Plautine characters indulge in exaggeration partly because they seem supremely aware of their own theatrical history as composite offspring of Greek New Comedy and Atellan Farce. They know that we know that they are really actors behind traditional masks. The young lover Charinus begins *Mercator* (1–4) with: "I have decided to do two things at once right now: I'll divulge the plot and my love affair. I won't act like I've seen other lovesick lads act in comedies ..." The play from its outset thereby instructs the audience to

treat the characters as actors attempting to fulfill, exceed, or temporarily subvert existing stock roles. Characters frequently poke fun at themselves, the audience, and the whole dramatic conceit. As the old counselors in *Poenulus* declare, “we already know that; if only these spectators know it. It’s for their sake we’re performing this play now ... we know the whole business since we all learned our lines” (550–4). In their self-awareness, Plautine characters recognize their fictive origins and their temporary existence to please the crowd, and they invite us to join the fun (Moore 1998a; Slater 1985).

In contrast, Terentian characters show no awareness of their fictive origins and convey a three-dimensional quality inhabiting the mask, a sense that we witness the rudiments of a fully realized individual with some sort of biography before and after the play. Where a Plautine actor will occasionally step out from behind the mask, a Terentian character will expand the emotive realm of the masks’ possibilities from within. Harsh fathers reveal a soft side, dissolute sons feel pangs of remorse, and courtesans are not coldly mercenary. With Plautine characterization we sense inconsistency; with Terentian, we sense complexity. While it would be a mistake to label Terentian characterization “realistic,” Terentian actions generally seem credible, natural, and mundane when compared to Plautine actions, which are so often incredible, exaggerated, and theatrical. Again and again in Terence we hear the terms *humanus* and *inhumanus* (“humane” and “inhumane”), terms conspicuously absent from the Plautine lexicon. Whether this represents an attempt to adhere more closely to Menandrian characterization or simply a rejection of the traditions of Atellan-style caricatures is unclear. The fuller Terentian characterizations must have entailed modifications to plot structures. The ancient commentator Donatus signals this when he writes about the courtesan Bacchis (*Hec.* 58): “One must notice that Terence will introduce a good courtesan in this play; in order that he not seem to do it against tradition, he introduces another not-bad courtesan, so that it becomes more familiar and realistic by use.” Donatus shrewdly posits that Terence feels the need to integrate originality with tradition.

Fifth, with Terence we have a sense that the play’s events have effected some permanent change in the lives of these fictional characters. For Plautus, plot often seems an excuse for two hours of fooling around. Inconsistencies, loose ends, and a lack of lasting resolution are tolerated and even celebrated. In some of the more farcical plays, the shenanigans of the clever slave have no lasting impact on the neighborhood, and the Plautine lover seeks marriage less often than resumption of easy, continuous access to his girl. Several plays do effect permanent change, such as in *Rudens*, *Poenulus*, and *Curculio*, where long-lost daughters are restored to their families and will marry their lovers. But *Casina* reveals the extent to which farce and trickery can displace romantic storylines. The young lovers never even appear on stage, apparently through Plautus’ decision to excise them (the prologue states that “Plautus forbade it,” 65), and

the epilogue merely reports what one might expect to be the climax of the story: “Casina will be revealed as the daughter of the next door neighbor and will marry our young master” (1013–14). In contrast, the plays of Terence not only celebrate an optimistic future after the resolution of a domestic crisis but also suggest that characters may have learned something in the process. One cannot imagine a Plautine son admitting what the chastened Aeschinus declares with apparent sincerity to his father Demea at the end of *Adelphoe* (995–6): “We entrust ourselves to you, father. You know our needs better than we do.”

4 Language and Meter

Scrattae, scrupipedae, strittivillae sordidae ...

Hideous, hard-ankled, hobbling harlots ... (Gellius, *Attic Nights* 3.3.6)

This single line sufficed to convince one ancient reader that an entire script was the work of Plautus. We noted above the judgment that Plautus took the palm for language among comic playwrights, and that this reputation partly explains why his name was attached to scripts by others. Many of the scripts circulating under his name were not genuinely his, and ancient scholars debated which plays were certainly, probably, or doubtfully Plautine. For those careful readers, the principal criterion for determining authorship was language or passages that sounded *Plautinissimi* (“supremely Plautine,” as Gellius (3.3.4) puts it). Puns, alliteration, riddles, neologisms, outrageous hyperbole, military metaphors, and metatheatrical allusions are the hallmarks of Plautine comic diction (Fontaine 2010; Fraenkel 2007). And yet Plautine style is not entirely idiosyncratic, for Gellius points out that some plays full of such Latin—including the very one whose verses he quotes as *Plautinissimi*—circulated under the names of other playwrights. Simply put, language alone could not be decisive for ascribing authorship to a poet because the *palliata* exerted a strong normative influence on the style and diction of scripts. The work of Wright (1974) on the fragments of Roman comedy convincingly demonstrates that Plautus sounds like Caecilius, who sounds like Naevius, and so on.

The tradition of the *palliata* demands that the adaptation of Greek New Comic scripts include not only alterations of plot, characterization, and staging but also a change of semantic register. As Plautus himself states, *Plautus vortit barbare* (“Plautus made the barbarian version,” *Trin.* 19), which includes a complete linguistic overhaul to favor the brash and breezy. Even in English translation, parallel passages reveal typical stylistic features, and thanks to Gellius (*Attic Nights* 2.23), we can examine several excerpts of Menander

and Caecilius as representatives of traditional Greek and Roman New Comic styles. First, some Menander:

- And I have as wife an heiress who's a real harpy. Haven't I told you?
I haven't? She lords it over my house and lands and everything. And in exchange I have the harshest of harsh situations, by God. She is a pain to everyone, not just me, but also my son, and especially her daughter.
- Can't fight the situation you're describing.
- I know it well.

Caecilius transmogrifies this sedate conversation into a gritty exchange between comic and straight man:

- But tell me, is your wife a pain?
- You have to ask?
- How so?
- I'm ashamed to say. When I come home, I sit next to her, immediately she gives me a stinky kiss.
- No doubt about it: she wants you to puke up what you've been out drinking.

The verdict of Gellius and his snooty group of friends on these and other excerpts is stinging: while Menander's verses are "brilliant and appropriate and witty ... simple and naturalistic and delightful," Caecilius chooses to "play the fool," ignoring naturalism in characterization to "drag in god-knows-what kind of farcical stuff." Gellius condemns Caecilius for sloppiness and proffering "mangled bits of Menander stitched together with the language of tragic bombast." The point for us is not to identify deficiencies in Caecilian dialogue; after all, that is partly a matter of taste, and scholars like Gellius forget that the appropriate measure of a script's success is how it works on the stage, not on the page. Rather, this snippet epitomizes the standard style of Roman adaptation, for very similar alterations in diction and pacing emerge when we compare lines of Plautus' *Bacchides* with the fragments of its Greek original, Menander's *Dis Exapaton* (Handley 1968). (See also chapter 1, this volume.)

But the grand exception is Terence. Terence's language falls demonstrably outside the norms of the *palliata* and seems intended to replicate Menander's smooth diction in Latin. The linguistic study by Karakasis (2005) solidifies the somewhat intuitive conclusions of Wright (1974). Painstaking comparisons of linguistic data repeatedly show that Terence stands apart from all the other authors in the tradition. While much of Karakasis' analysis is very technical and requires discussion of the Latin, we can grasp the uniqueness of Terence from an example in English chosen by Segal (1987: 17–19). Where Plautus gives us the outrageous outburst, "I wish someone would bring me news right now that father's dead" (*Mos.* 233), Terence gives us the measured,

"I wish—as long as he stayed healthy—father would tire out and lie in bed for three whole days, unable to get up" (*Ad.* 519–20). Raw numbers are suggestive, as Barsby (1999a: 20–2) adduces the following calculations for terms of abuse, oaths, and endearments. Of some 285 different terms of abuse in Roman comedy, Plautus uses 254, many in grand slanging matches, versus Terence's 76; and 209 of the 285 terms are unique to Plautus. Characters in Plautus use such oaths as "by Hercules!" 1,368 times, compared to only 188 times in Terence. But the "less obtrusive or more naturalistic" interjections such as "ah" and "oh" are three times more frequent in Terence than in Plautus. For terms of endearment, Terence only uses *mi anime* ("my dear") thrice and *meum savium* ("my kiss") once in the entire corpus; Plautus can give us in three lines *mea voluptas*, *mea delicia*, *mea vita*, *mea amoenitas*, / *meus ocellus*, *meum labellum*, *mea salus*, *meum savium*, / *meum mel*, *meum cor*, *mea colustra*, *meus molliculus caseus* ("my joy, my pet, my life, my delight, apple of my eye, my lips, my salvation, my kiss, my honey, my heartthrob, my crème brûlée, my little brie," *Poen.* 365–7). Restrained, naturalistic speech reveals character and advances plot in Terence; for Plautus, Caecilius, and others, language almost seems an end in itself rather than a means to an end.

Terence's language represents a preference rather than a maturation of the genre or the Latin tongue during the early decades of the second century covered by Plautus, Caecilius, and Terence. Terence chose to buck the genre's traditional linguistic style. He was a maverick. One could damn him for it, as a rival disparaged him as "thin in style and light in content" (*tenui ... oratione et scriptura levi*, *Ph.* 5), or praise him for it, as did Caesar and Cicero, who both compared him to Menander (see Introduction, this volume). Karakasis' analysis of Terence's language indicates a strong uniformity in Terentian style with one striking exception: *Eunuchus*. Karakasis repeatedly demonstrates that *Eunuchus* is far more traditional and Plautine in its language. Significantly, out of Terence's six scripts, *Eunuchus* is often described as the most Plautine in its plot and characterization. We noted above how its prologue touts the traditional stock characters and claims that Terence simply is doing what playwrights have always done. Does the content (plot and characterization) determine the form (diction)? Terence would probably say "no," for he claims that Menander's *Andria* and *Perinthia* are similar in plot, dissimilar "in language and style" (*oratione ac stilo*, *An.* 12). The successful and zany *Eunuchus* indicates that Terence was capable of writing Roman comic diction in the traditional style, of joining the genre's "dance in chains." He simply chose not to.

We should not divorce meter and music from language and style. Plays in the *palliata* were all in verse, and part of the charm of Plautus' diction is the way in which he fit words to meter. As his purported epitaph put it: "Comedy mourns, the stage is deserted, then laughter, sport, jest, and the countless variety of rhythms (*numeri innumeri*) all wept together" (Gellius, *Attic Nights*

1.24.3). Most verses were delivered with the accompaniment of the *tibia* (a reed instrument, like an oboe). Our lack of musical scores for these rhythms is an incalculable loss, as the inclusion of the musician's name in the *didascaliae* (production notices) demonstrates his importance to the total experience of the play. (On meter and music, see chapter 5, this volume.) The amounts and types of musically-accompanied verses in Plautus and Terence differ significantly, and those differences would affect the pace and emotional contours of performance. In Plautus, roughly 33 percent of a play is unaccompanied speech, the rest is delivered with musical accompaniment, of which 58 percent consists of iambic and trochaic meters, and 9 percent of more exotic meters. For Terence, the numbers are 48 percent unaccompanied, 51 percent accompanied iambic and trochaic, and a mere 30 lines (<1 percent) of exotic meters. We cannot estimate the percentages for Caecilius, though we do find exotic meters in the fragmentary quotations. The big picture suggests that Terence's plays move in a farther orbit of the tradition, but not outside it altogether, for Plautus' own range spans from the almost exclusively iambic and trochaic *Asinaria* to the dizzyingly multi-metrical *Casina*. In terms of performance, Plautus generally shifts emotional gears among spoken verse, accompanied trochees and iambs, and complex meters several times throughout a play (Marshall 2006: 203–44; Moore 2012). Terence decreases the range of emotional shifts by almost eliminating the complex meters, but his increased use of musically-accompanied iambs keeps his metrical foot on the pedal.

5 Staging and Theatricality

What would reveal to someone arriving late to the theater that a play was by Terence rather than Plautus or Caecilius? One would find the same scenic convention of a street with three doors, side entrances, and an altar in a nominally Greek neighborhood, the familiar masks and costumes for stock characters, continuous performance undivided by choral interludes and act divisions, and the *tibia* accompanying some verses (see chapter 5, this volume). Language and meters might suggest Terence to the ear, but the eyes might note the absence or attenuation of certain comic routines. Although Terence does indulge in typical comic scenes and can sacrifice dramaturgic coherence in favor of momentary comedic effects (Ludwig 1968), his comedy appears less boisterous than Plautus'.

In playing most of the traditional riffs, Terence turns down the volume. For example, scenes with a slave running to bear important news are conventional in Roman New Comedy. Terence offers them, but in less frenetic fashion than Plautus (Lowe 2009). Plautus peppers his plays with zesty slapstick, from one slave whacking another at the very start of *Mostellaria* (“‘Why’d you hit me?’ ‘Because you’re alive!’” 10–11), to slaves riding piggy-back on their master in

Asinaria (699–710), to wild scenes of feigned madness in *Menaechmi* and *Captivi*. Terence is not averse to slapstick. When adapting Menander's *Adelphoe* he replaced a simple report of carrying a girl away from her pimp with a scene in which the pimp is beaten onstage. Plautus presents raucous parties with drunken revelers, such as in *Mostellaria* or *Persa*, and in *Stichus* (713) even the musician is invited to have a drink. In Terence, the drinking occurs either the night before (*Hau.* 568) or offstage (*Eu.* 727, *Ad.*, where Syrus returns drunk at 763). The scripts indicate no lewd dancing in Terence, such as we find in at the end of Plautus' *Persa* and *Stichus*. Plautus' *Casina* shows onstage two men fondling a male slave in drag (840–54) as well as a horny old master making homoerotic overtures to his slave (452–66). Terence only gives us a report that a young man groped a woman's bosom the night before (*Hau.* 562–8), and he discretely leaves out details in reporting a girl's rape (*Eu.* 599–606). Notably, Terence does not portray any salacious old lover, a recurrent character in Plautus. Again we need to avoid establishing a spectrum with Plautus at the coarse end and Terence at the refined end, for Plautus himself probably seemed tame compared to Naevius, whose production credits include the raunchy titles *Testicularia* and *Triphallus*.

Terence's less spectacular stage is often less crowded. Whereas most Plautine plays contain mute supernumeraries such as soldiers, thugs, and courtesans, these figures appear more rarely in Terence. For example, porters accompany travelers in several plays of Plautus but only in Terence's *Hecyra* (Wright 1974: 144–9). While the exotic and colorful Carthaginian porters in *Poenulus* offer Plautus opportunity for visual and verbal tomfoolery, Terence mentions but barely notes an Ethiopian slave in *Eunuchus* (471). When Terence does portray an attack on a courtesan's house by a cohort of four slaves, one of whom is armed with a sponge (*Eu.* 771–816), the scene is Plautine in its exuberance. Most scholars believe that Roman adapters added characters to create scenes with four concurrent speakers, a practice not found in the remains of Greek New Comedy. While Plautus often adds one or two such scenes for grand effect, sometimes with even five or six speakers onstage, Terence introduces a fourth speaker unobtrusively for a few lines throughout his plays (Lowe 1997; Franko 2004). This feature, along with Terence's occasional transformation of Greek monologues into dialogues, gives his plays a more steady mass and forward momentum than those of Plautus.

Roman comedy enjoys spoofing its own conventions of staging. We noted above how Plautine characters express knowledge of their own theatricality, and fragments of Caecilius suggest that this metatheatrical awareness pervades the genre (e.g., “so today you have tricked and mocked me neatly, more than all the stupid old men in comedies,” fragment 236–7). Plautus sometimes draws attention to the unnaturalistic convention that all action takes place in the street rather than indoors, as would befit a private domestic issue: “EVT.

Let's go inside. This is not a good place; people walking down the street can learn your whole business. DEM. By Hercules, you're right. And the play will be shorter" (*Mer.* 1005–8). Terence exploits this convention without overt reference to staging. For example in *Andria*, the old man Simo thinks that a girl's cries in childbirth are contrived for him to overhear, and he asks if a slave thinks him such an idiot as to be fooled by the ploy of shouting in the street what should be whispered in the bedroom (473–7 and 490–5; cf. Hunter 1985: 77–9). Simo misconstrues events and deceives himself; the joke succeeds because his misapprehension presupposes a traditional theatrical convention.

Plautine characters call to the audience overtly with *vos* ("you") and *spectatores* ("spectators"), which is a useful clarifying device for masked actors in an outdoor theater. Occasionally they even invite the audience to join in the stage action, most famously in Euclio's monologue (*Aul.* 713–30). Terentian characters never address the audience so overtly but it would be wrong to interpret the absence of direct addresses to the audience as a move towards establishing a "fourth wall," the imaginary boundary between stage and audience. A false dichotomy has emerged, for while we celebrate the interaction of character and spectator in Plautus as a feature of his comedy, there is a notable reticence to acknowledge and embrace similar opportunities in Terence. Given that Terence wrote for the same traditional outdoor theatrical spaces, we should become more receptive to cues for characters engaging the audience. Terence, like Plautus, engages his audience with such traditional and unrealistic theatrical conventions as eavesdropping scenes, wherein a conversation freezes so that an eavesdropper can comment with only the audience hearing the remark. When modern texts and translations of Terence label remarks not heard by all characters onstage as "aside," we should resist the reflex to understand these as naturalistic whispers rather than direct comment to the audience. For example, when Chremes in *Andria* enters alone saying, "I'm back after I've made the necessary preparations for my daughter's wedding ..." (740–1), why should an audience presume that he talks to himself rather than to them? Chremes' subsequent interjections while eavesdropping ("I wonder where that's from? ... I arrived just in time! ... I was right to oppose this wedding all along," 750, 758, 766) fall flat as naturalistic asides; they generate laughter when played as misguided attempts to gain the complicity of the audience who knows that the old man is being gulled.

We should not underestimate the influence of actors in establishing Terence's conformity to the traditions of performance. Terence used the troupe of Lucius Ambivius Turpio, a leading actor of the day and formerly a player for Caecilius. Turpio, who speaks at least two of Terence's prologues, invokes his expert authority in the Roman theater to link Terence's plays with those of Caecilius. Donatus, commenting on the first entry of the parasite Phormio at line 315, preserves an anecdote that—true or not—nevertheless

demonstrates an understanding that a seasoned actor could shape the presentation of a traditional stock character:

There is a story about Terence and an inebriated Ambivius, who, when he was about to act this play, delivered the following verses of Terence while yawning and drunk and picking his ear with his little finger. When the poet heard these lines, he exclaimed that he had envisioned the parasite just that way while he was writing; and he immediately was calmed down from the rage felt when he had caught him gorged with food and drink.

The actor portrays what the author did not convey through words alone. Since Terence's script provides no obvious indication that Phormio behaved as a drunk, someone reading the page would miss what a spectator of the stage would see. Turpio's actions could impress the live audience more than Terence's words because performance shapes the spectators' reception of the script, as Terence himself acknowledges when he credits a rival's success to production rather than script (*Ph.* 9–11).

6 Perspective

Wright's 1974 study of the stylistic unity of the *palliata* declares that Terence "writes, by and large, as if the comic tradition at Rome never existed" and claims for Terence a "deliberate rejection of the tradition" (151). This needs refinement. Terence's "deliberate rejection of the tradition" is better described as a thorough understanding, thoughtful critique, and successful variation within and beyond the tradition. Terence could not have written as he did without the tradition serving as a foil or "archive" relative to which he might position his productions (McCarthy 2004: 104 suggests the term "metagenic"). It may be useful to borrow an interpretative lens from McCarthy's book on Plautus (2000), which argues that the plays of Plautus vacillate between two modes of comedy. The first mode is humane and naturalistic (but not realistic), wherein the dramatic illusion is strongly maintained and the linguistic texture is self-effacing. The plot moves forward via improbable coincidences and the invisible workings of benevolent fortune toward a resolution in which lives are permanently changed as marriages are contracted, lost children found, and forgotten identities rediscovered. The second mode is cynical and farcical, often fantastic, wherein the dramatic illusion is constantly ruptured by metatheatrical elements and the linguistic texture is flamboyantly artificial. The plot moves forward (or sideways?) via the machinations of a trickster toward a conclusion that ends almost where things started, or at least makes no significant permanent change in the lives of the characters.

Some Plautine plays may incline more toward the humane and naturalistic mode, most tend toward the cynical and farcical, but all offer a blend of modes in a kind of dialogic interaction.

If we examine the plays of Terence through this lens, we find that much of their content and presentation falls closer to the mode of humane naturalism than does the work of Plautus. Plot and characterization incline more toward the naturalistic mode, but not exclusively or beyond the bounds of tradition. In terms of plot, since Terence prefers the failed clever slave, crises are resolved more because of benevolent fortune than servile machinations, and permanent change is usually effected. Farce is present in Terence, but seldom dominant, and metatheatrical elements in his plays are less pronounced. Characterizations are fuller but still belong to recognizable stock types. Certainly Terentian language, while still delivered with musical accompaniment, is far more naturalistic than the language of other representatives of the tradition, and in this aspect he is clearly the outlier.

Peering through McCarthy's lens reveals much and provides a useful beginning, so long as we avoid the distortion of charting Roman New Comedy on an exclusively two-dimensional spectrum between two polar modes. If we examine the scripts from multiple vantage points, we may appreciate how, on one axis, Terence's deceptive plots against a slave dealer are close to those of Plautus, but on another axis, the construction of those plots by free persons rather than clever slaves represents a gulf between the two authors. Terentian and Plautine staging (masks, costumes, settings etc.) may appear nearly identical, but meter and diction fill the stage with different rhythms and sounds. Terentian characters orbit the tradition's stock types sometimes closely, sometimes not, but always derive their peculiar energy from their interplay with the genre's gravitational pull.

We may end this assessment with an anecdote about Terence reading his script of *Andria* to Caecilius during dinner (see Introduction, this volume). Initially, Caecilius denies him a space at the table; after a few verses, he invites Terence to join him; finally he approves the whole script. The story is probably untrue—traditional chronologies say that Caecilius had already died before *Andria* was in production—but whether fiction or not, the episode persisted in antiquity as a credible allegory for the passing of the *palliata*'s torch from one generation to the next. It was not Luscius at that little dinner party, but Terence to whom the great Caecilius gave a place at the table and the genre's imprimatur.

FURTHER READING

Manuwald (2011) provides a comprehensive and judicious overview of Roman republican theater. Studies of Roman New Comedy as live drama tend to concentrate on Plautus. Marshall's (2006) study of performance supersedes the works of Beare

(1964), Beacham (1991), and Wiles (1991). Garton's (1972) overly speculative portrait of Luscius Lanuvius still illuminates quarrels about the aesthetics of Roman adaptation. The German "Freiburg School" emphasizes improvisation and Roman originality in Plautus, with volumes dedicated both to broader topics (Benz, Stärk, and Vogt-Spira 1995; Lefèvre, Stärk, and Vogt-Spira 1991) and to several individual plays. Historical and philological studies treat the authors more evenly. Gruen's (1990, 1992) and Leigh's (2004) historicist readings demonstrate the plays' muted topicality. Dutsch (2008) illustrates some fundamental verbal similarities and differences from Plautus. Raffaelli and Tontini (1998–present) publish proceedings of annual Italian symposia, each devoted to a play of Plautus, from *Amphitruo* (1998) to *Persa* (2011).

CHAPTER THREE

Terence and Non-Comic Intertexts

Alison Sharrock

Terence, “the poet,” as he regularly called himself in his prologues, was an important aesthetic predecessor of Catullus and the Augustans. His position in the history of literature should not be defined purely as the afterthought of “Plautus and ...,” as a medium through which we might make contact with the much-desired spirit of Menander, or even as the school text which he so quickly became (useful and significant as all these positions may be). His poetry was immersed in the burgeoning intellectual and artistic hothouse that was mid-second century BCE Rome. Our full appreciation of the extent of Terence’s relationship with other literature is hampered by the loss of so much early, mid-, and even late Republican (as well as Hellenistic) literature. But from the scraps we can gather it is becoming clear that Terence’s work was as self-consciously intertextual as that of the later poets, the recent study of whom has been so powerfully enhanced by increasing understanding of the relationship between texts.

1 Poetics

Terence’s famous prologues are now widely accepted as sites of sophisticated literary polemic and playfulness, rather than embarrassing public washing of dirty linen (see Gowers 2004; Sharrock 2009; and chapter 12, this volume). It is in the prologues, in particular, that Terence is explicit about his role as a

literary artist writing in a tradition: that tradition is constituted not only by his complicated relationship with “Greek originals” and with the earlier generation of Roman comedians, but also by a wider network of programmatic openings to works of literature. It is important to recognize also that the public airing of literary quarrels itself gains authenticity from a tradition in which the character of the literary enemy, even when based on a real person, is constructed for the purposes of self-presentation and the development of programmatic statements. Aristophanes did it, especially in his parabases (and, perhaps, in the reality of the Athenian law courts); Archilochus did it with Lycambes; Hipponax, with Bupalus (see West 1974: 26–7). Such contrived poetological quarrelling does not belong only to the aggressive comic and iambic tradition, however, for this is also what Callimachus did in the programmatic opening to his *Actia*, which was to become overwhelmingly important as an aesthetic mascot for Roman poetry. (It was Richard Hunter, as far as I am aware, who first suggested a connection between Terence’s prologues and the opening of the *Actia* (Hunter 1985: 32). See also Sharrock 2009: 78–83 and Taliercio 1988: 54.)

It is the first of Terence’s prologues which most clearly shows allusion to Callimachus. The Hellenistic poet had begun his *magnum opus* with an account of how certain malevolent old men had objected to his writing because it did not do what they thought it ought to do (“because I did not write one continuous song of many thousands of lines on kings and heroes,” *Actia* 1.fr. 1.3–5 Pfeiffer, from whom all quotations of Callimachus are taken). He also recounted how, when he first began to write, a powerful authority intruded and set him on the right poetic path. This was the god Apollo, who told Callimachus to “feed the victim fat, but keep the Muse slender” (*Actia* 1.fr. 1.23–4). Terence, in the prologue to *Andria*, produces a clever and generically appropriate variation on Callimachus’ tactics. The role of the Telchines, Callimachus’ malevolent old men, is taken by that *malevolus vetus poeta* (“malign old poet,” cf. *An.* 6–7, where Barsby translates the phrase “malicious old playwright”), Luscius Lanuvinus (according to Donatus). A version of the malign critic occurs in one form or another in all the prologues, almost like an old friend, sometimes in the singular as the mascot enemy and sometimes in the plural as a closer link to the Telchines (for whom the scholia also supply names of contemporary poets; details of this are at Sharrock 2009: 81). But the setting for the first interchange between Terence and his critic alludes also to the initiatory scene with the god Apollo. It was when Terence first began to write that he started out with a certain attitude of mind which he was forced to change because of the intrusion (contrary to simplistic realism) of a hostile critic. Terence’s opening line may be deliberately recalling the arrival of Apollo, in the marked first word *poeta*, with which we should compare Apollo’s address to Callimachus as ἀοιδέ (*Actia* 1.fr. 1.23), and in the designation of his action

as being *ad scribendum* (“for writing,” *An.* 1), with which, in its emphasis on the physical process, we should compare Callimachus’ account of himself first putting his writing tablet (δέλτον, *Actia* 1.fr. 1.21) on his knees when Apollo arrived. It is as a result of the old poet’s intervention that Terence “has” to spend his prologues “defending himself,” rather than providing exposition—thus enabling a significant and original development both in the self-presentation of the comic writer as a literary artist and also in the techniques of dramatic suspense. Because Terence’s prologues are concerned with literary polemic and poetic program, the nature of his narrative presentation in dramatic art is fundamentally original. In fact, Terence is here playing a game which, in what will become the best traditions of Roman poetry, involves a mixture of tradition and originality (Sharrock 2009: 68–75). That Terence takes his direction not positively from the god of poetry but negatively from his enemy is in keeping with the generic concerns of comedy and thus constitutes a comic variation on the convention of the redirecting god, as well as a prime example of the straw-man mode of poetic program.

Although the substance of the arguments with which Terence is engaged in his prologues is presented as particular to Roman comedy, they also include universal problems in poetics, such as that of originality and intertextuality (as Terence faux-naively says, nothing is said which has not been said before, *Eu.* 41), of plagiarism, collaboration, authenticity, generic appropriateness, the relationship between the diligence and creativity, and the aesthetics of style. While Callimachus cannot claim exclusive authority on these matters, it does seem possible that Terence is couching at least parts of his arguments in terms of specifically Callimachean explorations of aesthetic problems. In the prologue to *Phormio*, the *vetus poeta* has apparently made negative observations on the poet’s style in his previous works, which are presented as having been written *tenui ... oratione et scriptura levi* (“thin in style and light in content,” 5; see also chapter 2, this volume). The adjectives used here could not be closer to the Callimachean buzzwords of Augustan poetics. The reported accusation continues, moreover, with the statement of what, in the view of the critic, the poet did not do and should have done (cf. *Actia* 1.fr. 1.3–5):

quia nusquam insanum scripsit adulescentulum
cervam videre fugere et sectari canes
et eam plorare, orare ut subveniat sibi. (*Ph.* 6–8)

[J]ust because he has nowhere portrayed a lovesick youth who sees a hind in flight with hounds in pursuit, begging and beseeching him to come to its aid.

Terence must be parodying something here, perhaps a scene of madness in a recent play of Luscius Lanuvinus himself, perhaps of a tragedy either Greek

or Roman, since the crazy kid sounds like a comic version of Orestes, while the deer reminds us of Iphigenia, and the dogs of the Furies (for details, see Sharrock 2009: 81–2). Whether his object is tragedy or bad comedy, Terence is using the scene to make a statement about his own careful and refined style and, for all his developments in the genre, his strong sense of generic appropriateness. This is a highly Callimachean poetics. If it is right, as Thomas (1979) has argued, that Callimachus included drama among the poetic modes which he regarded as aesthetically undesirable, Terence's appropriation of his polemic in support of a dramatic form would take on a nice irony of the type that will be developed into a new art form by Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

The Callimachean program is a statement of an aesthetic choice for conscious artistry, for comedy over tragedy, and even for the restrained style over the flamboyance of Plautus. This last claim holds, I suggest, even though Plautus is his constant and overwhelming intertext and for all that Terence's comedy is more lively than it is sometimes credited with being, as the poet reminds us through the voice of Ambivius Turpio (*Hau.* 43–5), and by his hints about the rough-and-tumble soldier-and-parasite scene in the *Eunuchus* prologue. Awareness of the poetological role of Callimachus for Terence can additionally help to make sense also of the Hellenistic poet's presence in Lucretian poetics, for we need no longer think of "Callimacheanism" as an invention or a fetish of the neoterics, made *de rigueur* by the Augustans, but rather as a tradition in Roman poetry going back at least to the mid-second century BCE.

2 Tragedy

Comedy in the Graeco-Roman tradition plays an ongoing game with its respectable older sister in the dramatic medium, tragedy. For Aristophanes and Plautus, the dominant mode of interaction is parodic, but for Menander and Terence, although parody certainly has a role to play, there is an intertextual relationship of a more organic and integral nature. It has long been recognized that Menandrian drama derives as much (if not more) from the innovations in the tragic genre made especially by (or especially visible to us through) Euripides as it does from late Aristophanes; when Terence sets out to write a Roman comedy which "corrects" the dominant mode of Republican comedy (Wright 1974) by means of a more restrained and, in some sense, more Menandrian style, he also adopts a stance which draws on tragedy for serious tone as well as for parody (on tragedy, see also chapter 23, this volume).

Chaerea, the younger brother in Terence's *Eunuchus*, is a rather unusual comic *adulescens* in the extent of his drive and dynamism in pursuit of his erotic goals, not to mention the magnificent absurdity of his love at first sight for a girl he sees being led through the streets. (His behavior should, at least in part,

be viewed symbolically rather than realistically: see Sharrock 2009 and James 1998b.) After plotting with the slave Parmeno to be dressed up as a eunuch slave and introduced into the courtesan's house where his beloved has been taken, Chaerea (by his own account) is inspired to take matters into his own hands and simply rape the girl while the others slaves are bathing. His inspiration for this act comes from the sight of a picture on the wall of the room where he is supposed to be fanning the girl, a picture which depicts the impregnation of Danae by Jupiter in the form of a shower of gold. What is right for Jupiter must be right for him, proclaims the young man, since this is the god *qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit* ("who shakes the lofty vaults of heaven with his thunder," 590). Terence and Chaerea are here probably quoting a line of the Roman tragic poet Ennius, possibly with an allusion to Naevius' *Danae* for good measure (see Jocelyn 1967: 137). This is a case of parody, made doubly amusing by the way in which Chaerea stands over the edge of the dramatic illusion in that the character himself, rather than just the poet, seems to be making the reference to the Roman tragedy. The Ennian line also nicely characterizes the young man's self-image, as he plays himself into the role of a god who can get away with anything—as indeed the plot allows him, when his beloved is recognized as a citizen and his outrageous rape becomes a proper marriage (on this scene, see also chapters 9 and 14, this volume).

Nor is Chaerea's parodic quotation of tragedy just a flash in the pan. To give just one other example, when in Terence's final play, *Adelphoe*, the harsh father Demea finally realizes the truth about the young men's erotic adventures, he launches by way of tragic rhetorical questions into a parody of tragic exclamation:

ei mihi! quid faciam? quid agam? quid clamem aut querar?
o caelum, o terra, o maria Neptuni! (*Ad.* 789–90)

Oh dear! What am I to do? How am I to act? What cry or lamentation can I utter? Oh heaven, oh earth, oh seas of Neptune's realm!

The lines above are as in Barsby, who does not print quotation marks around line 790, unlike Kauer and Lindsay (in the OCT). Although the line has not been identified as a specific quotation, both its content and form have clear parallels (for example, the ascending tricolon with repeated "o" in Ennius' *Andromacha* fr. 27 Jocelyn, frequent reference to and invocation of the natural world, such as Ennius' *Medea* fr. 90 Jocelyn, *quique tuo lumine mare terram caelum contines*, "and you who hold sea, land and sky in your light"). I am inclined toward reading the line as quotation, which greater knowledge of Republican tragedy would allow us to identify, or perhaps as the kind of thing that sounds as though it ought to be a quotation. There is, then, a

double level of parody going on here, in that Demea's rhetorical questions imply tragic aporia, which is followed by what is probably a quotation from a recent tragedy. It almost seems as though his quotation is an unexpected answer to his initial questions—"What shall I do? I'd better quote tragedy!".

But simple allusion through short phrases is not the only form of interaction between comedy and tragedy. As I have suggested elsewhere (Sharrock 2009), there is a more significant and integral tragic allusion in the scene in the *Eunuchus* in which Chaerea is persuaded by Parmeno to dress up as the eunuch slave, who has been promised as a gift for the courtesan whose house is the center of the action, and so to infiltrate the site of his desire. I suggested that this shows a structural relation with the very well-known scene in Euripides' *Bacchae* where Dionysus persuades Pentheus to dress up as a woman in order to infiltrate the Bacchic rites in which his mother and the other women of Thebes are engaged (for details see Sharrock 2009: 211–16). The allusion here is not a matter of parody, but rather it is a case of the playwright drawing on the transgressive eroticism of the Euripides scene, its ritual nature, and its characterization of the immature sexuality of the young man, in order to enhance those elements in the rest of the play. The crucial difference, which is thrown into relief by the comparison, is in the outcome: Pentheus returns to childhood and dies in his mother's arms, whereas comic Chaerea achieves adult manhood, marriage, and fatherhood.

Another example of the structural contribution of tragic intertexts comes in that most difficult of Terence's plays, *Hecyra*. As with *Eunuchus*, so also here we have a case of a young man who gets away with raping a citizen and is rewarded with full entry into adult society by means of legitimate fatherhood (James 1998b). The background to the story is this: a young man is involved with a prostitute but is nagged and pushed by his father into marrying a citizen daughter of the family next door. At first, Pamphilus ("all lover") did not sleep with his wife but continued to visit his former lover, while attempting to turn his wife against him by unreasonable behavior. The young husband gradually turned his affection in the socially approved direction, and the marriage was consummated several months after its beginning. When he returns from business, he discovers his wife about to give birth to a child which he "knows" cannot be his, because of the delayed consummation. What he has conveniently forgotten is that not long before his marriage he casually raped a girl in the street, while on his way to visit his prostitute girlfriend. By the magic of comic coincidence, it turns out that his victim was in fact his future wife, which means that the child she was carrying is not a bastard interloper but the proper scion of the two houses and an inheritor of citizen status (for further details of the plot, see chapter 16, this volume). What is remarkable about this play is the extent to which we as the audience are left not knowing the underlying truths of the plot. For the first time in ancient drama, we are told nothing in

advance of these crucial plot elements, neither by a privileged prologue speaker nor from our common knowledge of myth, nor even by reliable expository conversations in early scenes. The position of the audience, placed for the first time in this state of unknowing, is almost as distressing and disorientating as that of the poor victim herself. Such a nightmarish scenario holds on to its comic credentials only by the skin of its teeth. (On this, see further Sharrock 2009: 233–49.)

It is often remarked that *Epitrepontes*, the Menandrian play which shows the greatest affinities among extant plays with *Hecyra*, although not being its formal “Greek original,” is itself related to the lost Euripides plays *Auge* and *Alope*, while Euripides’ extant *Ion* is also an important ancestor of the plot type in which an earlier rape produces a child whose (citizen, aristocratic) identity must be recognized if society and family are to regain their proper balance. The bride Philumena’s return to her natal family is a move away from comedy, with its structures of society-building interaction between families, and into tragedy, with its self-destructive, quasi-incestuous families. (Cf. Seaford 1990 who also refers to “those tragedies on myths in which a girl’s natal family reasserts its control over her by imprisonment after her sexual union (usually with a god): Sophokles’ *Tyro*, Euripides’ *Alope*, *Antiope*, *Auge*, *Melanippe the Wise*, and *Melanippe the Prisoner*” (81).) Although Philumena’s parents are not holding her captive (her father is trying to make her return to her marital home, while her mother, the only other person who knows the truth, is trying to protect her as she gives birth), they are nonetheless trying to assert control over her in a way that will be destructive of all concerned unless the comic magic of coincidence saves the day.

When Bacchis goes into the house to assure Philumena and her mother Myrrina that she no longer receives Pamphilus as a lover, she is wearing the ring given to her by Pamphilus after he had stolen it from the victim of his wild night-time escapade just before his marriage. Myrrina recognizes it as belonging to her daughter: it is so short a step from there to the unraveling of the mystery, the identification of the rapist, and the reintegration of the young family, that we do not even need to be told. Lucky Pamphilus, although he has done nothing to deserve it, is told of his good fortune by a cryptic message from Bacchis via Parmeno, to the effect that his mother-in-law has recognized the ring which he gave to her (to Bacchis, that is: 845–6), which secretly conveys the information that Pamphilus himself is the father of his wife’s baby.

Another tragic aspect of this play is the way in which everyone in it behaves “well,” in the sense that they behave plausibly within the constraints of their knowledge and of society’s norms, but the net effect is—or would be without the comic magic of the ring—disastrous. With that talismanic role of the ring in bringing about comic catharsis (if we may so designate it), it may be appropriate to compare the tragic role of talismanic material items, not just for

the revelation of identity (in which they are the direct ancestors of the comic), but also for the production of the tragic lysis. In Ennius' *Alcmeo*, for example, the necklace which moves through the generations of the tragic family plays a similar hyper-symbolic role as does a ring in Roman comedy, but one directed towards tragic rather than comic outcomes. (On *Alcmeo*, including the role of the necklace, see Jocelyn 1967: 184–202; on the theatrical power of quasi-talismanic items, see Sharrock 2008.)

In addition to the general tragic atmosphere in the play, I suggest that elements in it, especially in the resolution scene, point to a subtle allusion to another play of Euripides, one which is as unusual within the Euripidean corpus as the *Hecyra* is within the Terentian—the *Alcestis*. King Admetus has been enabled by the god Apollo to escape death if he can find another to die in his place. His parents refuse, but his wife, the eponymous Alcestis, is willing to die for her husband. The play opens on the appointed day of her death. As the funeral is about to take place, the hero Heracles, an old friend of Admetus, arrives seeking hospitality on his way to perform another of his labors. Admetus receives him but will not disclose the nature of his grief. After having made a bit of a fool of himself by playing out his rambunctious comic role of eating and drinking, Heracles discovers the truth about the death of Alcestis and determines to wrestle Death in order to restore her to her husband. This he does, and beyond all hope the play ends, at least on the surface, in joy.

The closest moment of connection between the two plays is the moment of resolution, when each play's ill-deserving romantic hero meets the benefactor who has restored his wife to him. In *Hecyra*, Pamphilus first cryptically thanks Parmeno for the message about the ring, saying that he has brought him back from the dead, and then there is a delicately presented scene in which he effusively greets Bacchis as his savior. No details are given in either case, since, as Pamphilus says (867–8), those who need to know do know, and others don't need to know. But it is the mention of a return from Orcus, place of the dead, which points to the link with *Alcestis*:

egon qui ab Orco mortuom me reducem in lucem feceris
sinam sine munere a me abire? ah, nimium me ignavom putas. (*Hec.* 852–3)

I was dead and you brought me back from hell into the light of day. Can I let you go off after that without a reward? Oh, you must think I'm a despicable wretch!

Very similar is the moment when Heracles reveals the identity of the woman whose hand he has placed in that of Admetus:

σὺ γάρ δὴ τὰμ' ἀνώρθωσας μόνος.
πῶς τήνδ' ἔπεμψας νέρθεν ἐς φάος τόδε; (*Eur. Alc.* 1138–9)

But you alone already have raised me up. How did you send her up from below to this light?

Not only is there a connection between literal and metaphorical raising from the dead, but also there is specific connection in the wording of returning to life, while Pamphilus' expression alludes also to gratitude and generosity, major themes of the *Alcestis*.

It will be possible for the astute audience member or reader (and the work of Terence seems designed for the future reading audience, which it indeed received, as well as the theater) to see extensive, if understated, connections between the characters of the two plays. Each young husband loses a wife because he allows her to sacrifice herself, knowingly in the case of Alcestis, unknowingly and indeed without option for Philumena; each has his beloved returned to him not through any great act of his own but through the good offices of a larger-than-life character (Heracles, Bacchis); and each has living parents who are also involved in the turmoil. I would tentatively suggest that we can see a parallel, by means of comic inversion, between Pamphilus' mother Sostrata's offering to go and live in the countryside with her husband, in order to leave room for the young couple and enable them to live happily together, and the refusal of the parents of Admetus to die in his place. The mother of Pamphilus makes explicit mention of her old age as a justification for the proposed course of action, while the father of Admetus denies the relevance of precisely the same characteristic in justification for the sacrificial action which it is implicitly proposed he ought to take for the sake of his son and the son's wife:

haec mihi nunc curast maxuma ut ne quoi mea
longinquitas aetatis obstet mortemve exspectet meam. (*Hec.* 595–6)

My chief concern now is not to be a nuisance to anybody in my old age or have people looking forward to my death.

Contrast the interchange between Admetus and Pheres:

Αδ. ταὐτὸν γὰρ ἡβῶντ' ἄνδρα καὶ πρέσβυν θανεῖν;
Φε. ψυχῇ μιᾷ ζῆν, οὐ δυοῖν, ὀφείλομεν.
Αδ. καὶ μὴν Διὸς γε μείζονα ζῶης χρόνον.
Φε. ἀρᾷ γονεῦσιν οὐδὲν ἔκδικον παθῶν;
Αδ. μακροῦ βίου γὰρ ἡσθόμην ἐρῶντά σε. (*Eur. Alc.* 711–15)

ADMETUS: It is the same then to die an old man and in the flower of life?
PHERES: We should live one life, not two.
PDMETUS: May you live longer than Zeus!

PHERES: Do you curse your parents when they have done you no wrong?

ADMETUS: For I see you are in love with long life.

It is worth noting that both plays are unusual within their own genres. *Alcestis*, which was probably presented in the slot normally filled by a satyr play, pushes the boundaries of genre so far as to have Heracles playing something of his comic role, although also maintaining his heroic status, while the second half of the play is such that some critics find it hard to call it a tragedy, although in other ways it pulls the heartstrings as much as the most tragic of plays—the more so because its emotive themes are not just sad but also reflect on the complexities of the human condition. As Segal (1993: 40) says: “[i]f, as many believe, *Alcestis* did replace the satyr play, Euripides not only combines and confuses comic and tragic moods but also makes this combination the central issue in his play by focusing on the defeat of death’s ‘necessity’.” *Hecyra*, likewise, although it tosses around comic characters and motifs as if it were just another variant on the winning formula, pushes to extremes the idea that such material can make a comedy, offering something rather closer to a nightmare.

3 Love Poetry

An important article by David Konstan (1986) argued that we should see in Terence, particularly *Eunuchus*, a crucial forerunner of the subjective romantic poetry which was to flourish through Catullus and the Augustans. It is generally accepted that to some extent the world of Roman comedy functions as an ancestor of Augustan elegy in the creation of the “demi-monde” society which it is deemed to depict, but the argument of Konstan is based not so much on socio-politics but on the expression of personal romantic love in a manner and to an extent which may well be new with Terence, rather than being new with Catullus. Building on this insight, I have argued (Sharrock 2009: 226–32) that Terence is making use of a personal erotic discourse which goes back to the archaic Greek lyric of Sappho: this argument is intended not to push the origins of emotional subjectivity and romantic love further back in time, but rather to analyze the mechanisms by which Terence develops his romantic discourse, which I suggest is by means of a highly literary intertextuality. (On this subject, Barthes 1978 is essential reading.) Specifically, I suggested that the older brother Phaedria’s expression of his love for Thais is closely connected with famous expressions of Sappho’s erotic distress from the well-known fragment 31, both directly and in the close affinities which it shares with the self-consciously derivative Catullus 51. (On Catullus’ connections with Phaedria’s predicament, see also Barsby 1999a: 96 and Barsby 1999b: 7–10.) To give just one example of the mechanism here, Phaedria’s description of the effect that the sight of his beloved has on him is highly reminiscent of Sappho’s feelings in a similar situation:

totus, Parmeno,
tremo horreoque, postquam aspexi hanc. (*Eu.* 83–4)

I'm trembling and shivering all over, Parmeno, at the sight of her.

ὥς γὰρ <ἔς> σ' ἴδω βρόχε' (Sappho fr. 31.7 Voigt)

When I see you even a little ...

and:

τρόμος δὲ
παῖσάν ἄγρει ... (Sappho, fr. 31.13–14 Voigt)

Trembling overtakes me all over.

Both lovers express the effects on themselves caused specifically by the sight of their beloved; in each case their feelings are manifested in psychosomatic symptoms of trembling; both experience a loss of control because of the strength of their emotion. Phaedria here sounds more like an introspective, sensitive, lyric lover rather than the useless and self-indulgent *adulescens amans et egens* of comedy.

A proper understanding of Terence's intertextual range is severely hampered by the loss of so much archaic Latin literature. Such fragments as we have, however, suggest that there might be a far more interesting and complex web of interaction to be discovered if only we had more texts. A group of poets from the generation immediately after Terence (see Courtney 1993: 70–92) wrote poetry which shows the influence of Greek erotic epigram, thus constituting the beginning of one strand in the make-up of Latin love elegy. It would be wrong, however, to see this work as representing a decisive shift from what went before in Latin poetry: the first fragment of Valerius Aedituus is, as Courtney says (72), “strongly reminiscent of Sappho fr. 31,” the very poem which I have already argued is crucial for Terence's development of erotic subjectivity. Like Terence, Valerius Aedituus employs the loss of speech, the spreading of symptoms over the body, and the close association between the beloved and the lover's reactions. It is interesting to note the name which Valerius gives to his beloved: Pamphila. It is a suitable appellation, whether real name or pseudonym, given its Greek derivation from “all loving,” but it is hard not to see it as a specific reference to the world of Terence's love comedy. *Andria* and *Hecyra* each have a Pamphilus as a love hero, while *Eunuchus*, *Phormio*, and *Adelphoe* all have a beloved Pamphila. Although the name might seem to imply a prostitute, in fact in each of the female cases its holder is or turns out to be a marriageable citizen and therefore a lover not of all but only

of one. For what it is worth, both male Pamphili are not promiscuous lovers of prostitutes but faithful, if weak, lovers of “respectable” and therefore monogamous women.

I stress the point about the name and its distance from Greek prostitution in order to suggest that Valerius is drawing not only on Greek epigram but also on the romantic discourse of Terence (and perhaps other Latin poets of the latter’s generation about whom we know less or nothing). Some of the most engaging expressions of Terentian love are directed toward marriage, while the non-citizen (therefore non-marriage) relationships such as that between Phaedria and Thais are remarkably little different in their expression from the marriage-based loves. Many Terentian plays have a double plot in which there is a balance between the two strands, based around love of citizen and love of prostitute, respectively. Indeed, this is straightforwardly the case in four of the six plays, while the remaining two each have an element of dualism in which there is a contribution from different types of social relationship. *Hecyra* has two love stories, one between a citizen man and a citizen woman and another between a citizen man and non-citizen prostitute, but the oddity is that the man is one and the same, while the relationships are sequential rather than simultaneous; there is a further duality in that throughout most of the play it is thought that the citizen wife has (through no fault of her own, but this makes no difference) two separate lovers, whereas they turn out happily to be the same man. The main interest in *Phormio* is the lovers who are already married at the opening of the play (as also in *Hecyra*), but duality is produced in the older generation, in an unusual case of outright (non-prostitute) adultery, or perhaps bigamy, in that the uncle of the romantic lead turns out to be the father of his young bride, by an illicit second wife. My point here is that the distinction between love of citizen and love of prostitute is felt more within Terence’s comedy as a structuring device of the plot than as a construction of opposition. It creates a remarkably forward-looking romantic and subjective discourse, which makes an important contribution to the tradition of Roman poetry. If we use the role of Terence and his relationship with the next generation of Latin poets as a sign of the development of Latin love poetry before the late Republican period, it helps to make better sense also of those Lucretian parodies of a remarkably elegiac-looking kind of poetry, which seem to be drawing (negatively) on a well-established tradition apparently older than his younger contemporary Catullus.

4 Philosophy and Didactic

There is a long tradition of moralizing, ethical, and even philosophical readings of the comedies of Terence. This is in part because such readings of Menander (friend, so we hear, of Theophrastus, the successor of Aristotle) are

prevalent, and sadly much reading of Terence has been vicarious attempts at reading Menander; in part also, it is because of the strand in ancient thought which gave moral acceptability to comedy only through its potential didactic effects. Although this may not be a popular approach to comedy today, it remains important to an understanding of the place of Terence within a wider literary and cultural background to see the extent to which his work drew on philosophical and didactic ideas which had, to a greater or lesser extent, percolated into the consciousness of educated Romans. (See Fantham 1972 on the percolation of moralizing expressions into educated Roman culture, and on passages of Terence which show affinities with philosophers of such stature as Plato. She is more inclined than I would be to assign all such philosophical allusions to Terence's "Greek original," rather than to his own reading of central texts of Greek philosophy, either in full or epitomized form.)

It is certainly necessary to exercise caution in applying an ethical reading to Terence. As Hunter (1985) shows, in his chapter on the didactic element in New Comedy, apparently philosophical aphorisms expressed by characters within plays may look (somewhat) profound if taken out of context, but within their own context may be of more interest as characterizing the speaker as a moralizing busybody. Such is the case for the famous line of Chremes, *homo sum; humani nil a me alienum puto* ("I'm human, and I regard no human business as other people's" or, less charitably, "not to be my business," *Hau.* 77), where the apparently universalizing humanitarian sentiment acts as an excuse for one neighbor to give advice to another on how best to bring up children. Extraction from context is precisely what a certain kind of ancient critic did to such little gems from comic texts, thus potentially giving them a degree of philosophical seriousness which is belied by the play as a whole, especially in performance.

Despite the fact that we expect the speaker of moral maxims in comedy to be a bombastic fool who will get his comeuppance, nonetheless it is hard to avoid the conviction that the plays of Terence do indeed contain philosophical elements which are based as much in contemporary ethical debate as they are in comic tradition. It is in his final play, *Adelphoe*, that this ethical discourse is most visible. The love plots which structure the play are of relatively little interest, by comparison with the social and familial relations and the philosophical dilemmas which constitute its driving force. A young man, Aeschinus, has raped a poor citizen girl who is now pregnant; he intends to marry her, but cannot pluck up the courage to speak to his father about the matter. His brother, Ctesipho, is in love with a slave/music girl/prostitute, who is acquired for him by dynamic, if illegal, action on the part of Aeschinus (see Traill's analysis, chapter 17, this volume). There are two brothers in each generation, with each of the older generation being the father of one in the younger generation, because Aeschinus was adopted by his uncle Micio. Unlike in several

of the plays of Terence (in my opinion, all the rest), neither love story holds the interest of the audience, but rather the driving force of the play is the relationship between the older set of brothers and their educational philosophies. The play has elicited a great deal of discussion, because of the nasty trick that Terence plays on an audience which thinks it understands how it is meant to sympathize: after we have spent almost the entire play identifying with the “nice” old man, Micio the adoptive father, in the closing stages his position is undermined by a trick perpetrated by the “angry” old man, Demea, the natural father of both and social father of the music girl-lover.

The play certainly has room for parody of the moralizer and, to that extent, of philosophical discourse. Its funniest scene, in my opinion, is that in which Micio’s slave Syrus teases Demea with a false story of Ctesipho’s righteous anger at the behavior of Aeschinus in stealing the music girl (she is, in fact, for Ctesipho himself). Demea falls for the trick and is drawn on to expound his, clearly highly successful, educational process to the slave, culminating in the philosophical commonplace of looking in the mirror as a metaphor for moral introspection (*Ad.* 414–17). Syrus responds by mimicking Demea’s educational theory as his own theory for instructing fellow slaves in the art of the preparation and cooking of fish, matching the old man’s instructions point for point and culminating in the instruction: *postremo tamquam in speculum in patinas, Demea,/ inspicere iubeo ...* (“Above all I tell them to look into the saucepans as if into a mirror, Demea ...,” *Ad.* 428–9). Syrus is joking, but Terence’s joke may also be on the didactic tradition, which includes both serious and satirical works on types of animals and on food, not least, perhaps, in the humorous Ennian poem about the best food to be found in different Italian cities (*Hedyphagetica*). A scene such as this might encourage us to discount the issue of education and the ethical theories which both old men propose during the play, as might the topsy-turvy ending (on which see Sharrock 2009: 277 and the bibliography listed there in footnote 55).

But the ending in farce, as many critics believe, does not simply wipe out the rest of the play, nor does a dig at pomposity mean that all serious issues are so much froth. The opposition between “nice” *lepidus* Micio and “nasty” *iratus* Demea, opposing roles in the comic economy, which I played into above, does not really hold. Both old men are working toward the same outcome, which is the molding of their sons into good and happy members of society. They disagree about the means, not the end. Should one attempt to control children by strict rules or by freedom and trust? Questions of perennial importance are seriously debated in this comedy. The educational theories which each father expounds would both find support among thinking members of the audience (recent critics are inclined to the view that Demea’s is the one which the Roman elite would prefer: see especially Leigh 2004: chapter 5). Each approach, moreover, can find some authority from the philosophical

tradition in the ethical works of Aristotle (see Lord 1977). Whether or not Terence personally read the works of Aristotle (by no means impossible), it does seem likely that his work is consciously fashioned as part of an ethical debate of real significance to his audience. The play cannot and does not resolve these issues, but it can show that the lack of easy answers is not a reason not to try.

5 Rhetoric

As other essays in this volume show (see chapters 19, 20, 21 and 22), Terence came to have an enormous influence on writers and speakers in the Classical Latin tradition and beyond, in part because of his quickly acquired status as a school text and especially because of the enthusiasm with which that paradigmatic figure of Latin prose, Cicero, adopted this unlikely literary ancestor. It is worth remembering, however, that the process of interaction between Terence and oratory is not a one-way street: not only did Terentian comedy play a powerful role in Ciceronian and other rhetoric, but older contemporary rhetoric also played a significant role in Terentian comedy. Whether the latter is the direct cause of the former must be a matter for uncertainty, but what is clear is that as soon as Terence put his writing tablet on his knees he was already self-consciously constructing his literary persona in relation to oratory. He may claim that he sought only popular entertainment, but he contrives a situation in which he had to wrench the comic prologue out of its traditional role into the production of a judicial defense:

poeta quom primum animum ad scribendum appulit,
id sibi negoti credidit solum dari,
populo ut placerent quas fecisset fabulas.
verum aliter evenire multo intellegit.
nam in prologis scribundis operam abutitur,
non qui argumentum narret sed qui malevoli
veteris poetae maledictis respondeat. (*An.* 1–7)

When the playwright first turned his mind to writing, he believed that his only problem was to ensure that the plays he had created would win the approval of the public. He now realizes that the reality is quite different. He is wasting his time writing prologues, not to explain the plot but to respond to the slanders of a malicious old playwright.

By the time of the second prologue, the prologue speaker is explicit about his status as an orator:

oratorem esse voluit me, non prologum.
 vostrum iudicium fecit, me actorem dedit,
 si hic actor tantum poterit a facundia
 quantum ille potuit cogitare commode
 qui orationem hanc scripsit quam dicturus sum. (*Hau.* 11–15)

The playwright wanted me as an advocate, not as a prologue speaker. He has turned this into a court, with me to act on his behalf. I only hope that the eloquence of the actor can do justice to the aptness of the arguments which the writer of this speech has contrived to put together.

And so it continues in the other prologues, especially that of *Hecyra*, where the second prologue begins *orator ad vos venio ornatu prologi* (“I come to you as an advocate in the guise of a prologue,” *Hec.* 9), and we even hear multiple stages in the debate by means of the two prologues. As has been recognized by several critics, Terence’s rhetorical strategies in the prologues are intertextually connected with contemporary oratory (see especially Goldberg 1983 and Leigh 2004: 326–7). Most people agree that there has been some two-way traffic between the comic poet and the great contemporary politician and (complicated) defender of Roman identity, Cato. (See Leeman 1963, Bloomer 1997: 18–22; the latter is useful also in showing the debt of another genre, the fables of Phaedrus, to Terence, especially 102, 233, 239.) The prologue of Cato’s didactic work *De agri cultura* displays, like the prologues of Terence’s comedies, a pose of judicial oratory in a style different from that of the rest of the work. If Leeman is correct that *De agri cultura* is a late work of Cato’s, then it is possible that this artistic device is something which the Roman politician has learnt from the foreign poet, rather than the other way round.

While Terence also has a poetological purpose in his prologues (as discussed above), together with a dramatic purpose in removing the opportunity for comfortable viewing which is created by the traditional expository prologue, the effect of his styling his prologues as court speeches is to bring his “comedy in Greek dress” into the heart of Rome. Not only does the content of the prologues explore issues of translation, originality, and transculturation, but also the form highlights and performs the naturalization of this foreign genre into Roman culture.

FURTHER READING

For the general principles of intertextuality, the starting places in classical scholarship are Hinds (1998) and Edmunds (2001). Only relatively recently has Terence benefited greatly from these theoretical developments, which have now become the dominant mode of reading Latin poetry. Cicero’s abundant references to Terence are witness to

the cross-generic reading of the plays from early in their textual history, while Donatus is the source for much of our knowledge of Terence's interaction with Roman tragedy. Despite the presence of abundant incidental mention of non-comic intertextual activities in Terence, few scholars have been explicitly concerned with the issue. Knapp (1919) remains one of the few works to be focused on Terence's reference to non-comic literature. Sharrock (2009) is explicit about arguing for reading Terence through an intertextual lens. Goldberg (1986) is an important introduction to reading Terence in his intellectual and cultural environment, issues which are further developed in Goldberg (2005).

CHAPTER FOUR

Fabula Stataria: Language and Humor in Terence

Heather Vincent

adeste aequo animo, date potestam mihi
statariam agere ut liceat per silentium,
ne semper servos currens, iratus senex,
edax parasitus, sycophanta autem impudens,
avarus leno assidue agendi sint seni
clamore summo, cum labore maxumo. (*Hau.* 35–40)

Listen with open minds, and give me the opportunity to perform a stationary play without interruption. I do not wish in my old age to be continually playing running slaves, angry old men, hungry parasites, brazen tricksters, and greedy pimps, all at the top of my voice and with great effort.

Statariam agere—to “put on a stationary play” (36): with this phrase, Terence provides one of the most discussed and enigmatic phrases in all of his dramas; indeed, the idea of a “stationary play” seems nearly oxymoronic. In substituting Hunter’s translation “stationary” (2002: 194) for Barsby’s (1999a: 183) “quiet,” I have chosen to emphasize the paradoxical quality of the description. To be sure, we do well to exercise caution in wrenching this phrase or any other from its context; even here, and despite his seeming sincerity, our prologue speaker, the actor/producer Ambivius Turpio, is merely playing a role (Gilula 1989a; Moodie 2009: 158–9; Sharrock 2009: 65–95). Such caveats notwithstanding, many would agree that *stataria* does seem to mark something that is uniquely Terentian. Might it conceal the author’s own

programmatic statement—one which might provide the key to a better understanding of Terence on the whole (Goldberg 1986: 56–7; Conte 1994: 99; Lada-Richards 2004; cf. Müller 2007: 111–25; Von Albrecht 1997: 224–6)? Or is Ambivius’ promise of a *stataria* reflective merely of his peevish, grouchy persona? Furthermore, what did *stataria* mean to a mid-second century BCE audience (cf. Henry 1916: 72–80)?

Unfortunately, the commentators are not especially helpful. Donatus, followed later by Evanthius and Eugraphius, tells us that *stataria*, the “stationary” or “quiet” play, is a generic classification in opposition to *fabula motoria*, the style of comedy characterized by slapstick actors and an action-packed plot.¹ Although this technical vocabulary does not appear until much later than Terence, as Dunsch (1999: 119–31) has convincingly shown, the formal terminology is not necessarily anachronistic since these later literary terms were likely to have had Hellenistic precursors with which Terence and perhaps his audience would have been familiar. Applicable or not, however, Donatus’ technical classification is not particularly descriptive since it seems to tell us more about what a play/performance is *not*, than what it *is*. That said, a closer look at the specific context of *Heauton Timorumenos* 35–40 does provide additional insight.

A few lines later, Ambivius goes on to say: *in hac est pura oratio. experimini / in utram partem ingenium quid possit mecum* (“This play depends purely on its language. Try what my talent can achieve in either type of play!” 46–7). Here, too, it is tempting to lift *pura oratio* from its context since it does, after all, complement the consensus regarding Terence’s clear and elegant style (but see Müller’s (2007: 111–25) more careful analysis). What is more, when taken together, the terms *stataria* and *pura oratio* seem to describe the balance of performative and linguistic elements implicit in Terence’s artistry. Such characteristics imply a unique aesthetic, one which scholars have interpreted in various ways. Some have viewed it as representative of a kind of restrained, quotidian ideal of the bourgeois (Conte 1994: 99; Palmer 1954: 89–91; cf. Hunter 2002); others have suggested that it may mirror the author’s social and political milieu in a more realistic fashion (Gratwick 1999: 17–21; Leigh 2004: esp. 158–91); and still others argue that it may reflect the author’s didactic or rhetorical agenda (Goldberg 1983, 1986: 31–60, 170–202, *passim*; Fantham 2004: 31). In any case, amid this restrained speech and action, *where* are we to find the substance of comedy? Ancient critics provide few clues, for although, as many authors in the volume observe, Terence is recognized for his elegant style, for his *ars*, and for his skill in characterization, on the subject of Terence’s humor, we find little. Perhaps it is no wonder that modern readers are often prone to apology, finding in Terence, just as Caesar did (see Introduction, this volume), a kind of emasculated diction, however pure (cf. Fantham 2004: 20–1): *lenibus atque utinam scriptis adjuncta foret vis / comica*,

ut aequato virtus polleret honore (I wish that you had added comic strength to your graceful lines, so that your prowess would show). Caesar's description of a "half-Menander" (*dimidiate*), lacking in *vis comica* and in *virtus*, all but announces that in terms of Roman manliness, Terence simply does not measure up (for a more positive analysis and for a different interpretation of *puri sermonis amator*, see Müller 2007: 111–25). Caesar's equivocation, however, need not be ours. In the essay that follows, I hope to articulate an approach to Terence's language and humor that is less about what Terence is *not*, less about the ways in which he lacks Plautine characteristics, and more about Terence's originality. In so doing, I will demonstrate how language and performance intersect in Terence and how these intersections may serve as markers for humor at various textual levels.

My approach is not altogether new, but rather brings together the work of scholars across a few different fields. For my understanding of the relationship between sound and sense, for example, the reader may wish to compare Traina's work on Plautus (1999), and for my understanding of joke construction in New Comedy, Fontaine (2010). For a formalist linguistics-based approach to humor and methods of analysis, I am indebted to the work of Salvatore Attardo and Victor Raskin (Attardo 1994a, 1994b, 1997, 1998, 2001, 2003, 2008; Attardo and Raskin 1991; Raskin 1985a, 1985b; Raskin and Attardo 1994). In particular, although I avoid the technical jargon, Attardo's General Theory of Verbal Humor (GTVH) underpins many of my assumptions about the mechanics of humor and informs my method of analysis (Vincent 2010). I should also note that the close relationship between verbal and performative humor I am suggesting is *contra* Cicero, who maintained a strict division between verbal and performative humor (Cic. *de Orat.* 2.59; cf. ps-Aristotle, *Tractatus Coislianus* in Janko 1984: 4–18, and for problems with Cicero's distinction, see Attardo 1994a: 26–9; 1994b: 32, 37–8; 2003: 1288–9; 2008: 1207–11).

1 Sound and Sense

The literature on Terence's language and style is rich, and a full treatment is well beyond the scope of this chapter. Here I shall deal only with the features most pertaining to humor, but for some additional resources, the reader may consult the summary at the end of this essay. I shall begin at the lowest level, that of the single phoneme—the smallest unit of sound which can function as a semantically independent unit (cf. Bussmann 1996), and consider the effect of what we might call "iterative phenomena": alliteration, *homoioteleuton*, consonance, assonance, anaphora, *parechesis*, *polyptoton*, and the like. Although phonetic repetitions occur comparatively less frequently in Terence than in

Plautus, it would be misleading to minimize Terence's usage (*contra* Wright 1974: 127–51). In fact, we might go so far as to say that the lack of effusion suggests that the iterative effects are all the more significant when they occur.² The meaning of sound devices is a thornier matter though. Several valuable studies have demonstrated how such sound effects serve to characterize the stock types in New Comedy (Maltby 1979, 2007: 15–28, 143–65, *passim*; Karakasis 2005: 90–120). Karakasis' study (following Maltby 1979) is particularly noteworthy for the way in which it clearly articulates distributional patterns across of all of the writers of *palliatae*. Several of his key findings—that Terence's old men are more fond of iterative devices, as well as long-winded expressions, pleonasms, and archaisms, and that their prolixity is not evenly dispersed but tends to be concentrated within small ranges (Karakasis 2005: 79–82, 115)—have particular bearing on my study here, for as I shall argue, not only do concentrations of sound tropes tell us much about characterization, they also tend to mark the presence of humor in the text.

Other recent work has stressed the connection between sound tropes and genre, but the significance of this connection is difficult to ascertain. Some have suggested, for example, that Terence's use of sound effects points toward serious rather than comic ends. Duckworth's assessment is typical in this regard: "Terence shows much greater restraint than does Plautus; he seldom permits the stylistic features to run riot as they do in the plays of the older dramatist. He uses them for emphasis, balance, contrast, rather than for laughable effects" (Duckworth 1952: 344). Goldberg does not disagree, suggesting that alliteration, at least in Terence's prologues, does not serve as a vehicle for humor but rather serves a rhetorical function, as it does in ancient oratory (Goldberg 1983: 210). Sharrock's outlook is different; she notes that although alliteration is a feature associated with several genres and styles of discourse, particularly in archaic periods, it often contributes to a comic effect (Sharrock 2009: 167–8, 168 n.14). The position I shall take is aligned with Sharrock's, although perhaps slightly less conservative: namely, that iterative tropes often serve both rhetorical and comedic purposes simultaneously, and that the combination of different modes of discourse and genre can *per se* create circumstances which are favorable to comedy (cf. Hunter 1985: 137–51, esp. 147; Scafuro 1997: 12–13, 25–31, *passim*). Let us begin, then, from the premise that concentrations of iterative effects and/or rhetorical devices mark key passages that serve a variety of functions: characterization, plot development, humor, and others. We shall concern ourselves with instances in which sound effects fulfill one of the following roles: to signal that a joke is coming, to facilitate the humor of a joke or to provide, in themselves, the impetus for laughter. (N.B. Although I treat the functions separately, the phenomena are not entirely separate, but rather represent varying degrees of "disjunction", to use the language of the GTVH; cf. Attardo 1994a: 139–40, 2001: 85–6).

Consider, for example the effect of the *parechesis*, a near echo of like-sounding words, at *An.* 218–19 (Shipp 2002: 140, cf. *Pl. Mer.* 82). Here the slave Davos explains Pamphilus' dilemma: he has impregnated his lover, a woman from Andros (Glycerium), unbeknownst to his father, who has other marriage plans for his son. Davos is utterly overwrought as he exclaims, *nam inceptiost amentium haud amantium: / quidquid peperisset decreverunt tollere* ("They're scheming like lunatics rather than lovers: they have decided to raise the baby—whatever it is!"). The echoing effect of *amentium* and *amantium* makes Davos' emotional agitation laughable and provides us with a hint about the manner of performance. It is the opposition between consonance in sound and dissonance in meaning which creates the *paronomasia* or pun, albeit weak, and thus provides the mechanism for humor (cf. modern literature on punning, e.g., Milner 1972 and for a history of the scholarship, Attardo 1994a: 108–19). For comparison, I offer two more examples of simple semantic puns without *parechesis*: *Hau.* 11–15 (Fantham 2002: 362–3; Sharrock 2009: 66 n.114) and *Hec.* 242 (emphasized with chiasitic reversal).

A few scattered puns aside, however, the reader may still suspect that Duckworth's criticism of word play in Terence largely holds true that "verbal humor of the Plautine type is extremely rare in Terence; the characters of his plays, even the slaves, were too seriously engaged in the dramatic problems ... to have time to indulge in jesting and pleasantries" (Duckworth 1952: 356). I have started with a simple isolated pun in order to demonstrate how Terence's humor depends on the interplay of sound and semantics, a phenomenon which several recent scholarly treatments have also suggested, both implicitly and explicitly (e.g., Oniga 1994: 117–34; Karakasis 2005: 115, 183; Sharrock 2009: 68–9; and cf. Ahl 1985: 38, 138; Fontaine 2010: 11–14, 19–20, *passim*). Also of importance are Marouzeau (1946: 42–6) and Traina (1999). Although Traina's conclusions on Terence follow a more traditional line of thought (1999: 92–9, 103, *passim*), his approach to coincidences of sound and semantics in Plautus is complementary to the one proposed here.

Related to *parechesis* is the kind of pun that results from an error in the segmentation of words or sounds. The easiest example I can provide in English is the well-worn joke: Q: "What's the difference between a guitar and a fish?" A: "You can tune a guitar, but you can't tune a fish." A similar segmentation pun occurs, I believe, at *Phormio* 975 with the word *exstillaveris*. At this point in the play, Phormio, the parasite, has refused to return a dowry of thirty minae now that his contrived marriage to Phanium has been called off. Phormio is indignant over his loss and threatens to tell Chremes' wife Naustrata about his secret marriage to a Lemnian woman, saying, *hisce ego illam dictis ita tibi incensam dabo / ut ne restinguas lacrumis si exstillaveris* ("I'll make her (Naustrata) so angry with this tale that even if you dissolve into tears, you won't be able to put out the fire with them!" *Ph.* 974–5). At surface level, the

image is hyperbolic, vivid, and clever, and is enhanced by the repetition of /s/ and /t/ clusters which give Phormio's voice a spitting hiss. This build-up ends with the verb *exstillaveris* < *exstillare*, a rare word (at least in the extant corpus), and thus, perhaps, slightly ambiguous. Plautus used the word once (*Ps.* 818), but otherwise, it is barely (and only much later) attested (*exstillesco*, *Phaed.* *Appendix Fabularum* 10.11, 10.32; *Col.* 12.50.2; *Man.* 5.604. Columella's usage, for expressing oil dregs from olives, informs my translation here). The sound of this line is the key to our getting the joke. Due to elision, *si exstillaveris*, sounds like *sex stillaveris*. The pun thus renders the phrase, "I'll make her (Naustrata) so angry with this tale that you won't be able to put out the fire with your tears, even if you squeeze out six of them!" The implication of "miserliness," even in his tears, enhances the irony of the situation and underscores Phormio's perception of Chremes. Finally, we should note the terminal placement of *si exstillaveris*. Placing the most ambiguous element of a joke or humorous narrative in a terminal or near terminal position creates marked surprise, hence, the punch line (cf. Giora 1991: 465–78; Attardo 1994a: 100–7; 2001: 89). Puns resulting from segmentation errors such as this one can be difficult to spot, but coincident sound phenomena such as we find here may serve as helpful markers.³

Multiple iterative phonetic effects, coincident with word play, can also suggest physical or performative humor. In the speech below from *Adelphoe*, the old slave Geta is overwrought because of the abduction of the courtesan Bacchis. Unlike the audience, who has watched the abduction transpire, Geta does not know that Aeschinus, the culprit, has procured the courtesan for his brother/cousin Ctesipho, not for himself. Geta then assumes that Aeschinus is cheating on his beloved Pamphila, who is just about to give birth. He is incensed:

GET. ah

me miserum, vix sum compos animi, ita ardeo iracundia.
 nil est quod malim quam illam totam familiam dari mi obviam,
 ut ego iram hanc in eos evomam omnem, dum aegritudo haec est recens.
 satis mihi id habeam supplici dum illos ulciscar modo.
 seni animam primum exstinguerem ipsi qui illud produxit scelus.
 tum autem Syrum impulsorem, vah, quibus illum lacerarem modis!
 sublimem medium primum arriperem et capite in terra statuerem,
 ut cerebro dispergat viam.
 adulescenti ipsi eriperem oculos, post haec praecipitem darem.
 ceteros ruerem agerem raperem tunderem et prosternerem.
 sed cesso eram hoc malo impertire propere? (*Ad.* 309–20)

Oh misery! I can scarcely control myself, I'm so on fire with anger. There's nothing I'd like better than for the whole household to be put up in front of me, so that I could disgorge all my fury on them while I'm still in this distressed

state. I'd be happy with their punishment if I could take revenge in my own way. First I'd choke out the life of the old man who reared this monster. Then Syrus, who put him up to this: oh, how I'd tear him to pieces! I'd grab him round the waist, lift him off his feet and put him down on his head, so as to spatter the street with his brains. As for the young man himself, I'd gouge out his eyes and then fling him flat on his face. And the rest—I'd hunt them down, round them up, strip them bare, beat them, and throw them to the ground. But I must hurry up and tell my mistress this dreadful news.

We can easily imagine the visual opposition between this character and the substance of his speech: an old slave clearly incapable of the superhuman (or at least highly athletic) feats he promises. Here the coincidence of sound effect and word play bring this opposition between Geta's real and imagined selves into sharper focus. The structure of lines 311–12 suggests that there is a joke to be appreciated: a sequence of *homoioтелеuta* (sometimes called “terminal alliteration”) in *illAM totAM familiAM dari mi obviAM / ut ego irAM hanc* provides a build-up, heightening the reader's expectation. But does the conclusion in 312 disappoint? At first glance, it may seem so, for, as Karakasis notes (2005: 104, 132–3), *iram evomere* is precisely the kind of expression we expect from Terence's old men, who have a penchant for “spewing out” their emotions in just such language (*Hec.* 515, *Eu.* 406, *Ad.* 510; cf. *Pl. Ps.* 953). In short, there is nothing particularly noteworthy in the expression *iram evomere* itself; it is vivid, but not uncommon (Karakasis cites *Enn. Ann.* 275; cf. also: Cicero, *Amic.* 87.8, *Catil.* 2.2.9, *Mil.* 78.14, *Phil.* 5.20.4, *Pis.* 90.5; *Catul.* 95.1). However, a closer look reveals an unusual and onomatopoeic combination of *e/o/m* sounds: *in EOs EVOMam OMnEM*, the performance of which is then underscored in the next phrase where the noun *aegritudo*, with its Plautine “flavor,” ensures that we cannot miss the joke (on Plautine usages, see Cooper 1895: 44–5). The profusion of /m/ sounds increase as Geta's emotional state becomes more agitated. In the next lines, 314–19, the phonetic iteration spreads to the medial syllables as well, creating a visual and auditory collision of sounds which complement the semantic content. Further, let us note the variation in the consonance and *homoioteleuton*: the poet has chosen several similar, but not precisely identical sounds, producing a near-rhyming effect rather than a perfect end rhyme (cf. Marouzeau 1946: 47–60, esp. 51–2, 108–23). This variation of iterative effect and penchant for near-repetition are characteristic of Terence. Note the spread of nasal /m/ and punctuating effect of the variations of /r/, /ri/, /re/, and /rem/ (elisions marked with a bent hyphen): *animAM priMUm- exstingueREm... / tum- autEM SyRum- INpulsoREM, vah, quibus illUM laceraREM Modis! / sublime[M] MediUM priMUm- arripeREM- et capite- IN terra statueREM /... viAM; / ... eRIpeREM- oculos... praecipiteM*

daREM/ceteros--rueREM~ ageREM RapeREM tundeREM~ et prosterneREM. The nasal /m/ in combination with permutations of /r/ is unmistakably comic, demonstrating all too well why the rolled /r/ (or *littera canina*) was an angry sound. The concentration of /re/ and /rem/ in the last two lines accompanies a shift in meter as well; trochaic septenarii in lines 318–19 slow the tempo and reinforce the effect (see also chapter 5, this volume). All together these characteristics must surely suggest something of the stage performance too. (Similarly, compare Ahl 1985: 38, 138 on word play at *Ph.* 1017 and *Hau.* 877.)

I offer one final example in which iterative sound effects facilitate humor. In the scene below from *Hecyra*, Pamphilus sends the slave Parmeno on a wild goose chase to the Acropolis, allegedly to find a man named Callidemides. In fact, Pamphilus is trying to keep Parmeno away so that he cannot reveal the truth about his affairs. Parmeno asks how he will recognize this Callidemides, whom he does not know.

PAR. at non novi hominis faciem. PAM. at faciam ut noveris.
 magnus, rubicundus, crispus, crassus, caesius,
 cadaverosa facie. PAR. di illum perduint!
 quid si non veniet? maneamne usque ad vesperum?
 PAM. maneto. curre. (*Hec.* 439–43)

PAR. But I don't know what he looks like.

PAM. I'll tell you how to recognize him. He's tall, ruddy, curly-haired, fat, gray-eyed, and with a face like a corpse.

PAR. To hell with him! What if he doesn't come? Am I to stay there right until evening?

PAM. Yes, stay. Now run.

In his description of Callidemides' face, Pamphilus plays with the audience's expectation, as the adjectives proceed from ordinary to most unusual; this progression itself suggests the structure of a joke.⁴ At first, Pamphilus' description seems plausible: *magnus, rubicundus, crispus*, which might be consistent with an *adulescens*, for example (cf. Poll. *Onom.* 4.147; Wiles 1991: 74–6). But from this point, the description becomes increasingly more ridiculous: “fat” is typical of old women in comedy (Poll. *Onom.* 4.151); “gray” or “green-eyed” is not a characteristic associated with New Comedy masks, nor is it an eye color often mentioned. In *Hau.* 1062–3, for example, green eyes are associated with an otherwise unattractive *virgo*, about whom the *adulescens* Clitipho remarks, “[Marry] that red-headed, green-eyed, freckle-faced, hook-nosed girl!! I can't, Dad!” (*rufamne illam virginem, / caesiam, sparso ore, adunco naso? non possum, pater*). Finally, and most ridiculous of all, we hear that the man is “corpse-faced” (*cadaverosa facie*). The order of the information,

combined with the alliteration and *homoioteleuton* in *magnus, rubicundus, crispus, crassus, caesius, / cadaverosa facie*, creates the humor of this description. We might note an additional layer of irony and a possible allusion in the name Callidemides too. The Greek prefix, of course, suggests a handsome appearance distinctly at odds with the described *cadaverosa facies*, whereas the Latin root, *callid-* reminds us that the slave Parmeno is chasing after the cleverness he ought to, but does not, possess.

2 Bilingual Humor

The previous joke, with a possible play on the root *callid-*, reminds us that bilingualism is another area in which Terence is overshadowed by his predecessor, but bilingualisms, too, while not overly abundant, are present. As in cases discussed above, the humor tends to be marked by sound cues. In his recent study of verbal humor in Plautus, Fontaine, for example, has demonstrated two examples of bilingual play in Terence (Fontaine 2010: 11–20; cf. Fontaine 2007). Rather than reiterating his examples here, I shall offer few of my own.

In *Eunuchus* 317–18, Chaerea describes the girl Pamphila, with whom he has fallen in love, to the slave Parmeno. He begins by saying that she possesses, *nova figura oris*—“a new type of face” or “unusual looks” and then goes on to describe her with the following attributes: *color verus, corpus solidum et suci plenum* (“natural color, a firm body, and full of juice”). The unusual lexical choices beginning with *nova figura oris*, along with iterative sound effect of the alliterative /c/ in *color* and *corpus*, balanced by the *homoioteleuton* of *verus* and *corpus*, hint at the pun to follow; *corpus solidum* provides an even stronger clue since the expression, when applied to the female human form in particular, may have strong sexual overtones (but for a different interpretation, see Barsby 1999a: 145–6). We can compare, for example, the usage of *corpus solidum* at Lucilius 859–60 Marx: *hic corpus solidum invenies, hic stare papillas pectore marmoreo* (“Here you will find a firm body, here you’ll find breasts that stand out on a chest that’s like marble”). In our text, the final descriptor, *suci plenum*, “full of juice” or “sap” is the most unusual of the four. The phrase is sexually suggestive in the Latin, and even more so if a bilingual pun is at work (cf. Lucilius 175 Marx). The Greek σῦκον, “fig” (whose root appears frequently in New Comedy in various permutations of *sycophanta, sycophantor, sycophantia*, etc.) is used in Greek iambic verse and in Old Comedy to denote genitalia, female organs in particular (Henderson 1991: 118). The association between figs and sexual organs continues (or is readopted) into Latin as well (Adams 1982: 113–14). Thus, the Greek root σῦκ- makes explicit what the Latin only implies—and hence, a double entendre.

Just as some of Plautus' most effective bilingual puns tend to involve proper names and epithets (Fontaine 2010: 30–3, 70–2, 150–3), so too in Terence, names provide some of the most recognizable examples of this kind of word play. We find one such example in the case of the parasite Gnatho, whose name γνάθων < γνάθος means “jaw.” At *Eunuchus* 232–53 and 255–64, Gnatho speaks at length about his parasitic prowess. The monologue begins with the parasite's best attempt at a philosophical tone. He exclaims: “How one man excels another!” (*homini homo quid praestat*, 232) and, “What a difference there is between an intelligent man and a fool!” (*stulto intellegens / quid interest?* 232–3). At the end of his speech, he returns to the philosophical theme with the hope that his skills will be recognized by an eponymous set of followers: *sectari iussi, / si potis est, tamquam philosophorum habent disciplinae ex ipsis, / vocabula, parasiti ita ut Gnathonici vocentur* (“I told him to enroll as my pupil, in the hope that, just as philosophical schools take their names from their founders, so parasites might be called Gnathonists,” 262–4). The joke works on at least two levels. First, *Gnathonici* is preposterous, both in sound as well as in substance and, as such, provides a clever cap or punch line for the monologue as a whole. Second, I propose that there is also some *parechesis* at work, which the actor might have exploited through intonation or slight mispronunciation. (Cf. Boegehold 2004, as discussed in Fontaine 2010: 131–2.) Metathesis of /a/ and /ō/ yields a mispronunciation *Gnō-than-ici*, which sounds like a play upon on the root /-gnō/ or /-γνώ/ “to know,” perhaps even a play upon one of the most well-known aphorisms with this root, the motto of the Delphic oracle, γνῶθι σεαυτόν. (For use in Latin, cf. Cic. *Q. fr.* 3.5.7). I am not suggesting that *Gnathonici* / *Gnō-than-ici* provides a direct allusion to the motto, only that *Gnō-than* sounds like a word having to do with knowing (γνῶθι, γνωσθήναι, etc.).⁵ The “intellijawnsia,” perhaps? (See also chapter 7, this volume.)

Name play is also to be found at *Phormio* 380–92, although it is more allusive than bilingual, strictly speaking. The humor is set up in the scene in which Phormio struggles to “remember” the name of the long-lost relative he claims links Demipho to the orphaned Phanium. Little does Phormio know that the fiction he invents will be a near truth when it is discovered that Phanium is, in fact, the daughter of Demipho's brother Chremes from his (secret) marriage on Lemnos. At this point in the play, the audience assumes that the name he provides, “Stilpo,” is pure invention. Although we later learn that the name is genuine, or at least a genuine alias for the philandering *senex*, here it seems all too ludicrous that Phormio could have forgotten the name which he (presumably) made up, and which he made a point to utter aloud for the benefit of Demipho and his advisers as they approached only moments earlier (< 30 lines). Phormio's bumbling is palpable:

DEM. quem amicum tuom ais fuisse istum, explana mihi,
 et qui cognatum me sibi esse diceret?
 PHO. proinde expiscare quasi non nosses. DEM. nossem? PHO. ita
 DEM. ego me nego; tu qui ais redige in memoriam.
 PHO. cho tu, sobrinum tuom non noras? DEM. enicas.
 dic nomen. PHO. nomen? maxume. DEM. quid nunc taces?
 PHO. perii hercle, nomen perdidi. DEM. quid ais? PHO. Geta,
 si meministi id quod olim dictumst, subice. hem!
non dico. quasi non noris, temptatum advenis.
 DEM. ego autem tempto? GET. Stilpo. PHO. atque adeo quid mea?
Stilpost. DEM. quem dixit? PHO. Stilponem, inquam, noveras.
 DEM. neque ego illum noram nec mihi cognatus fuit
 quisquam istoc nomine. (*Ph.* 380–92)

DEM. Explain to me who you say this friend of yours was and how he claimed
 he was related to me.
 PHO. You're just fishing, as if you didn't know him. DEM. Know him?
 PHO. Yes.
 DEM. I say I don't. If you say I do, jog my memory.
 PHO. Hey, don't you know your own cousin? DEM. You're annoying me.
 Tell me the name. PHO. The name? Certainly. DEM. Why the silence?
 PHO. God damn it, I've forgotten the name. DEM. What did you say?
 PHO. Geta, if you remember what we just said, whisper it. Hey
 I'm not telling you. You're trying to trap me, as if you didn't know.
 DEM. Me? Trap you? GET. It's Stilpo. PHO. But after all what do I care?
 It's Stilpo. DEM. Who did you say? PHO. I'm saying you knew Stilpo.
 DEM. I did *not* know him, nor did I have any relative of that name.

Note the alliterative and repetitious nature of the passage: *non nosses ... nossem ... nego ... non noras ... nomen ... nomen ... nunc ... nomen ... non ... non noris ... Stilpo ... Stilpost ... Stilponem ... noveras ... neque ... noram ... nomine*. After three iterations, the audience is not likely to forget the name, but we are left to wonder, why “Stilpo”? Could Phormio not have devised a generic, more probable name—the familiar “Laches,” perhaps? What function has the scene served? One might argue that because the name is unusual, the audience should suspect that it is genuine, but thus far, Phormio's behavior has not inspired credibility. Goldberg (1986: 85–6) speculates that the repetition ensures that the name becomes more memorable for the audience. Although his point is well taken, it would seem that a name like “Stilpo” is unique enough on its own, especially since Terence, far more than Plautus, tends to choose names from the regular New Comic repertoire (Duckworth 1952: 346–7). To be sure, the scene provides the opportunity for clever performance; more importantly, however, it sets the stage for a cleverer joke to follow later

in the recognition scene. Terence allows the suspense to build, and not until line 740 do we learn that Chremes and Stilpo are one and the same person. In a highly dramatic recognition scene, the old nurse Sophrona hears Chremes' voice and asks:

SOPH. quis hic loquitur? CHR. Sophrona! SOPH. et meum nomen nominat?

CHR. respice ad me. SOPH. di obsecro vos, estne hic Stilpo? CHR. non.

SOPH. negas?

CHR. concede hinc a foribus paullum istorsum sodes, Sophrona.

ne me istoc posthac nomine appellassis! SOPH. quid? non, obsecro, es quem semper te esse dictitasti? (*Ph.* 739-43)

SOPH. Who's that talking? CHR. Sophrona! SOPH. And calling me by name!

CHR. Look at me. SOPH. In the name of the gods, is it Stilpo? CHR. No.

SOPH. Did you say no?

CHR. Come away from the door a little, please, Sophrona over there.

Don't you ever call me by that name again! SO. Why? For goodness' sake, aren't you the person you always claimed to be?

The language of the exchange (*nomen nominat ... non ... negas*) calls to mind the prior scene in which Chremes denies the name to Phormio. The repetition of /s/ adds a whispering effect and brings attention once again to the nurse's name, which the audience had not learned up to this point. I believe that this allusion to the previous scene, coupled with the emphatic sound play highlights at least one, and perhaps, two jokes involving the name "Stilpo." First let us note that Sophrona's name in Greek, "sound-minded" or "prudent," suits her role well for this exchange since she encounters a man who, with his two wives and secret daughter, is the antithesis of temperance. But what about the uncommon name "Stilpo"? I suggest that it recalls Stilpo, the philosopher of the Megarian school, teacher of Zeno, whose floruit is dated to the late fourth to early third century BCE (Diog. Laert. 2.113–20; Cic. *Ac.* 2.75, *Fat.* 10.1; Sen. *Ep.* 9.1–3, 18). The obvious objection, however, must be addressed. Would a Roman audience in 161 BCE have been familiar with a Megarian philosopher who had lived over a hundred years earlier, and even if so, is there anything in this context which suggests the allusion strongly enough that some of the audience might have caught the joke? A look at the social and political context of the play suggests that there is a case to be made (see further chapter 7, this volume). First, let us note that the production of the play occurs in the same year (161) as a famous *senatus consultum* which expelled all Greek philosophers and rhetors from the city (Suet. *Gram.* 25.1, Gel. 15.11.1). At the very least, then, we can say that Greek philosophy was one of the central issues for debate. Also, regardless of the extent to which we accept the existence of a "Scipionic Circle" (see

extensively chapter 6, this volume), the visit of Crates of Mallus to Rome in the earlier part of the decade demonstrates a growing interest in Stoic philosophy among the elite. In addition, although little is known about the philosopher Stilpo, the anecdotes about him suggest a character not unlike Terence's Chremes in some ways. Among Stilpo's teachings, two seem particularly ironic in the context of this scene: (i) that nothing could be predicated by something different from itself, or in other words, that one can never truly say that one thing *is* another—that a man *is* good, or that a horse *is* running (Plut. *Mor.* 1120a); and, (ii) that one should be self-sufficient enough so as not to grieve over the death of a relative or friend (Teles at Stob. *Flor.* 3.40.8, 4.44.83). The scene between Chremes/Stilpo and Sophrona seems to dramatize (or parody) both of these teachings. When Sophrona asks Chremes—*es quem semper te esse dictitasti?*—she asks, in essence, whether he is the predicate of his claim. Then a few lines later, when Chremes learns that his wife from Lemnos has died (750), he shrugs it off with a simple, *male factum*, “bummer!” with no further questions or signs of grief, an oddly cold remark, but indicative of a disposition not unlike the one the philosopher advised. If the argument is tenable, it provides a neat conclusion to the suspense that has led up to this scene, as well as demonstrating Terence's ability to satirize, even if subtly, the intellectual predilections of his audience.

3 Register and Humor

If we review the examples discussed above, we can readily note the sharply disjunctive effect of bilingual humor. It compels the audience to switch between two distinct language systems (cf. “code switching,” Adams 2003: 18–29, *passim*) and two cognitive paradigms. A parallel process happens on a smaller scale when, within the same language, a speaker joins together two distinct and opposed styles or registers. Although the commonly used binary distinctions (e.g. high style/low style, poetic diction/non-poetic diction, colloquial/non-colloquial) may seem to suggest that “register” is a transparent concept, a survey of the literature on colloquialisms, natural speech, or vulgarisms in Terence quickly reveals significant discrepancies in how registers—particularly colloquial and non-colloquial—are perceived, defined, and verified (Hofmann 1936: *passim*; Müller 1997; Bagordo 2001: 37–97; Karakasis 2005: 21–43, 90–100; cf. Adams and Mayer 1999: 1–18; Coleman 1999).

Analyzing how shifts in register relate to humor requires thinking about the binary distinctions between registers of language in a less general and more contextually dependent manner. Let us begin with a more precise definition of the term. “Register” describes a set of regular relationships between the

stylistics of language (lexical choices, diction, syntax, use of figurative tropes, etc.) and the *context* of usage (cf. Halliday 1978: 111; Attardo 1994a: 236–41; Hudson 1996: 45–9). Register humor, then, inherently involves both the performative aspects of language (context) as well as the formal features of the language itself used in a particular location. Thus, for appreciating humor, whether a particular word is archaic, poetic, or colloquial in general is less important than its use in a given situation. Critical to this interpretation is my understanding of the predictive and dynamic quality of a register; i.e. each word/syntactical structure/figure *x* as used in *y* context creates probabilities that *z* word(s)/structures/figure are more likely to occur than *w* words/structures/figures (cf. Halliday 1988: 162 in Attardo 1994a: 237, and cf. 238–40). I shall demonstrate this by referring to the example above at *Eunuchus* 317–18 where, as I argued, we find a bilingual pun in *suci plenum*. In that context, iterative sound devices combined with *nova figura oris* and *corpus solidum* signaled the double entendre to follow—*nova figura oris* because the expression is unparalleled, and *corpus solidum* because the adjective is not usually employed in connection with the female body (cf. Sen. *Con.* 1. praef. 16; Sen. *Ep.* 92.19.8; [Quint.] *Decl.* 7.8.20)—but the process can be more carefully articulated with attention to the function of register. There are two register effects worthy of note: one disjunctive and the other conjunctive. The disjunctive effect is easily perceived; since they are not quite what we expect, *nova figura oris* and *corpus solidum* pique our interest. The conjunctive effect, however, is what makes the pun work. Because *sucus* belongs to the language of agriculture, as does σῦκον, the pun is accessible not merely because there *is* a double meaning to be adduced, but because the semantic proximity of “sap” and “fig” is close enough to facilitate recognition (cf. Attardo 1994a: 246–51)—that is to say, they belong to the same register. The descriptor *corpus solidum* also plays a central role in the facilitation of the joke, since *solidum*, in particular, occupies a semantic range that intersects easily with both registers (e.g., Ov. *Met.* 15.202–3; cf. *robur solidum*: Pac. 11; Virg. *G.* 2.64, *Aen.* 2.639). Thus, we have added one more feature to the list of coincident phenomena which serve to mark and facilitate humor. In the example above, we now count “register shift” along with the coincident iterative phenomena (alliteration and *homoioteleuton*) as catalysts for the production of the joke.

4 Metatheater

I would now like to turn to two tropes that operate at multiple narrative levels, and that bring language and performance into even closer contact. In addition to providing a humorous moment on stage, both metatheater and parody can lend coherence to the overall comic architecture of the play by

linking scenes, motifs, and elements of the plot (on metatheater, see also chapters 12 and 14, this volume). Here, too, we are discussing what was once thought to be the domain of Plautus, almost exclusively, save perhaps the metatheater of Terence's prologues and a few atypical passages in *Hecyra* (866–8) and *Andria* (474–7, 490–3, and 915–16) (Knorr 2007: 167–8). Conte's (1994: 98) appraisal is typical of this traditional view: "Terence cares much more for the consistency and seamlessness of the dramatic illusion. The action never allows meta-theatrical developments ... In practice Terence's *palliata* opens no space for self-consciousness within itself. All such moments of reflection are concentrated in the prologue." Recent studies, however, have called these suppositions into question and have revealed the depth of self-awareness in Terence's characters and plots. Kathleen McCarthy (2004), Ortwin Knorr (2007: 167–74), and Erin Moodie (2009: 145–73) are among those who have shown that not only are Terence's characters acutely aware of their stock roles, but their use of metatheater is often tantamount to an extended commentary on the genre and its conventions.

Metatheater, a term which I will use to denote a character's recognition of the dramatic artifice, is one of the more important dispositional tropes in comedy because, among other effects, it distances the audience from the fictional world of the drama and thereby reminds them of the role of the viewer (for discussion of the term in New Comedy, see Slater 1985: 13–15, 103–4, 168–78; Moore 1998a: 3–5; Moodie 2009: 146, 165 n.8, 11; cf. Vincent, 2011, on fiction and meta-tropes in satire). Perhaps because laughter, too, can invoke a similar kind of self-awareness and a complicity in the performance, metatheater and humor are uniquely complementary to one another.⁶ As Moodie (2009: 146) and others have noted, metatheater can operate at various levels of intensity and, I would add, at various levels of the narrative as well. For example, in *Hecyra*, we find a cast of characters who continually subvert their stock roles (e.g., Sostrata, the pleasant and compliant mother-in-law; Bacchis, the *bona meretrix*, who refuses to act in her own professional interests (836); and Parmeno, the *servus incallidus*, see Knorr, chapter 16, this volume). We might regard this kind of subversion itself as a subtle form of metatheater (cf. Slater 1988). Overt references to stage conventions operate at a different level of the narrative, exerting an immediate impact on the characters and the audience (e.g., references to the *fabula* in 621, *comoediae* in 866).

The relationship between metatheater and humor in *Adelphoe* has received comparatively less attention than in *Hecyra*. In this play, the pimp Sannio playfully acknowledges the role he is expected to, but does not, play. One scene in particular, a conversation between Aeschinus, the *adulescens* who abducts a music girl for his brother, and Sannio highlights the opposition between the stock role and its deployment. In 160–1, Sannio declares, "Listen,

Aeschinus, so you can't say you're unaware of my character. I'm a pimp" (*Aeschine, audi, ne te ignarum fuisse dicas meorum morem. / leno sum*). He quickly adds, "but as honest a one as ever there was" (*at ita ut usquam fuit fide quisquam optuma*). The description Sannio offers, *fide ... optuma*, surely strikes the audience as oxymoronic, for, as the pimp himself reminds us shortly thereafter, in comedy, *leno* is synonymous with *periurus* (e.g., *Pl. Poen.* 825, *Ps.* 351, *Rud.* 1375). In lines 188–9, Sannio comments ironically on his stock role, "I'm a pimp, I admit it, the bane of all young men, a perjurer, a plague. But I haven't done you any wrong" (*leno sum, fateor, perniciēs communis adolescentium, / periurus, pestis. tamen tibi a me nullast orta iniuria*). The alliterative sequence of /p/ sounds calls our attention once again to the opposition between the character on stage and the stock role he is unable to escape.

5 Reported Speech and Parody

A final characteristic of Terence's language critical to the construction of comedy, and one which often goes hand-in-hand with metatheater, is his penchant for reported speech (on this trope in Menander, see Handley 2002: 179–85). On the dramatic level, reported speech may serve a number of functions: to obviate the need for plot explication in the prologue (*Hec.* 143–56); to accelerate the pace of the narrative by filling in details (*Eu.* 507–31) and/or level of suspense (*An.* 284–97, on which, see Handley 2002: 185–6; *Eu.* 615–28); or to enhance characterization (*An.* 131–6, 138–41, 151–3; *Eu.* 629–42). But in addition to these dramatic functions, reported speech may also serve as an effective vehicle for humor. We can easily see why this should be the case. In plots built around the tension between familiar opposing stock types, placing one character's speech in the mouth of another inevitably invites mockery, and the way in which characters report one another's speech thus provides another opportunity for the intersection of performative and verbal play. The confrontation between the parasite Phormio and the old men Chremes and Demipho which begins at *Phormio* 894, for example, demonstrates the possibilities well. Despite Phormio's best efforts to secure a marriage to Phanium, and more importantly, her dowry, his plan is spoiled when Phanium is revealed as Chremes' daughter. In the scene below, the old men are determined to cancel the arrangement with Phormio and to retrieve the money paid as dowry. Phormio, however, has already given the money to a pimp to purchase the music girl beloved by Chremes' son. Chremes' position is vulnerable, since he does not want Nausistrata to find out about his second wife on Lemnos. The argument over the return of the dowry is charged with legal language and threats, but the metatheatrical remarks indicate that there is another contest at stake as well (on the legal language, see Scafuro 1997: 437, 442). As much

as the characters vie for the girl and the dowry, they seem equally concerned not to wind up as the butt of the joke. In the text below, note how the repeated use of the joking words, *ridiculum*, *illudere*, *ludos*, *ludificior*, serves to highlight the characters' awareness of their roles. Perhaps we might expect something of this sort given an unusually clever *senex* Demipho and an equally clever parasite? The conversation is barely started when Demipho, upon being asked why they have come (an innocent enough question), replies, *ridiculum!* ("Is this a joke?" 901). A few lines later, it is Phormio's turn to reveal his insecurity: *satis superbe illuditis me* ("you certainly are arrogant enough in making fun of me," 915). When Phormio threatens blackmail, the tables turn again, as Demipho exclaims, *ut ludos facit!* ("He's making sport of us," 945). Finally, Chremes relents, acquiescing to Phormio's demand to keep the money, whereupon Phormio redoubles his win by mocking the two old men, even as he claims that he himself has been the butt of the joke.

PHO. audio

quid vos, malum, ergo sic ludificamini

inepti vostra puerili sententia?

nolo, volo; volo, nolo rursum; cape, cedo;

quod dictum indictumst: quod erat ratum irratumst. (*Ph.* 947–51)

I note your offer. So, why the hell are you two making fun of me in this silly way with your puerile attitudes? I will, I won't; I won't; I will again; take it; give it back; what is said is unsaid; what was agreed before is cancelled.

Note how the chiasmus, repetitions, and iterative phonetics provide a sing-song end rhyme, which we can imagine would couple well with a bit of hyperbolic mimicry: *nolo, volo; volo, nolo rursum; cape, cedo*. And in the final line the chiasmus and iteration provide something of a tongue twister: *quod DICT(um) -INDICTumst. quod eRAT RAT(um) -IRRATumst*.

Using characters to parody one another in this fashion is a typical Terentian device. We might consider a few more scenes for brief comparison. Near the middle of the third act of *Adelphoe*, for example, quoted speech plays a key role in Syrus' plan to deceive Demea about Ctesipho's involvement in the abduction of Bacchis. Just as in the previous example, an overt reference to a joke serves as a cue for humor. Syrus demonstrates his skill first by flattering Demea and fabricating a story about his son's objections to Aeschinus' behavior. As it soon becomes apparent, however, Syrus is mocking Demea. He begins by praising the old man saying, *o Demea, / istuc est sapere, non quod ante pedes modost / videre sed etiam illa quae futura sunt / prospicere!* ("That's real wisdom, Demea, not merely to see what lies under your feet but to foresee the future," 385–8). As Martin notes (1976: 164), the saying is a hackneyed

proverb. We find a version in Cicero, for example, attributed originally to Democritus and quoted from Ennius' *Iphigenia*, as follows: *quod est ante pedes, nemo spectat, caeli scrutantur plagas* ("what is at one's feet, no one sees, but they peer intently at the regions of the sky," Cic. *Div.* 2.13.1). Here in Terence, the aphorism serves a primarily rhetorical function as Syrus strives to curry favor with Demea, but it may also conceal a hint about Demea's comic fate in this scene, for according to Plato, the proverb belongs to an anecdote told about the philosopher Thales, who, while scrutinizing the stars above, fell into the hole at his feet (Pl. *Tht.* 174a–175b).⁷ Perhaps, here too, the audience is expected to recall the context of the proverb, and thus to regard with suspicion Demea's high-minded moralizing. Syrus reiterates the false praise a few lines later by exclaiming to Demea, *tu quantus quantus nil nisi sapientia's*, ("You're nothing but wisdom from tip to toe," 394). Syrus then fabricates a tale about Ctesipho which is much to Demea's liking. He claims that Ctesipho, in his anger over Aeschinus' immoral behavior, has taken himself to the country, but not before preaching to his brother, shouting at him with pithy phrases such as, *haec te admittere indigna genere nostro!* ("How can you bring disgrace upon our family?") and *non tu hoc argentum perdis sed vitam tuam!* ("It's not the money that you're squandering, it's your life," 408–10). Pretending to quote Ctesipho, Syrus is actually imitating Demea's own penchant for moralizing and aphorism. When Demea claims that his son is full of wise sayings, Syrus replies in a mockingly formal tone, *phy! domi habuit unde disceret* ("Phew! He had someone to learn from at home," 413). Predictably, Demea could not be more pleased and seizes the soapbox once more: "One does one's best. I never turn a blind eye. I teach him good habits. Above all I tell him to look into the lives of others as if into a mirror (*inspicere tamquam in speculum in vitas omnium*), and to take from them an example for himself. 'Do this,' I say ... 'Avoid that' ... 'This is wrong' ..." (413–18, with omissions). With this, Demea plays directly into Syrus' hand, offering up the opportunity for Syrus' final and most overt imitation when he claims that he, too, strives to give the best instruction to his cooks: "'Too salty,' I say. 'A bit burnt. Not clean enough. Just right: be sure to do the same next time' ... Above all I tell them to look into the saucepans as if into a mirror, Demea" (425–6 and 429–30). Thus, Syrus dons the role of Demea, masquerading first as Ctesipho and then masquerading as Demea himself. Only in the end will Demea realize that he has been the butt of the joke, after Syrus concludes with one final proverb: *inepta haec esse nos quae facimus sentio. / verum quid facias? ut homost, ita morem geras* ("I realize that the goings-on in our house are silly. But what can you do? You have to take people as you find them," 430–1).⁸

In conclusion, I have demonstrated some of the ways in which verbal and performative humor intersect in Terence. More specifically, I have argued that the appreciation of humor in Terence requires attention to a variety of tropes

which operate simultaneously or successively. At the phonemic level, different iterative sound devices, a term which encompasses a breadth of tropes, including alliteration, *homoioteleuton*, consonance, assonance, anaphora, *parechesis*, and *polyptoton*, often occur in conjunction with one another and serve to mark, facilitate, or trigger jokes in the text. At the lexical level, I have argued that Terence's use of bilingual expressions and shifts in register, while sometimes subtle, display a nuanced and complex approach to verbal humor. At the same time, metatheatrical tropes and the use of reported speech both create humor in the immediate scene and serve as structural elements to provide coherence and timing to the comedy.

FURTHER READING

For general studies of Terence's lexical usages, syntax, and/or style, see Cooper (1895), Allardice (1929), Duckworth (1952: 331–60), Maltby (1979), and in particular, Karakasis (2005) who provides the most systematic analysis of Terentian usages vis-à-vis Plautus and other writers of Roman New Comedy. See also introductory notes in the commentaries of Barsby (1999: 18–27) and Shipp (2002: 44–55). On Terence's colloquialisms, see Hofmann (1936: *passim*), Müller (1997), and Bagordo (2001), whose conclusions challenge the *communis consensus*; on language differentiation by character type and gender, see Maltby (1979, 2007); on Graecisms, Hough (1947), Maltby (1985), Müller (1997: 254–65), and Bagordo (2001: 33–5, 97–146); on language in specific plays, see Barsby (1999: 90–1, 127–8, 140, 240, *passim*); Arnott (2001: 257–72); and Bagordo (2007); on verbal constructions and archaisms, see De Melo (2007). Much recent scholarship on Terence has illuminated his humor in new ways. For appreciating humor in Terence, see especially Henderson (2004), Knorr (2007), and Sharrock (2009).

NOTES

1. Donatus refers to three types: *motoria*, *stataria*, and *mixta*. Donatus' commentary on *Heauton Timorumenos*, however, does not survive. From his use of the term elsewhere, it seems clear that it refer both to the action of the plot itself as well as to the manner of acting (*Praefationes: Andria, Eunuchus, Phormio*, all classified as *motoriae*, although with some qualification; *Praefationes: Adelphoe, Hecyra*, of the type *mixta*; on *Heauton Timorumenos* as a *stataria*, see *Praefatio: Adelphoe*).
2. I believe that the soundness of this observation can be defended not only on empirical grounds, but also on linguistic grounds, consistent with the principle of “markedness agreement”—i.e., marked elements tend to combine with other marked elements, whereas unmarked tend to combine with other unmarked. On the principle in poetry in general, see Andersen (2008: 110–11) and Jakobson (1960: 350–77, esp. 367–74).

3. On the significance of unusual word choices coincident with sound effects in Plautus, see Traina (1999: 77–95). Traina reports that in 2,284 words in the Plautine corpus occurring only a single time—*hapax* occurrences—807 of them are coincident with other iterative phonetic phenomena, roughly 35 percent. In like manner, of 1,140 *hapax* occurrences in Terence, 214 are marked by other iterative phonetic devices. Stated otherwise, one in three Plautine *hapax* words are marked by phonetic iteration vs. only one in six in Terence (Traina 1999: 95).
4. Cf. Pl. *Ps.* 1218–20. Here, too, the most informative element, *magnis pedibus*, is held until the end for comic effect. On the order of information in humorous discourse, see discussions of the “Informativeness Requirement” or the “Graded Informativeness Requirement” (Giora 1988, 1991, following Grice’s 1975 seminal work).
5. The fact that the θ is not actually part of the root, but rather an ending in the case of the imperative, or an infix, in the case of aorist passive forms is not significant for the appreciation of the humor. As recent cognitive linguistic studies have shown, the “logic” of a joke text is local, partial and/or superficial, tantamount to what we might call “paralogic,” the sort which works *only* within the context of joke, and only if the listener is willing to play along (Attardo 1994a: 148–70, 2001: 25–6; Ziv 1984: 76–7, 81–2, 90, 107–8;).
6. On “self-awareness” and laughter, see the Gestalt theory of humor (Maier 1932: esp. 71–2), which posits that humor appreciation relies on both an element of objectivity on the part of the audience and a sharp change in the audience member’s semantic configuration. The Gestalt theory has a precursor in Bergson’s mechanization theory in which he describes humor as a “momentary anesthesia of the heart” (Bergson 1911: 5); cf. Morreall’s psychological-shift theory (1987: 128–38, 188–207). Relevant too are the “play” models of humor, Mannell (1977); McGhee (1972, 1977); Ziv (1984: 93–101). The central idea of the play model can be traced back to Sully (1902).
7. In Plato the anecdote, which occurs within a long digression on the nature of the true philosopher vs. the nature of the rhetorician (*Tht.* 172c–177b8), bears the linguistic structure and other telltale markers of a joke-text.
8. Readers interested in further examples of quoted speech as parody, including self-parody, may also compare the following: *Hau.* 102–12, 128–39 (Menedemus’ self-reported speech, underscoring, even from the beginning his role as the “self-tormentor”); *Eu.* 335–44 (Chaerea reporting to Parmeno an encounter with an aged relative Archidemides on the street); *Hec.* 799–805 (Parmeno relating his futile search for the imaginary Callidemides at the Acropolis).

CHAPTER FIVE

Meter and Music

Timothy J. Moore

Terence's meters can be complex and difficult, and the study of Terentian metrics is often considered esoteric. In fact, however, meters are an essential key to understanding Terence's plays.

Like almost all theater in the ancient world, Terence's plays were accompanied by a reed instrument with two pipes known as the *tibia* (fig. 5.1). The production notices to the plays (*didascaliae*) reveal that the pipes were played by a *tibicen* (*tibia*-player) named Flaccus, who used different types of *tibiae* for different plays. The meters Terence wrote determined which parts of the plays were sung to the accompaniment of this instrument and which were delivered without accompaniment: with very few exceptions, the *tibia* was silent during scenes and passages written in one meter, the iambic senarius, but all other meters called for musical accompaniment. Ancient authors called the unaccompanied sections *deverbia*, the accompanied scenes and passages *cantica* (Moore 2008).

Because there was a close connection between meter and rhythm in Latin verse, metrical patterns reveal the rhythmical patterns of the actors' songs. We can thus tell much about the musical experience of Terence's plays in performance by studying their meters, even though the melodies used by Flaccus and Terence's actors/singers have long vanished. In what follows I present a brief review of how Terence's meters work, an introduction to Terence's most important meters, and an analysis of what those meters—and the musical



Figure 5.1 A *tibicen* accompanying a sacrifice. Roman Imperial Mosaic, Caserma dei Vigili, Ostia (picture taken by Timothy J. Moore).

patterns they impose—contribute to one play, *Eunuchus* (for an analysis of the play, see chapter 14, this volume).

1 How Terence's Meters Work

Terence's meters, like virtually all meters of ancient Greece and Rome, rely upon the distinction between long and short syllables (some scholars prefer the terms "heavy" and "light" syllables). A syllable is long if it contains a long vowel or a diphthong, or if it ends in a consonant. When two Latin vowels are separated by one consonant, division between syllables is made before the consonant (e.g., *capit* is divided *ca pit*): the first of the two resulting syllables, which has no consonant at its end, is short if its vowel is short. When two or more consonants separate two vowels, the division occurs between the consonants (e.g., *mente* is divided *men te*): the first of the two resulting syllables, ending in the first consonant, is long, even if its vowel is short. Word end does not affect syllabification, except that when a word ends in a vowel or an "m" and the next word begins in a vowel or an "h," the final syllable of the first word elides into the second word (e.g., *transit amnem* is divided *tran si tam nem*, and *magnum amicum* is divided *mag n(um)a mi cum*, with the *um* of *magnum* ignored).

Roman Comedy presents a number of apparent exceptions to these rules that result at least in part from linguistic features of mid-Republican Latin. The most important of these apparent exceptions is known as *brevis brevis* (“a shortening short”) or iambic shortening, in which the proximity of a short syllable appears to cause a long syllable to become short. Thus, for example, the word *voluptas* is sometimes scanned as *vō lūp tās*, following the normal syllable length, but sometimes as *vō lūp tās*, in which the length of the word’s second syllable has been shortened in response to the shortness of the first syllable (cf. Gratwick 1999: 219–30).

Because a long syllable takes about twice as long to pronounce as a short syllable, Greek and Roman poets created meters based on patterns of long and short syllables, in which a short syllable counts as one time-unit, a long syllable as two time-units. Over 99 percent of Terence’s verses belong to a category known as iambo-trochaic: verses based on the alternation of what are called “weak” and “strong” metrical elements. A weak element may be either one or two time-units. That is, it can consist of one short syllable, one long syllable, or two short syllables. A strong element must be two time-units: that is, it must consist of either one long or two short syllables. In iambic meters the weak element comes first, the strong second; in trochaic meters that order is reversed. Terence’s iambo-trochaic verses are also subject to a number of rules regarding where words end within a verse, which weak elements within a verse are more or less likely to consist of just one short syllable, and where resolution (the use of two short syllables instead of one syllable) occurs (cf. Soubiran 1988: 9–473; Karakasis 2003; Questa 2007: 370–413).

2 Terence’s Meters

If we measure in terms of metrical elements (in order to account for differences in verse length), about 48 percent of Terence’s corpus is written in his only unaccompanied meter, the iambic senarius (ia6). Each iambic senarius consists of twelve metrical elements: each odd-numbered element is weak, each even-numbered element strong. The eleventh (penultimate) element must consist of a single short syllable, and the twelfth (final) element must consist of one syllable, either long or short. The first verse of *Eunuchus* is an iambic senarius:

si quisquamst qui placere se studeat bonis (1)
If there is anyone who is eager to please the good.

In the following chart of that verse, and in each of the charts that follow:

- L represents a strong element, which must be two time-units (i.e., a long syllable or two short syllables).
 X represents a weak element that can be either one or two time-units (i.e., one short syllable, one long syllable, or two short syllables).
 s represents a weak element of one time-unit (i.e., one short syllable).
 q represents the final element, which can be either one or two time-units, but must be only one syllable (i.e., it can be either one short or one long syllable).

Element	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Allowable time-units	X	L	X	L	X	L	X	L	X	L	s	q
Syllable lengths	—	—	—	—	⊂	—	⊂	—	⊂ ⊂	—	⊂	—
Words	si	quis	quamst	qui	pla	ce	re	se	stu	de	at	bo nis

It is customary to divide Latin iambo-trochaic verses into feet consisting of pairs of elements (XL or sq in the above chart). Hence the name iambic senarius.

Terence's most common accompanied meter is the trochaic septenarius (tr7): it makes up just over 25 percent of his corpus. Here the odd-numbered elements are strong, the even-numbered weak. As in the iambic senarius, the penultimate syllable (here the fourteenth) must be one short syllable, and the final syllable (here the fifteenth) must be one syllable. The slave Parmeno responds aside to the parasite Gnatho with a trochaic septenarius:

scitum hercle hominem! hic homines prorsum ex stultis insanos facit. (254)
 What a clever guy! He turns fools into madmen just like that.

Element	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Allowable time-units	L	X	L	X	L	X	L	X	L	X	L	X	L	s	q
Syllable lengths	—	—	⊂ ⊂	—	⊂ ⊂	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	⊂	—
Words	sci	t(um)herc	l(e)ho mi	n(em)hic	ho mi	nes	pror	s(um)ex	stul	tis	in	sa	nos	fa	cit

It is probable that when accompanying trochaic septenarii and other accompanied meters the *tibicen* placed rhythmic emphasis on each of the strong elements. If we think in terms of feet (LX or Ls on the chart), the trochaic septenarius ends in the middle of what would be its eighth foot. It is therefore

known as a catalectic verse. *Catalexis* brings a sense of finality at the end of each verse that is greater than in non-catalectic verses (Braun 1970a: 16 and *passim*).

The next most common meter, the iambic octonarius (ia8), makes up just over 17 percent of Terence's corpus. It includes sixteen elements, of which the odd elements are weak and the even strong. Once again the penultimate element must be one short syllable and the final element must have only one syllable. Chaerea sings the praises of Pamphila in an iambic octonarius:

o faciem pulchram! deleo omnis dehinc ex animo mulieres. (296)

What a beautiful face! From now on I banish all other women from my mind.

Element	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16
Allowable	X	L	X	L	X	L	X	L	X	L	X	L	X	L	s	q
time-units																
Syllable	—	∪∪	—	—	—	—	∪	—	—	—	—	∪∪	—	∪∪∪	—	
lengths																
Words	o	f	a	c	i	e	m	p	u	l	c	h	r	a	m	
						d	e	l	e	(o)	o	m	n	i	s	
						d	e	(e)	h	i	n	c	e	x	a	n
															m	u
															l	i
															e	r
															e	s

It will be noted that the most conspicuous common feature of all these meters, besides the alternation of weak and strong elements, is the inevitably short penultimate syllable. The iambic septenarius (ia7), which makes up just over seven percent of Terence's corpus, abandons this feature. It consists of fifteen elements: odd-numbered elements are weak, even-numbered strong, and the final element must be one syllable. Its penultimate element is thus always a long syllable or two short syllables. Like the trochaic septenarius, it is catalectic. Antipho wonders where his friend Chaerea is in an iambic septenarius:

homo ipse nusquamst neque scio quid dicam aut quid coniectem. (543)

The guy himself is nowhere to be found. I don't know what I should say or what I should guess.

Element	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15
Allowable	X	L	X	L	X	L	X	L	X	L	X	L	X	L	q
time-units															
Syllable	∪	—	∪	—	—	∪	∪	∪	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
lengths															
Words	h	o	m	(o)	i	p	s	e	n	u	s	q	u	a	m
						s	t	n	e	q	u	e	s	c	i
						o	q	u	i	d	d	i	c	(a	m)
						a	u	t	q	u	i	d	c	o	n
						i	e	c	t	e	m				

The trochaic octonarius (tr8), which consists of sixteen elements, is far less common: it makes up just under two percent of Terence's corpus. As in the

In using these tools, Terence responded to several factors. Changes of meter and variations within the same meter often reflect the emotional state of Terence's characters. Meters can also mark the progress of characters' discourse, changing as characters move from one thought to another; and they contribute to patterns of contrast and association between characters. Meter is also Terence's primary structural device: in addition to the alternation of accompanied and unaccompanied passages, metrical patterns provide unity, contrast, and parallelism between different moments in the plays. All these elements work within a set of expectations produced by previous musical choices made by Terence's predecessors and by Terence himself.

4 *Eunuchus*

We can appreciate best how Terence uses music by examining the metrical patterns of one play. I turn now, therefore, to Terence's *Eunuchus*. The following chart diagrams the play's meters.

Unaccompanied (ia6)	Stichic accompanied <u>tr7: underlined</u> <i>ia8: italics</i> ia7: bold	Polymetric accompanied
1–206: Prologue; Phaedria and Parmeno; Thais, Phaedria and Parmeno; Thais monologue		
		207–23 (tr8, tr7, ia4, ia8): Phaedria and Parmeno
	224–54: <u>Phaedria exits;</u> <u>Parmeno monody;</u> <u>Gnatho monody</u> 255–91: Gnatho monody, Gnatho and Parmeno	
		292–9 (extra metric, ia8, tr7, ia4): Chaerea laments that he cannot find girl, Parmeno aside
300: Parmeno on danger of Chaerea in love		

Unaccompanied (ia6)	Stichic accompanied <u>tr7: underlined</u> <i>ia8: italics</i> ia7: bold	Polymetric accompanied
		301–5 (ia4, ia8, tr8, tr4): Parmeno aside, Chaerea curses delay, greetings
	<i>306–19: Chaerea says he is in love, asks Parmeno's help, and disparages other girls while praising his; starts demand that he get her</i>	
320: Chaerea says how much he wants girl		
	321–2: Parmeno asks questions	
323–51: Chaerea describes girl, Parmeno realizes who she is		
	<u>352–66: Chaerea learns who Pamphila is; he and Parmeno discuss Phaedria's gift of the eunuch</u> <i>367–75: Parmeno jokingly proposes that Chaerea disguise himself as the eunuch</i> <u>376: Chaerea likes the idea</u> <i>377–90: Chaerea forces Parmeno to take him into Thais' house disguised as the eunuch</i>	
391–538: Thraso and Gnatho; Thais receives Phaedria's gifts and leaves for Thraso's house; Chremes is sent to Thais		

Unaccompanied (ia6)	Stichic accompanied <u>tr7: underlined</u> <i>ia8: italics</i> ia7: bold	Polymetric accompanied
	539–48: Antipho seeks Chaerea	
		549–61 (tr7, ia7, ia8, tr8): Chaerea enters and greets Antipho
	<i>562–91: Chaerea describes events leading to the rape</i> 592–614: Chaerea describes the rape and leaves with Antipho	
		615–28 (tr8, tr7, ia8): Dorias returns from Thraso's house
629–42: Phaedria returns from the country		
		643–57 (tr8, tr7, ia8, ia4): Pythias enters and reports the rape
658: he is no eunuch		
	<i>659–67: Pythias describes aftermath of the rape; Phaedria goes to fetch the eunuch</i>	
668–702: the eunuch reveals he did not commit the rape		
	<u>703–26: Phaedria makes the eunuch take back his words; Pythias and Dorias prepare for Thais' return</u> <i>727–37: Chremes returns from Thraso's drunk</i>	
738: Chremes sees Thais		

Unaccompanied (ia6)	Stichic accompanied <u>tr7: underlined</u> <i>ia8: italics</i> ia7: bold	Polymetric accompanied
		739–54 (tr8, tr4^, tr7, ia8, ia7): Thais tells Chremes about Pamphila, warns him about Thraso, and sends Pythias for tokens
	<u>755–70: Thais and Chremes prepare for the arrival of Thraso</u> <i>771–87: Thraso and his “troops” prepare to besiege Thais’ house</i> <u>788–816: siege</u>	
817–942: Thais and Chaerea agree he should marry Pamphila; Chremes returns with Sophrona; Parmeno monologue		
	<u>943–70: Pythias deceives Parmeno</u>	
971–1001: Parmeno tells Senex about the rape		
	1002–24: Pythias reveals to Parmeno that she has tricked him <u>1025–31: Thraso and Gnatho return: Chaerea enters joyfully</u> <i>1032–49: Chaerea reveals Senex’s agreement to marriage, Phaedria enters joyfully</i> <u>1050–94: Thraso and Phaedria agree to share Thais</u>	

The most conspicuous feature of the iambic senarii of *Eunuchus* is the strong association of that meter with the prostitute Thais, and hence her dissociation from music. Thais delivers over 82 percent of her verses without accompaniment. She dominates each of the play's three longest sets of iambic senarii. In the opening unaccompanied scenes, the longest continuous passage of iambic senarii in Terence, she persuades Phaedria to stay away (1–206). In the second she receives Phaedria's gifts and goes off with Thraso, and Chremes comes in response to her request (391–538). In the third she arranges for Pamphila's marriage to Chaerea, and Sophrona enters to complete the identification of her protégée (817–942). Completing the association is an unusual single iambic senarius delivered by Chremes as he sees Thais before her only accompanied entrance (738).

This association between Thais and the iambic senarius is especially striking because it is so different from what is usual in Roman Comedy. In the extant plays of Plautus and Terence—that is, in all Roman Comedy that survives—prostitutes are almost always associated with music. They sing about 78 percent of their verses and often bring music with their entrances. Thais' unexpected position with respect to music has two principal effects. First, it underlines her surprising character: unlike the grasping prostitute audience members familiar with Roman Comedy would expect, Thais truly is looking out for the interests of Pamphila, and she is honest with Phaedria.

Second, the iambic senarii, in combination with the accompanied meters, underline the degree to which Thais does or does not control the plot. Iambic senarii, lacking music and its emotive potential, often reflect a character's control of what is going on. Thus the first two long unaccompanied sections show Thais in control of both Phaedria and Thraso, and in the third she takes charge after learning of the rape. After the first iambic senarii section her control is threatened in a mostly accompanied section, as Chaerea and Parmeno plan for Chaerea to enter her house. In the mostly accompanied section after the second long unit of iambic senarii, Thais' plans unravel. Chaerea and then Pythias report the rape, Dorias reports that Chremes' visit to Thraso's has led to a quarrel, and Thais herself enters, unable to control Thraso's jealousy.

After the third long unaccompanied section Thais does not appear again in the play. As before, she loses control in the play's final accompanied scenes, as Thraso, Gnatho, Chaerea, and Phaedria decide that Phaedria will share Thais with Thraso in order to save money. We do not learn what Thais thinks of this arrangement: her previously expressed disdain for Thraso makes it unlikely that she would have found it agreeable. At least to a degree, Thais has gotten what she wanted for Pamphila and for herself; but, as musical patterns help to make clear, at play's end she has lost the control that she exercised through so much of the play.

Again, music stops for a piece of essential information.

The last passage of iambic senarii includes the information that will bring about the resolution of the plot, as Parmeno sheepishly tells Chaerea's father about the rape (971–1001). It is in response to this information that the Senex enters Thais' house and agrees to the marriage of Chaerea and Pamphila.

Iambic senarii also play an important role in setting emotional tone. Though much emotion can be expressed during unaccompanied passages (witness Chaerea's exasperation as he explains how he lost track of Pamphila [323–51], and Thais' distress when she learns of the rape [817–33]), lack of music is conducive to a lower emotional level, so iambic senarii often reinforce moments of calm, especially when they are juxtaposed with musical excitement. Phaedria delivers iambic senarii as he returns from the country (629–42): his calm, unaccompanied musing highlights the excitement of the distraught songs of Dorias and Pythias that precede and follow his monologue (615–28, 643–67). Later, the iambic senarii in which Thais makes her arrangement with Chaerea and receives Sophrona continue for an entrance monologue by Parmeno (923–42). That unaccompanied monologue provides a "calm before the storm," making more emphatic Pythias' accompanied mock panic when she begins her deception of Parmeno (943).

Pythias' deception is in trochaic septenarii: their use underlines a sudden moment of extra emotion. Trochaic septenarii often do the same thing on a smaller scale, marking exclamations and similar statements. Thus Parmeno exclaims in a trochaic septenarius how unfortunate his old master is if Chaerea is in love (298), and Chaerea sings first a single trochaic septenarius to express how excited he is at the prospect of disguising himself as the eunuch (376), then a pair of trochaic septenarii to exclaim how happy he is after the rape (549–50).

The trochaic septenarius is, however, the default meter of Roman Comedy's accompanied scenes. It usually marks not extra emotion, but movement, either physical movement or movement of the plot. With the exception of Pythias' deception, the extended passages of trochaic septenarii in *Eunuchus* all have to do with Phaedria and Thraso, helping to establish their rivalry as the basic storyline, to which the Chaerea–Pamphila story is an unexpected addition.

Phaedria and Parmeno begin the play's first long series of trochaic septenarii (224). Although Phaedria promptly exits, the continuation of the meter he started reminds the audience of the importance to him of the ensuing arrival of Gnatho, who brings a gift from Thraso (232–54). In the next extended passage of trochaic septenarii Parmeno explains to Chaerea that Pamphila is a gift for Thais and describes Phaedria's rivalry with Thraso and his own gift of the eunuch (352–66). In the third long passage of trochaic

septenarii Phaedria forces the eunuch to deny what he has just admitted, that Chaerea was the rapist (703–26). Phaedria's rival Thraso brings the next two extended passages of trochaic septenarii, first indirectly, as Chremes and Thais prepare for his attack on Thais' house (755–70), then directly, when he sees Thais (788), after which the trochaic septenarii continue until Thraso has given up on the siege (816).

Terence's plays always end in trochaic septenarii. Very late in *Eunuchus*, Gnatho and Thraso enter again, singing trochaic septenarii (1025). It looks for a moment as if the soldier and his parasite will begin the final set of trochaic septenarii. After just six verses, though, Chaerea enters and promptly changes the meter away from trochaic septenarii (1032), an indication that he and his brother Phaedria, not Thraso, will determine how the plot will end. The message is reinforced when, nineteen verses later, Phaedria enters and does in fact begin the play's final set of trochaic septenarii (1050). During those final trochaic septenarii the rivalry between Phaedria and Thraso is resolved.

Terence's most common way to distinguish scenes and passages within accompanied sections of his plays is to replace trochaic septenarii with iambic octonarii. In *Eunuchus*, Terence creates a powerful association between iambic octonarii and Chaerea. Chaerea sings eighty-eight iambic octonarii, more than any other character in Terence. Over 42 percent of his verses are in iambic octonarii, a far greater percentage than that of any other character of the play. Particularly striking is the contrast between Chaerea and his brother Phaedria, who sings only eleven iambic octonarii, just over seven percent of his verses. Chaerea marks the stages of his successful attempt to win Pamphila with three monodies dominated by iambic octonarii.

After the exclamation with which he first enters looking for Pamphila (292), Chaerea sings iambic octonarii (293). Aside from brief interruptions as Parmeno comments aside (298–301) and the two men greet each other (304–5), the iambic octonarii continue until Chaerea stops the music with his demand that Parmeno get him Pamphila (320). After an iambic senarius section for the important information about the girl (323–51) and trochaic septenarii centered around Phaedria (352–66), the iambic octonarii resume as Chaerea envies the eunuch (367). Aside from one more interruption, when Chaerea exclaims that he approves of Parmeno's proposal that he enter the house disguised as the eunuch (376), the iambic octonarii remain until Chaerea and Parmeno exit the stage (390).

Entering after the rape, Chaerea sings a variety of meters (549–61), but when he settles on one meter to describe for Antipho what happened, that meter is the iambic octonarius (562–91). Likewise Pythias, when she later enters and reports the rape, changes meter frequently at first (643–58) but ultimately settles on iambic octonarii (659–67).

The next two long sections of iambic octonarii break from this meter's association with Chaerea to produce a set of musical contrasts and parallels. Chremes sings iambic octonarii when he returns, drunk, from Thraso's house (727–37), a conspicuous contrast with his earlier, sober, entrance in iambic senarii (507). Thraso then echoes his perceived rival Chremes musically by singing iambic octonarii when he and his men enter to besiege Thais' house (771–87). The association between iambic octonarii and Chaerea returns in the final set of iambic octonarii, introduced by Chaerea again as he reveals that his father has agreed to let him marry Pamphila (1032–49).

Before beginning these iambic octonarii, however, Chaerea sings a single trochaic septenarius (1031); and when Phaedria makes the play's next entrance, he continues an iambic octonarius begun by Chaerea (1049). Terence thus has each brother use the other brother's meter for one verse at his final entrance, drawing attention to the unity of the two brothers' interests.

Terence likes to use the distinctive iambic septenarius as a marker of female love interests and successful love affairs. In *Eunuchus*, he associates it with Pamphila and Chaerea's pursuit of her.

The play's first iambic septenarii come in the middle of the monody in which Gnatho boasts about his success as a flatterer (255). Soon after the iambic septenarii begin, Gnatho's monody ends, and he turns to the task at hand, the delivery of Pamphila to Thais (265). The iambic septenarii remain throughout the rest of the scene, as Gnatho boasts about Pamphila to Parmeno before leading her into the house, and Parmeno sees Chaerea (265–91). Lover and beloved are thus joined in the same meter, iambic septenarius.

The next set of iambic septenarii is only two verses, but it continues the connection between that meter and Chaerea's union with Pamphila: Parmeno sings a pair of iambic septenarii when, in response to Chaerea's demand that he find Pamphila for him, he begins asking questions about her (321–2).

Antipho brings the next iambic septenarii as he enters seeking Chaerea (539–48). He is setting the tone for the scene with Chaerea that will follow. The ensuing polymetric section includes two iambic septenarii (557, 561) before Chaerea settles into his signature iambic octonarii (562–91). Midway through his description of the events leading up to the rape, however, he switches to iambic septenarii (592). The switch comes at the moment when Pamphila is first mentioned, after Chaerea reports his decision to rape her, and it continues through the description of the rape itself (592–628).

The next group of iambic septenarii is again just two verses, and again they concern Pamphila and her fate (753–4): Thais, Chremes, and Pythias sing iambic septenarii as Thais orders Pythias to fetch the tokens that will prove that Pamphila is freeborn and therefore marriageable.

In the play's last iambic septenarii, Pythias mocks Parmeno as she reveals that she has tricked him about Chaerea (1002–24). On one level, the septenarii

here continue the pattern whereby the “playlet” in which Pythias deceives Parmeno follows its own musical rules. Just as Pythias, to make her melodramatic deception scene contrast with the unaccompanied scenes that preceded it, sang the play’s only extended passage of trochaic septenarii that was not directly connected to Phaedria or Thraso, she now uses iambic septenarii to set apart her joyful mockery of Parmeno. The connection with Pamphila and Chaerea’s union has not vanished, though. For although Pythias concentrates on the disaster that the Senex’s entry into the house means for Parmeno, we learn later that the Senex is at this very moment arranging with Thais the marriage of Chaerea and Pamphila.

Almost all trochaic octonarii in Terence occur in sets of one or two verses and work together with trochaic septenarii and iambic octonarii in polymetric sections. Those trochaic octonarii will be considered below. *Eunuchus* also offers Terence’s only longer series of trochaic octonarii, as the meter again reveals Thais’ degree of control.

When Thais returns from Thraso’s house, angry and worried because Thraso, thinking Chremes is his rival, has threatened to take Pamphila back, she and Chremes sing nine trochaic octonarii (739–48), interrupted by just one shorter trochaic verse as Chremes expresses shock that his alleged sister is in the home of a prostitute (747). This is a striking moment for several reasons. It is preceded by the unusual single iambic senarius mentioned above (738), it includes the only series of trochaic octonarii in Roman Comedy longer than four verses, and it is the first time in the play that Thais sings. Terence thus marks musically the moment of Thais’ greatest crisis.

The metrical progression after the trochaic octonarii helps to underline Thais’ increasing ability to take control again. In a nicely contained trochaic septenarius/iambic octonarius pair, she and Chremes agree that she will give him his sister and get a reward (749–50). In more trochaic septenarii, interrupted by the call for Pamphila’s tokens (753–4), she warns Chremes about Thraso’s impending arrival and takes charge when Chremes proves a coward (755–70). Thraso and his comrades bring iambic octonarii (771–87), but when they actually encounter Thais they return to trochaic septenarii, the meter she was singing before their entrance (788). Trochaic septenarii remain as she and Chremes flout Thraso’s bluster and the soldier and his “troops” retreat (788–816). Finally, in contrast to Pythias, whose reaction to the rape of Pamphila brought an excited polymetric *canticum* (see below), Thais delivers iambic senarii when she enters, having learned of the rape, and in the ensuing scene she works things out to her own and Pamphila’s benefit in spite of the rape (817–909).

Most of the passages we have discussed so far have involved stichic usage of meters, in which the same meter is repeated from verse to verse for an extended period. The play also has six passages in which meters change frequently from

verse to verse. The polymetric passages, both in *Eunuchus* and elsewhere, tend to come at moments of emotional intensity: Phaedria's reluctant departure (207–23), Chaerea's search for Pamphila (292–305) and his entrance after the rape (549–61), and the distressed entrances of first Dorias (615–28), then Pythias (643–67), and then Thais (739–54). In each of the six polymetric passages, metrical patterns respond both to the thematic uses of meters throughout the play and to immediate words and events. Together they give a good sample of the wide variety of polymetry Terence employed.

Chaerea's first entrance, with its iambic octonarii interrupted sporadically by other meters, represents one type of polymetry, in which a single meter dominates (292–305). Chaerea's meeting with Antipho after the rape is a second type, in which all four of the long accompanied meters intermingle (549–61). Thais's entrance from Thraso's is a third type, rare in Terence, in which the opening meter (trochaic octonarius in this case) is sustained for a number of verses but then breaks down into other meters (739–54).

The polymetric songs of Parmeno and Phaedria, Dorias, and Pythias each belong to the second type, Terence's favorite variety of polymetry, which mixes trochaic octonarii, trochaic septenarii, iambic octonarii, and occasionally shorter iambo-trochaic verses. The standard pattern here is a move from one or more trochaic octonarii through one or more trochaic septenarii to iambic octonarii. Because the trochaic octonarius has no *catalexis* or short penultimate element, the juxtaposition of one or more trochaic octonarii with a trochaic septenarius appears to be one long string of trochaic feet, called a trochaic system. Sometimes, if there is not a strong sense break after the trochaic septenarius, the system actually continues through what is called an iambic octonarius, with the opening (weak) element of the iambic octonarius actually serving as an even-numbered (weak) element continuing the previous trochaic verses (cf. Maurach 1961: 377–8; Barsby 1999a: 304). Usually, however, there is a clear sense break after the trochaic septenarius, in which case the audience probably recognized the iambic octonarius as a new verse.

Each of the three tr8–tr7–ia8 *cantica* has its own set of variations. In the first, Phaedria prepares to leave for the country and gives orders that Parmeno bring Thais the gifts he has bought her (207–19):

	PH. fac, ita ut iussi, deducantur isti. PA. faciam. PH. at diligenter.	tr8
	PA. fiet. PH. at mature. PA. fiet. PH. satine hoc mandatumst tibi? PA. ah	tr7
	rogitare, quasi difficile sit!	ia4
210	PA. utinam tam aliquid invenire facile possis, Phaedria,	tr7
	quam hoc peribit. PH. ego quoque una pereco, quod mist carius;	
	ne istuc tam iniquo patiare animo. PA. minime: qui effectum dabo.	ia8
	sed numquid aliud imperas?	ia4

PH. munu' nostrum ornato verbis, quod poteris, et istum aemulum, tr7
 215 quod poteris, ab ea pellito. ia4
 PA. memini, tam etsi nullu' moneas. PH. ego rus ibo atque ibi manebo. tr8
 PA. censeo. PH. sed heus tu. PA. quid vis? PH. censen posse me obfirmare et
 perpeti ne redeam interea? PA. tene? non hercle arbitror; tr7
 nam aut iam revortere aut mox noctu te adiget horsum insomnia. ia8

PH. Make sure they're brought over, just as I ordered. PA. I will. PH. Do it diligently. PA. It will be done. PH. But fast. PA. It will be done. PH. Have I made my orders clear enough? PA. Oh, you keep asking as if it were difficult. If only you could find some money as easily as you will lose this money, Phaedria. PH. But I lose myself along with it, which is dearer to me. Don't be so unreasonable about it. PA. Not at all: I'm the one who will see that it goes away. There's nothing else, is there? PH. Say what you can in praise of my gift, and do what you can to chase that rival away. PA. I'd remember to do that, even if you didn't remind me. PH. I'll go to the country and stay there. PA. Sure. PH. Wait a minute. PA. What do you want? PH. Do you think I can be resolute and keep myself from coming back? PA. You? I sure don't. You'll either come back right away or you'll be driven back at night by insomnia.

The two begin with a long string of trochaic feet (207–9). Although editors label the third verse an iambic quaternarius, it is in fact a continuation of the trochaics, ending in *catalexis*. Parmeno is anxious to get moving, so he next sings trochaic septenarii, the meter that suggests movement of the plot (210–11). Phaedria is in no hurry to leave: he finishes Parmeno's second trochaic septenarius but then switches to iambs (212).

After finishing Phaedria's iambic octonarius, Parmeno expects to leave, and he sings *numquid vis* in an iambic quaternarius (213). This time the iambic quaternarius is distinct from what comes before: it serves, like many short verses in Roman Comedy, to reinforce closure (cf. Maurach 1961: 373–7). The anxious Phaedria, however, does not let Parmeno go, but sings another command in a string of trochaics: again, what is labeled as an iambic quaternarius in fact continues the trochaics of the previous verse (215). The longest trochaic system of the *canticum* follows, as Phaedria urgently—and unsuccessfully—seeks Parmeno's assurance that he will be able to stay away from Thais (216–18). Parmeno replaces the trochaics with an iambic octonarius as he explains his skepticism (219). The two men will continue with four more iambic octonarii (220–3): in a pattern typical of Terence's polymetrics, repeated variations of the tr8–tr7–ia8 pattern lead ultimately to a series of iambic octonarii, after which stichic trochaic septenarii return (224).

	— — — — — U —	
	PH. hem. PY. qui nunc si detur mihi,	ia4
	U U — U — U U — U U — U — U — U —	
	ut ego unguibus facile illi in oculos involem venefico!	ia8
	— U U — U — — — — U — — — — — U —	
	PH. nescioquid profecto absente nobis turbatumst domi.	tr7
	U — — U U — — — — — — — — — U — U —	
650	adibo. quid istuc? quid festinas? aut quem quaeri?, Pythias?	ia8
	U U — U U — — — — — U — — — — —	
	PY. chem Phaedria, egon? quem quaeram? in' hinc quo dignu's cum	
	— — — — —	
	donis tuis	
	— U U — — — — — U —	
	tam lepidis? PH. quid istuc est rei?	ia4
	U — — — — — — — — — — — — — — U —	
	PY. rogas me? eunuchum quem dedisti nobis quas turbas dedit!	ia8
	— U — — — — — U — U U — — — — — U — —	
	virginem quam erae dono dederat miles, vitiauit. PH. quid ais?	tr8
	U U — — — — — U U — — — — — U U U U —	
655	PY. perii. PH. temulenta's. PY. utinam sic sint qui mihi male volunt!	tr7
	U — U — — — — — U — — — — — — — — U —	
	DO. au obsecro, mea Pythias, quod istuc nam monstrum fuit?	ia8

PY. What a disaster! Where can I find that god-forsaken scoundrel? Where should I look for him? That he dared to commit such a brazen crime! PH. Oh no! What's this? PY. To make things worse, after he'd had his fun and games with the poor girl, he ripped her whole dress; then he even tore her hair. PH. What? PY. If I got a hold of that bastard now, how I'd scratch his eyes out! PH. Something's gone wrong at home in my absence. I'll go up to her. Pythias, what's the matter? What's the panic? Who are you looking for? PY. Oh! Phaedria, you want to know who I'm looking for? Go to hell, you and your lovely gifts! PH. What is all this? PY. You ask me? What a mess that eunuch you gave us made! The girl the soldier gave to my mistress as a gift: he's raped her! PH. What? PY. I'm ruined. PH. You're drunk. PY. I wish the people I hate were drunk the way I'm drunk! DORIAS. Please, Pythias, what's this horrible thing you're talking about?

In her excitement, Pythias produces what is in essence an exceptionally long trochaic system. She sings two trochaic octonarii; there is no full stop after her trochaic septenarius, so the iambic octonarius appears to continue the trochaic feet. Then, since the ensuing iambic quaternarius begins with a single syllable by Phaedria, it appears that Pythias continues the trochaics through that verse; and since it too ends without a full stop, the iambic octonarius that follows it also seems to continue the trochaics. Altogether, then, Pythias, with some help from Phaedria, sings what amounts to a trochaic system of eighty-seven metrical elements. Phaedria, on the move, sings a trochaic septenarius as he plans to approach Pythias, but he slows down with an iambic octonarius as he

accosts her (650). The iambics continue until, with the report of the crime, Pythias starts another tr8–tr7–ia8 series. At the end of that series Dorias questions Pythias in an iambic octonarius (656). The iambic octonarii, with one iambic senarius interrupting, continue for several verses (657–67).

Alternation of different types of verse is the most conspicuous way Terence created musical variety. We should not underestimate, however, the extent to which he could use variation within the same meter to produce musical effects. These variations included manipulation of the *caesura* (the expected word end that comes in the middle of most verse types of Roman Comedy), varying the amount of elision or hiatus, making verses more or less regular, and arranging correspondences and clashes between the accents of singer's words and what is called *ictus*, the pulse provided by the accompanying *tibicen*.

These phenomena are beyond the scope of this essay, but we can examine briefly Terence's most important method of providing musical variety within the verse: the ratio of long to short syllables. Since most weak iambo-trochaic elements can consist of either one short, two short, or one long syllable, and since most strong elements can be either one long or two short syllables, verses could vary greatly in the number of long or short syllables they included. This variety would have an important musical effect. Though the *tibicen* and the actors set the final tempo, greater numbers of short syllables would encourage faster singing, more long syllables the opposite. The effect would be especially pronounced in the case of resolution, where two syllables occur in place of one (cf. Gratwick and Lightley 1982).

We can get a glimpse of these phenomena at work if we look again at the verses following Pythias' entrance after the rape, which I have scanned above. The following table charts the number of short syllables and resolutions in each verse of the passage:

Verse	Meter	Short syllables	Resolutions
643	tr8	12	5
644	tr8	9	4
645	tr7	8	3
646	ia8	4	1
647	ia4	1	0
648	ia8	11	3
649	tr7	5	1
650	ia8	5	1
651	ia8	7	2
652	ia4	5	2
653	ia8	3	0
654	tr8	9	3
655	tr7	10	4
656	ia8	5	0

Pythias' opening verse is a burst of energy, featuring the greatest number of short syllables and resolutions of any verse in the passage, and her pace remains fast—including five consecutive short syllables in verse 644—until verse 646, at which point she slows down for the climax of her indignation. Things slow down still more in the ensuing verse, as Phaedria exclaims aside and Pythias builds up to her threat. The actual threat speeds things up again, with the second greatest number of short syllables in the passage (648). Phaedria's response to all this, and his questioning of Phaedria, are slower (649–50). Pythias begins the next verse quickly, with a pair of resolutions, as she notices Phaedria, but she again slows down indignantly as she begins to describe what happened (651–3). Her report of the crime brings an acceleration (654), which increases as she angrily denies Phaedria's accusation that she is drunk in the passage's second set of five consecutive short syllables (655). Then Dorias, like Phaedria before her, tries to slow Pythias down with more long syllables as she questions her (656).

Eunuchus, then, is a comedy of great musical virtuosity, in which metrical patterns contribute significantly to the play's overall effect. Each of Terence's other dramas shows equal musical dexterity. A true appreciation of Terence's plays requires that, using his meters as guides, we attempt to hear them in our minds.

FURTHER READING

Lindsay (1922) is dated but still provides a good English-language introduction to the meters of Roman Comedy. Those who read Italian should consult Questa (2007) instead. On Terence's meters see also Laidlaw (1938), Braun (1970b), Bruder (1970), and Kruschwitz (2001). Moore (2012) offers a thorough discussion of music on the Roman comic stage. See also Moore (1998b), Moore (1999) and, specifically for Terence, Moore (2007). Hall (2002) is a valuable review of singing in ancient theater and Wille (1967) provides an encyclopedic compilation of evidence for music in ancient Rome. Marshall (2006), in a chapter on music, concentrates primarily on Plautus but is also useful for understanding the musical structure of Terence's plays.

PART II

CONTEXTS AND THEMES

CHAPTER SIX

Terence and the Scipionic *Grex*

Daniel P. Hanchey

For the last 150 years, questions about Terence's patrons have centered around the group known as the Scipionic circle. According to the traditional definition, this Scipionic circle consisted of a number of leading figures in Rome from all areas of life, who were attracted to one another by their mutual interests in Greek culture, literature, and humanism, and found a source of validation in the encouragement and support of Scipio Aemilianus. Despite the absence of any explicit references to this "circle" from the second century, the concept became very popular and generally accepted in scholarship through the 1950s. The great advantage of the circle to the scholar lay in its flexibility. If one could connect a figure in second-century Rome to Scipio, or to a friend of Scipio, one could then ascribe to that figure the various philhellenic ideologies that characterized the circle. The case of Terence offers perhaps the best example. Though different scholars have included different figures in their own concepts of the Scipionic circle, Terence was attached to the circle from the beginning by Gottfried Bernhardt (1872) because of some scattered references in Cicero and Suetonius' *Vita Terenti* (see Introduction, this volume). None of these references makes a claim about a shared political or cultural ideology, but once a connection had been forged between Terence and Scipio, the characteristics of the Scipionic circle could be applied to Terence. This method of historical analysis had far-reaching ramifications. To find sentiments of humanism and philhellenism in Terence is one thing; to identify him as a mouthpiece for the broad Hellenizing cultural program of

Scipio and his friends is another. Using the most famous example, when in the *Heauton Timorumenos* Chremes seeks to assure his neighbor Menedemus that he is interested in hearing his problems, he states: *homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto* ("I'm human, and I regard no human business as other people's," 77; see Lefèvre's analysis, chapter 13, this volume). If one views all of Terence through the lens of the Scipionic circle, then Chremes offers here a brief manifesto of the group's humanism. But if the Scipionic circle is not in the background, the line reads more like neighborly encouragement (Jocelyn 1973). The idea of the Scipionic circle thus has the potential to inform interpretations of Terence at the most basic level.

However, over the last fifty years, scholars have problematized the idea of the circle by asking a series of important questions: Who was in Scipio's circle? Was Scipio himself even a humanist (cf. Astin 1967)? Did the circle exist at all, historically speaking (Strasburger 1965; Zetzel 1972)? These questions have highlighted the problems with the sort of methodology that applies an ideology to a given figure based not on his own actions or words, but on those of a group of questionable historical validity. But even in the wake of these reconsiderations, not only Terence, but Lucilius, Polybius, and others have continued to be identified with an intentional humanistic program that belonged to an ill-defined coterie of which they were thought to have been a part.

To determine how Terence was first implicated in the Scipionic circle, and what individuals were considered influences on him as a result, I begin this chapter with a brief consideration of the history of the circle within scholarship. I will then reexamine the ancient sources in an effort to extract a more valid understanding of the nature and relevance of the contemporaries of Scipio and their interactions. Finally, I will pay particular attention to Terence, the subject of this volume, considering his possible social and political influences, and how Scipio may or may not have affected his poetry.

1 History of the Idea

The most serious implications of the Scipionic circle derive from the connections it creates. Among the most provocative of these is the connection between Panaetius and Terence. Since Panaetius arrived in Rome after Terence's death, the two cannot have known each other. But the Scipionic circle, with its illusion of being atemporal, suggests that the opinions of one may have belonged to the other. So though Panaetius could not have communicated his ideas to Terence, because Scipio appreciated the work of both men, one could be tempted to find a reflection of Panaetius' sort of

ethical theory in Terence's close adherence to Greek models or in his social morality. This method has at least two major flaws: not only are the lines of influence confused, but, most exceptionally, neither of the two even appears in the Scipionic circle's earliest and clearest representation, the dialogues of Cicero. That is to say, the best source for the Scipionic circle does not feature some of the most prominent figures identified with the group.

At its most basic level, the Scipionic circle is populated primarily by the protagonists of Cicero's second dialogue *De Republica*, written between 54 and 51 BCE. Scipio is joined in the dialogue by, among others, Quintus Tubero, Gaius Laelius, Lucius Furius Philus, Publius Rutilius Rufus, Gaius Fannius, and Quintus Mucius Scaevola, and they settle in for a discussion of theories of government.

The *mise-en-scène* of the dialogue is patently false (cf. Cic. *Att.* 4.16), but it builds on an image Cicero had already crafted in *De Oratore*. In this earlier dialogue, during his defense of the value of Greek learning for the ideal orator, the interlocutor Q. Lutatius Catulus appeals to the example of Scipio, Laelius, and L. Furius Philus. These three, Catulus claims, not only enjoyed spending time in the company of certain Greek men, but also often took pleasure in recalling the embassy of Greek philosophers that came to Rome in 156–155 BCE (*de Orat.* 2.154–5). *De Oratore* only lists three of the figures from *De Republica*, but it connects them to ideas of philhellenism, philosophical interest, and Greek friends.

The picture is somewhat reinforced by *Cato Maior de Senectute* (45–44 BCE), wherein Scipio and Laelius are seen together with the elder Cato, and is even further elaborated in Cicero's final dialogue, *Laelius de Amicitia* of 44 BCE. In *Laelius*, Scaevola recounts a conversation held between Laelius, Gaius Fannius, and himself in 129 BCE, the same year as the setting of *De Republica*, but a few days after the death of Scipio (*Amic.* 1–3). Again, the figures do not correspond entirely with either those of *De Oratore* or *De Republica*, but there are some similarities. And *Laelius* adds further fuel to the idea of a circle by making periodic references to various friends of Scipio and Laelius, often including names familiar from the other dialogues (cf. *Amic.* 69, 100–1).

These four dialogues comprise the majority of the ancient evidence for the Scipionic circle, though none of them ever makes explicit reference to a “circle” by name. By reading these dialogues in concert, accepting the historicity of the methods of social interaction, interpolating other ancient references to the primary figures, and then elaborating on other secondary literature, scholars have developed the popular idea of the tightly-defined philhellenic Scipionic circle. Once this group was reified as a concrete, effective organization, any reference to a friendship with Scipio and/or Laelius in any ancient source could constitute inclusion within the circle. Bernhardt, the first to posit a circle, constructed his *Kreis* almost haphazardly (Brown 1934: 19).

He combined the idea of a circle from Cicero with other evidence relating to Scipio. He thus included Scipio and Laelius, Tubero, C. Sulpicius Gallus, Lucilius, and Terence. The friendship of Scipio and Laelius is well attested. Bernhardt apparently includes Tubero on the basis of his erudition in the field of astronomy, as demonstrated by Tubero in the opening of *De Republica* and confirmed by his pairing in Bernhardt's list with Gallus. Gallus was a well-known associate and friend of Scipio's father, L. Aemilius Paullus, whose own familiarity with Greek learning and astronomy, in particular, is discussed by Cicero at *Brutus* 78 and *De Senectute* 49 (Bernhardt 1850: 192; cf. Brown 1934: 16). Lucilius appears in Bernhardt's list because of Horace, who describes the intimacy of Scipio, Laelius, and Lucilius (*S.* 2.1.71–5), and Suetonius, who depicts a certain familiarity between Terence, Scipio, and Laelius. In all cases, Bernhardt seems largely justified in claiming an association between Scipio and the other Romans he names, but Bernhardt's method anticipates the methods of those to follow: he includes some and excludes others according to no compelling criteria.

Writing in 1855, shortly after Bernhardt, Mommsen first applies the epithet *scipionischer* to the word circle, but defines it much as did Bernhardt (Mommsen 1880: 88 and *passim*). He highlights the group's interest in Latinity, culture (both Greek and Roman), morality, and policy, and he identifies the chief members of the group as Scipio, Laelius, Furius, Sp. Mummius, Terence, Lucilius, Polybius, and Panaetius. He glosses over the differences in the fields of activity of these individuals by appealing to an overarching sense of moral propriety and literary taste that binds the group together. The poetry of Terence, the philosophy of Panaetius, and the political activity of Scipio all arise from similar impulses and a general appreciation of all things good (88–9, 423–5).¹ Though he does not give an exhaustive definition, it is to Mommsen that we owe the amplification of the picture Cicero gives in his dialogues, the formalization of a dramatic set of interlocutors into a historical reality.

After Mommsen the use of the phrase “Scipionic circle” became commonplace, though the constitution of the circle was generally left undefined (Brown 1934: 13 n.1). Eventually certain scholars began to try to define more clearly the character and composition of the circle. None was more thorough than Brown, who ultimately defined the circle as “a group of men in Rome in the second century BC, who having been associated closely by the ties of relationship or friendship, or by political, military, or literary connections, found a common bond of interest in Greek culture ... [for whom] there was ... the same mutual love for Greek culture and the same common aim of refining and of improving the intellectual life of Rome by introducing certain elements of Greek civilization” (Brown 1934: 14). Having discovered inconsistencies in the general representations of the German

scholars that preceded her, Brown located the *telos* of the group in an active and intentional philhellenism. In so doing she also de-emphasized the abstract and largely personal “goodness” on which Mommsen had relied heavily in his definition. Her approach was more scientific and analytical than those before her, but her improved methodology led her to develop a rather vague criterion for inclusion in the Scipionic circle. As a result, instead of producing an arbitrary list of members such as those in Bernhardt and Mommsen, Brown compiled a catalog of fifty-two individuals from three periods within the second century, beginning with Scipio Africanus Maior (the “founder” of the group) and continuing through figures such as Q. Lutatius Catulus and Archias. She both concretized the circle by highlighting Scipio the Elder’s intentional founding of the group, and reduced it *ad absurdum* by extending the chronological boundaries so far in either direction.

In the 1960s, Strasburger and Astin both reacted against the romanticized and untenable conceptions of the circle proposed by Brown and others, and each denied the existence of a circle in any formal terms. Pointing to the imperial and sometimes brutal military acts of Scipio, Strasburger called the moral and political idealization of Scipio and his friends a “wish-dream” (Strasburger 1965: 52). He claimed the Scipionic circle of the dialogues is at best “vague and romantic,” at worst “fictitious,” and cautioned against applying the opinions of one member of the “circle” to another (41). Only a few years later, Astin offered a list of other Romans with Greek interests to counter the claim that the circle was uniquely philhellenic (Astin 1967: 295–6). He also examined the relationship between Scipio and Panaetius to prove not only that the two were not always in agreement, but also that “Scipio cannot but have seen the relationship as that of patron and client” (298). And most convincingly, building on the thread introduced by Strasburger, Astin concluded his 300-page study of the life of Scipio by asserting that “there is nothing which suggests a distinctively sympathetic or humanitarian understanding of other men, of man valued as man, and that there are some indications of a harshness which is not easily reconciled with such an outlook” (304). Neither Astin nor Strasburger denied that Scipio had like-minded friends and colleagues, nor that he and they had an interest in Greek culture, but both effectively challenged the idea that the group was bound by a distinct and unique philhellenism arising from a generally believed and practiced humanism.

Since the 1960s, scholars who have paid close attention to the Scipionic circle in some form or another have largely subscribed to the views of Astin and Strasburger (Zetzel 1972; Powell 1990; Forsythe 1991). But earlier romanticized notions of the circle continue to find their way into scholarship (Beacham 1991: 46–8; Enos 1995: 55; Karakasis 2003: 171; Umbrico 2010: 93 calls the term “anachronistic”; Manuwald 2011: 245 calls the concept

problematic, see also 90–7). The persistence of the notion is tied inevitably to its flexibility. Nearly every significant figure in Rome from the middle of the second century has been implicated in the circle in some way. As was noted above, once the notion of the circle was introduced, it became easy to attach to it any reference to a friend of Scipio, when in fact the evidence primarily represents Scipio’s individual relationships.

2 The Sources

Despite the priority Cicero’s dialogues have held in representing the circle, their fictionality and temporal distance from Scipio render them an inadequate starting point. By comparison, very little second-century evidence points even implicitly to a Scipionic circle. What evidence we do have comes largely from the historian Polybius, himself traditionally accounted a member of the circle.

Polybius never makes reference to a formal group in which either he or Scipio were involved. At most he makes references throughout his *Histories* to a few individual relationships Scipio had with other figures, especially Laelius (Plb. 10, 31, 38, and 39 *passim*). Polybius repeatedly details the intimacy and unique quality of the friendship between Laelius and Scipio, but he never expands his discussions of their relationship to include others besides the two of them (Plb. 10.3; 10.9). Laelius, like Scipio himself, is presented largely in terms of his military activities and accomplishments, many of which occur under the charge of Scipio.

Aside from this intimacy with Laelius, Polybius scarcely refers in any extended way to Scipio’s relationships, except for the one between Scipio and himself. Polybius describes his own relationship with Scipio in books 38 and 39, and most explicitly in 31.23–5. Here he lays out the beginnings of his relationship with Scipio, and says that their affection began to resemble that “between father and son” (πατρικήν ... φιλοστοργίαν). The testimony is both authoritative and straightforward, but nowhere does Polybius mention that anyone besides Scipio’s brother ever had a part in his interchanges with Scipio. And none of his many references to Laelius suggest that the relationship between Polybius and Laelius was exceptional or noteworthy. Instead, the *Histories* paints a picture of two distinct relationships—one fraternal, one paternal—connected only insofar as each involved Scipio. And, though Polybius was himself Greek, in neither relationship is Scipio motivated by philhellenism as such.

With the exception of Polybius, the second-century sources are very quiet on the subject of the Scipionic circle. We have but a few fragments of Lucilius and two passing references in the prologues of two plays of Terence. The

Lucilius fragments are almost impenetrable on the subject of Scipio. Brown wanted to find significance in the longest of Lucilius' Scipio fragments, which is corrupted, but says:

... Cornelius Publius noster

Scipiadas ...

ibat forte domum. sequimur multi atque frequentes. (Lucil. 1138-42 Marx)

As it happened, our Publius Cornelius Scipio was walking home. A great crowd of us follows ... (trans. Warmington)

Brown sees *multi atque frequentes* as a reference to members of Scipio's circle (1934: 15), though Festus, whose citation preserves the passage, adduces these lines to draw a connection between the word *scurra* and the verb *sequor* (Festus 418.17). Fiske in fact compared the passage to Horace's *Satire* 1.9, wherein Horace's follower is anything but a member of the narrator's "circle" (Fiske 1920: 330-6). In truth this passage resembles the rest of the extant references to Scipio in Lucilius in having very little to say about Scipio, and nothing to say definitively about his relationships with Lucilius or anyone else. The stories of Lucilius' relationship with Scipio and Laelius only become well-attested at the end of the first century BCE, in the work of Cicero, Horace, and Velleius Paterculus.

After Polybius and Lucilius, Terence offers the only other first-hand account of Scipio and his relationships, but here the evidence is even less convincing than that surrounding Lucilius. In the prologues to *Heauton Timorumenos* and *Adelphoe*, Terence defends himself against the claim that certain friends (*Hau.*) and noble men (*Ad.*) are assisting him in the writing of his plays. In the first play, he cites the slander of some of his critics, who claim he "relies on the genius of his friends, not on his natural ability" (*amicum ingenio fretum, haud natura sua, Hau.* 24). In the second play, his critics charge that he "is assisted by men of nobility who collaborate with him in his writing all the time" (*homines nobilis / hunc adiutare adsidueque una scribere, Ad.* 15-16; see chapter 7, this volume). In neither of these passages does Terence claim that the friends coming to his assistance include Scipio, Laelius, or anyone else, for that matter. Though later sources would make the connection between Terence and Scipio, the prologues themselves do little to confirm an intimate, far-reaching, philhellenic relationship between the two.

Together these three sources, Polybius, Lucilius, and Terence, represent the entirety of our second-century discussion of the Scipionic circle. And this discussion never mentions more than a two-person relationship, and hardly ever offers details of those relationships. Scipio is seen to be a protégé of Polybius, a friend of Laelius, a contemporary of Lucilius, and a probable appreciator of Terence. It is not until Cicero that we find more relevant discussion of Scipio and his friends.

Cicero's testimony regarding the Scipionic circle derives chiefly from *De Oratore*, *De Republica*, and *Laelius de Amicitia*. In addition to the *dramatis personae* listed above, twice in the course of the fragmentary remains of *De Republica* the interlocutors refer to Panaetius (*Rep.* 1.15, 1.34). Both instances point to the well-attested friendship between Scipio and Panaetius, but also highlight Panaetius' absence from the discussion at hand. One passage makes reference also to Polybius, but Laelius implies that the relationship between Scipio and the two Greeks sets Scipio apart and does not carry over to the other members present for the discussion. Polybius' name recurs two more times in the extant portion of the dialogue (2.27 and 4.3), but no reference is made to either Terence or Lucilius.

De Oratore offers a parallel to the notion of the Scipionic circle, a sort of Crassan circle. It also furnishes most of the ideological information used to construct the traditional idea of the Scipionic circle. The most relevant passage is 2.154, wherein Catulus asserts that "[Rome] has certainly produced none of more splendid renown or more venerable authority or more refined humanity than Scipio Africanus, Gaius Laelius, and Lucius Furius, and they were always openly in the company of the most learned men from Greece" (trans. May and Wisse). The passage affirms the intimacy between Scipio, Laelius, and Furius that Cicero would soon dramatize in *De Republica*, it makes reference to the *humanitas* of the trio, and it places them in the company of some unnamed, learned Greeks. After Mommsen, this passage, with its emphasis on *humanitas* and Greek learning, became a filter through which scholars such as Brown would interpret all other references to Scipio and his friends. The passage, though, makes no claim to philhellenism or to the appreciation of poetry, and, in context, argues simply against avoiding Greek learning altogether, the position represented in the dialogue shortly before by Antonius.

On three occasions *De Oratore* identifies Panaetius as a teacher (1.45, 1.75, 3.87). Whereas *De Republica* describes only Panaetius' influence on Scipio, *De Oratore* explicitly extends that influence to two other interlocutors from *De Republica*, Tubero and Scaevola. A reading of these first two dialogues together certainly seems to paint a picture of a circle of friends surrounding Scipio, with repeated reference to the influence of Panaetius. Even in this capacity, however, the circle shows little formal definition, and what characteristics are evident still do not align with the traditional model proposed by Mommsen and others. The circle as represented in a synthesized reading of *De Oratore* and *De Republica* consists of Roman elites who have an abiding interest in politics that is at least partially informed by a common interest in Greek philosophy.

Perhaps the most noteworthy trait of the group is the lack of emphasis on Scipio, occasioned by the circle's intergenerational character. *De Republica*

certainly pivots around the host-figure of Scipio, but Crassus assumes this function in *De Oratore*. And later Ciceronian dialogues present similar milieux with still more central interlocutors, including Cicero himself. These circles, more generic trope than historical reality in Cicero's dialogues, ultimately serve to suggest a social continuity from one generation of Romans to the next. Cicero represents Romans from Cato to himself participating in the same sort of dialogic activity, often in the presence of a representative of the previous generation. John Dugan discusses this intergenerational continuity in terms of Ciceronian self-fashioning (Dugan 2005: 149–51). Dugan shows how Cicero assimilates himself to Crassus in an effort to make the portrait of Crassus as an erudite, virtue-minded politician and philosopher in *De Oratore* apply in part to himself. By extrapolating this analysis to other dialogues, we see Cicero undertaking a broader project of community-fashioning. Not only does he identify himself with Crassus, but he also identifies his coterie with that of Crassus, which is itself identified with the circle of Scipio. This community-fashioning allows Cicero to represent the republic of the 50s and 40s as stably located in the hands of a cohort of competent and virtuous men, just as it had been since the time and circle of Cato.

This broader definition of a Ciceronian circle helps to explain and contextualize one of the conventional proofs of a Scipionic circle, Laelius's reference to the group as *noster grex* (*Amic.* 69). The intergenerational continuity observed in other dialogues is reaffirmed at the conclusion (*Amic.* 100–1), when Laelius himself offers a short catalog of the virtuous friends he has known throughout his life. Laelius's list comprises four generations of friends, features interlocutors from four dialogues (*Laelius*, *De Republica*, *Cato*, and *De Oratore*), and ends with Rutilius, Cicero's friend and "source" for the events of *De Republica*. This ecumenical list is interested more in expanding the bounds of friendship to multiple dialogues and generations than in limiting them.

And it is in an intergenerational context that *noster grex* can best be understood. At *Amic.* 69 Laelius, while discussing Scipio's humility, recalls Scipio's refusal to rank himself above his friends, despite his natural pre-eminence: "But it is very important in friendship to treat inferiors as equals. Often it happens that one person stands out over others, as Scipio did in what I may call our flock" (*sed maximum est in amicitia superiorem parem esse inferiori. saepe enim excellentiae quaedam sunt, qualis erat Scipionis in nostro, ut ita dicam, grege*, trans. Powell). Laelius notably identifies the group of friends as *nostro grege*, the only instance in the dialogues in which Scipio's group of friends is given a formal designation. Rejecting the interpretation of the word as "circle" or even "group," Gary Forsythe has located part of the significance of the word *grex* in the foregoing passage, wherein Laelius compares the relative qualities of old and new horses (Forsythe 1991;

cf. Wilson 1994). But at the same time, by using *grex* Cicero passes over other options for describing the group, including *circulus*, *coetus*, *sodalitas*, or *collegium*. By avoiding the latter two terms, Cicero seems to be avoiding a specifically political connotation; both *sodalitates* and *collegia* had been the subject of recent statutes in Rome (the *Lex Clodia de collegiis* of 57 and the *Lex Licinia de sodalitatibus* of 56). *Circulus* and *coetus*, however, do not carry the same kind of political baggage, and Cicero freely uses them elsewhere to describe assemblies and groups. Even so, both terms tend to signify in Cicero a particular meeting or moment of meeting. *Grex* has the advantage of speaking to the kind or quality of the members of the group. This emphasis on kind allows the *grex* to include new and old friends, and friends of different generations and social standings, provided that these friends have a particular quality to them. As Laelius confirms in his list (100–1), that quality is *virtus*. By this description, the *grex* depends very little on the specific figure of Scipio. Ultimately it is not a specific group of Romans at a specific time and place, but a kind of Roman that includes Scipio and Laelius, but also Cato, Crassus, and Cicero himself.

Cicero undoubtedly represents circles in his dialogues, and is the first to offer a portrait of the Scipionic circle specifically. But Cicero did not intend to represent a historical reality, which is why Mommsen and others felt the need to supplement his circle with figures like Terence. Cicero was using his circles to fortify the Republic and to secure his own position in it. He identifies the individual circles with a larger, intergenerational circle of Roman *boni*, which is itself intimately connected to the survival of the Republic. This circle could fairly be identified as a Republican circle, or even a Ciceronian circle, but, the repeated references to Panaetius or Scipio notwithstanding, it is hard to assign priority to a Scipionic circle, even in the dialogues of Cicero.

The *testimonia* after Cicero, like those that precede him, describe only individual relationships between Scipio and his friends. Velleius Paterculus provides no extensive accounts or specific details, but he does attest to two different relationships involving Scipio. In 1.13, Velleius bears witness to Scipio's interest in the liberal arts, and makes the claim that Scipio was often in the company of Polybius and Panaetius, both at home and on his campaigns. The passage confirms Polybius's own testimony regarding himself, but offers a new detail about Panaetius traveling with Scipio. It is unclear whether or not Velleius means to say that the two Greeks accompanied Scipio on the same campaigns, just as it is unclear at *De Republica* 1.34 whether or not Scipio's discussions with Polybius and Panaetius on political theory were held in the company of one another. In both *De Republica* and Velleius, Panaetius and Polybius seem to be used paradigmatically to represent Scipio's interest in and application of Greek ideas. Velleius also mentions in passing (2.9.4) that Lucilius accompanied Scipio on a military campaign. He is again characteristically

short on details, but the connection between Lucilius and Scipio finds further support in the poetry of Horace.

In his *Satire* 2.1, whose programmatic character, if nothing else, problematizes its value as an accurate historical source, Horace invokes Scipio and Laelius towards the end of the poem, late in his defense of satire and its public function (on Horace and Terence, see chapter 19, this volume). In response to Trebatius' warning that satire offends the powerful, Horace adduces the example of Lucilius, who was not simply a friend of Scipio and Laelius, but who would gossip and frolic unclad with them while they waited for their dinner to cook (*S.* 2.1.71–4). Such friendship, Horace implies, was not upset by Lucilius' satiric criticism of those in power. The story sounds very much like one Crassus tells to the company of *De Oratore*, wherein he describes Scipio and Laelius playing like children and collecting seashells in their leisure time (*de Orat.* 2.22). Horace seems simply to add Lucilius to the group. The story as Horace tells it is proverbial at best, and perhaps entirely false. Certainly it can do no more in relation to a Scipionic circle than imply a relationship between three important contemporary Romans.

Cicero again fleshes out the picture in *De Finibus* 1.7, where he mentions that Lucilius claimed not to write for an audience of Scipio or P. Rutilius Rufus, but for provincials. Regardless of the earnestness of such a statement, there is a strong, implicit expectation that Lucilius *would* write for the approval of these two, especially when one takes into consideration the testimony of Velleius 2.9.4 stating that Lucilius served under Scipio in the Numantine War. Together Horace, Cicero, and Velleius offer sufficient evidence to posit a relationship between Lucilius and Scipio, but once again it is impossible to find any satisfactory proof of their political, ethical, or social like-mindedness (see Gruen 1992: 280–3). At the very least, the proof that Lucilius and Scipio were friends, combined with Lucilius' genre and the testimony of Horace, should warn strongly against any belief that a poet supported by Scipio would parrot Scipio's own positions. Even with a figure like Rutilius, who has now been introduced as interlocutor in *De Republica*, friend to Lucilius in *De Finibus*, and specific friend of Laelius in *Laelius*, the coincidence of friendships, such as in the case of Lucilius–Rutilius, Lucilius–Scipio, and Scipio–Rutilius, absolutely constitutes a nexus of important social relations, but it does not signify a historical uniqueness or even a unifying ideology.

Passing momentarily over Suetonius' *Vita*, which describes a relationship between Scipio and the poet, the only other ancient source bearing mention in connection to the Scipionic circle is Appian's *Iberica*. Appian naturally focuses on Scipio's military campaigns in Spain, and so is an unlikely source for Scipio's social activity. But when Appian refers to a φίλων ἵλην (*Hisp.* 14.84), one wants to understand the word ἵλη not as a cohort or military group so much as some sort of traveling coterie or entourage (cf. Plb. 11.33.8).

Still, the number of “friends” (500) tempers this interpretation. And a further caveat comes from the comments of Velleius mentioning Lucilius’ service under Scipio in the Numantine campaigns and Panaetius’ presence with Scipio *domi militiaeque*. It is tempting to use Lucilius and Panaetius in Velleius’ account as examples of the sort of friend that comprised Scipio’s φίλοι, but for the fact that Velleius goes on in 2.9 to mention Jugurtha and Marius, who served under Scipio at the same time and place as Lucilius. The impulse to assign a certain humanism to the group because of the reference to Lucilius or Panaetius is undermined by the martial reputation of Jugurtha and Marius. And the idea that Scipio would populate a military cohort exclusively with his urbane and literate friends is fundamentally implausible. It is pressing Appian too far to make his use of φίλων refer to intimate, like-minded friends.

With Appian, 300 years of *testimonia* on Scipio come to a close without any clear references to a Scipionic circle, much less to Terence’s involvement in such a group. The earliest sources attest to the friendship between Scipio and Laelius and the influence on Scipio of Polybius and Panaetius. Cicero offers a programmatic picture of Scipio and a company of elite, virtuous Romans, but he portrays this company as intergenerational, and not centered on the figure of Scipio. And the sources after Cicero offer little more than some anecdotes about Scipio’s friendship with Lucilius, without any reference to a circle. Not only is the traditional idea of the Scipionic circle as a coterie of philhellenes historically inaccurate, but there is no evidence of any such circle existing outside of Cicero, and even there the *grex* has little direct dependence on Scipio specifically.

3 Terence and Scipio

The dismissal of the idea of the Scipionic circle does not prove anything about the social or cultural ideologies at work in Terence’s poetry, but it does dispel any belief in a proven intimacy or lines of influence between such diverse figures as Terence, Lucilius, Polybius, and Panaetius. In many cases friendships between these figures are not unlikely, but they are unattested, and their potential character unknown. Even the sources that do exist often confuse more than they elucidate. Such is the case with Terence’s relationships with Scipio and Laelius. The remainder of this chapter will consider the individual relationships between these three and the import of Terence’s references to his noble friends in the prologues of *Heauton Timorumenos* and *Adelphoe*.

Terence’s references to the *amici* and *homines nobiles* who assisted him in his writing are intentionally subtle and vague. In neither comedy does Terence explicitly deny the charges against him, and yet in neither play does he confirm them. He no doubt had need of caution: an admission of assistance could

be self-defeating to his own reputation, while an explicit denial of the rumors could imply a disregard for any friendship he might have with a *homo nobilis*. The subtlety with which Terence deals with the accusation suggests that he is, at the very least, not insensitive to the advantages of being associated with elite company. But the prologues are ultimately silent on the names and nature of this company. Neither Scipio nor Laelius appears by name, but by the time of Cicero the association between the *homines nobiles* and Scipio and Laelius had become commonplace.

In a letter to Atticus (7.3.10), Cicero appeals to Terence as an authority on fine Latinity, and cites a line from *Eunuchus* as an example of his elegance. But Cicero immediately qualifies his example, reminding Atticus that, because of the *elegantia* of the Latin, Laelius used to be given popular credit for the writing of Terence's plays (*Terentium, cuius fabellae propter elegantiam sermonis putabantur a C. Laelio scribi*, "Terence, whose plays were thought to be written by C. Laelius on account of the elegance of their diction"). Cicero's verb tense here is ambiguous. He does not make it clear whether the rumor of Laelius's participation in composition, no doubt based in large part on the prologues of Terence's plays, was commonplace up until the time he wrote his letter in 50 BCE, whether it had been a familiar report at the time of Terence, or whether it was a rumor of the intervening period. Cicero himself does not seem confident in either the time or identity of his source, and the imperfect *putabantur* at least implies that Cicero did not subscribe to this report. Unfortunately Cicero makes no comment specifically on the prologues of Terence, and so it is unclear if he maintained that Laelius and Scipio were the ones to whom Terence referred, even if he did not consider them surrogate authors.

Elsewhere Cicero does briefly mention a relationship between Laelius and Terence. In *Amic.* 89, Cicero has the interlocutor Laelius refer to Terence as *familiaris meus*. He does not here raise again the question of authorship or even of patronage, but he does assert his belief in their friendship. It is perhaps worth noticing that nowhere does Cicero associate Terence with Scipio, either as a *familiaris* or as fellow writer. In *de Senectute*, Cato himself regularly gives Scipio and Laelius instruction layered with quotations from Terence's plays, but Cicero's writings ultimately offer little more than rumor and innuendo, and they never attempt to give a quasi-historical account of Terence like those provided for the dialogues' interlocutors. So while Cicero tends to be rigorous and accurate in his research and characterization in the dialogues (cf. E. Rawson 1991: 70–2), his lack of information on Terence implies that Terence was not a subject of his study. At best the above references confirm a connection in the popular mind between Scipio, Laelius, and Terence.

The tradition and details of an association among the three are considered more extensively by Suetonius, whose biography of Terence provides the vast

majority of the information on their relationship. Suetonius collects information from the historians Nepos and Fenestella, the grammarian Santra, the poet Porcius, and the Roman aristocrat C. Memmius.² The earliest of these is Porcius Licinus, from whom Suetonius quotes extensively. Porcius, a poet from either the end of the second or the early part of the first century, paints a sordid picture of social and sexual misuse. He details with moral disdain how Scipio, Laelius, and Furius entertained Terence at their dinners and villas because of his adolescent beauty (see Introduction, this volume). When they eventually grew tired of him, Porcius says, the three nobles discarded him, leaving him in abject poverty and offering no assistance (on the homoeroticism of the fragment, see Umbrico 2010: 11–58). Porcius’ testimony is damning, but creates some chronological difficulties. If Suetonius reports Terence’s dates accurately—he places his entire life between the Second and Third Punic Wars, and notes that he died at the age of twenty-five during the consulship of M. Fulvius Nobilior (159 BCE)—then the “flower of his youth” would have coincided with the youth of Scipio and Laelius, and preceded that of Furius, making it unlikely that any of the three nobles would have been in a position to abuse him.

This chronological irregularity serves as the first of several serious problems with Porcius’ account. Suetonius himself ultimately questions the validity of Porcius because of an apparent misstatement about the conditions of Terence’s death. Noting that Terence left behind at his death a well-married daughter and twenty *iugera* on the Via Appia, Suetonius concludes that Porcius cannot have been right in describing Terence’s wretched penury after Scipio, Laelius, and Furius abandoned him. In fact, only one detail of the Porcius fragment quoted by Suetonius seems right: Terence’s death abroad. But here, too, Porcius’ account is not authoritative. Porcius places Terence’s death at Stymphalus in Arcadia, but Suetonius cites two other traditions regarding Terence’s place of death (at sea en route from Greece to Italy or at Leucadia) that contradict Porcius’ claim. It is indeed much easier to refute Porcius’ description of events than it is to defend it.

It is easier, that is, if Porcius were actually discussing Terence. But nowhere in the given fragment does Porcius mention Terence by name. Little is known of Porcius’ life (see Gundel 1953). He appears in both Apuleius (*Apol.* 9) and Gellius (*NA* 19.9.10) in a list with other epigrammatists. Other fragments quoted by Varro, Cicero, and Gellius suggest that Porcius wrote a poem on the literary history of Rome (cf. *Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum*, s.v., Porcius Licinus, 1–5). The fragment in Suetonius has traditionally been included in this work, and rightly so. But the connection with Terence may be misleading. Though Terence is elsewhere connected with Scipio, the details in Porcius fit uneasily with what else is known of his life. If the poet in question were not Terence, but had in fact lived a decade or two later, it would explain several of

the irregularities: the youthfulness of the poet in relation to Scipio, the poverty surrounding his death, and perhaps even Porcius' outrage, which could be better explained if he had had a personal connection with the poet he describes. Given the nature of his poem, Porcius apparently described the biographies of several poets, so he would have had several opportunities to describe a poet other than Terence in these terms.

If the Porcius fragment is mistakenly attached to Terence, the connection of the passage with Terence must have stemmed from the association between Scipio, Laelius, and Terence in the popular mind. Three figures from the middle of the first century BCE showed knowledge of this reputation. Cicero's letter to Atticus has already been discussed, wherein Cicero claims Terence's comedies used to be attributed to Laelius. Suetonius reports that Nepos knew this rumor too, and related an anecdote regarding Laelius' composition of the *Heauton Timorumenos*. C. Memmius included a similar story in an oration, though he named Scipio, not Laelius, as Terence's surrogate (cf. Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.99, who, over a century later, also names Scipio as the writer). These reports vary some in detail: Memmius names Scipio instead of Laelius, Nepos comments only on one play (*Hau.*), and Cicero implies this rumor is no longer believed (with his use of an imperfect). Still, the general agreement among the three on the detail of a ghostwriter points directly back to the prologues (*Ad.* and *Hau.*). At some point between the production of these plays and the 50s BCE, the *amici* and *homines nobiles* of the prologues were identified with Scipio and Laelius.

But as with Porcius, this association is fraught with chronological inconsistencies. The early imperial historian Fenestella and the grammarian Santra drew the same conclusion. Fenestella asserted that Terence was older than both Scipio and Laelius. Santra, like Nepos, allows that Scipio, Laelius, and Terence may have at least been contemporaries, but still finds an inconsistency. He doubts that Terence would have turned to his contemporaries or juniors as sources of inspiration and aid, and posits instead a list of consulars who would have been better equipped in terms of influence and poetic ability. Fenestella and Santra's objections find further confirmation in the words of the *Adelphoe* prologue. Shortly after Terence mentions the *homines nobiles*, he trumpets their excellence *in bello, in otio, in negotio*. As Gruen observes, "it strains credulity beyond the breaking point to imagine that Terence's lines about men who had won universal acclaim for accomplishments in war and peace could possibly have applied to those striplings [Scipio (cos. 147), Laelius (cos. 140), and Furius (cos. 136)] in the 160s" (Gruen 1992: 200). Scipio and Laelius seem out of place for Terence's description.

If the *homines nobiles* are to refer to Scipio and Laelius, the only option is to adjust Terence's dates, as Mattingly has done (Mattingly 1963). Mattingly relocates Terence's floruit from the 160s to the 150s BCE. Such an adjustment

not only dismisses the dates given by Suetonius, but also the testimony of Fenestella and Santra. Mattingly bases his decision on the chronological priority of Porcius, Cicero, Memmius, and Nepos over the Augustan scholars. Mattingly depends particularly on the historical reliability of Cicero's dialogues (especially *Sen.* 43–7). He suggests that Cato's repeated references to Terence and drama in general in *Cato* are accommodations to his audience of Laelius and Scipio. Cicero's dedication to historical accuracy notwithstanding, even if Cicero should have formulated an accurate and full understanding of the relative chronology of Scipio and Terence, it is unclear that his audience, however limited it may have been, would have shared such knowledge to the extent that it would have been able to recognize oblique and subtle references to Terence's career. The improbability of this scenario is compounded by the fact that scholars, one or two generations later, by Mattingly's argument, had thoroughly misunderstood Terence's chronology. Gruen also objects to this kind of shift. He prefers to accept the testimony of Santra and Fenestella, and to reject that of Cicero, Nepos, and Memmius. He suggests that the three first-century Republicans relied on the fallible and slanderous information provided by Porcius. While such a scenario is possible, again Porcius' account does not fit the bill. Even if Porcius were writing about Terence, he never mentions the ghostwriting that was the subject of the comments of Cicero, Nepos, and Memmius. But Gruen more effectively challenges Mattingly's redating of Terence by noting that even if Terence flourished a decade later than previously supposed, he would still be a contemporary of a relatively unaccomplished Scipio. That is, Terence could hardly be a youthful, junior lover, and Scipio could hardly be accomplished *in bello et in otio et in negotio*, even in the 150s (Gruen 1992: 200–1).

Neither Gruen nor Mattingly is entirely convincing because each must use evidence selectively. Gruen perhaps oversells the influence of Porcius on Cicero and his contemporaries (after all, Porcius seems an unlikely source for a sympathizer of Scipio like Cicero), leading him ultimately to conclude that Scipio and Terence had no association. Mattingly meanwhile relies too much on Cicero's dialogues as history, using the accounts therein to justify a dramatic shift in Terence's dates that contradicts both Suetonius and the later *didascaliae* (for Mattingly's distrust of the *didascaliae*, see Mattingly 1959). The absence of contemporary testimony, compounded by the fact that the earliest testimony is clearly hostile and delivered second-hand, makes the relationship between Scipio and Terence difficult to judge. The situation is further confused by the *didascaliae*, which claim that the second production of the *Hecyra* and a production of the *Adelphoe* both took place at the funeral of Scipio's father, L. Aemilius Paullus, in 160. Regardless of their accuracy, these *didascaliae* reflect a consistent tradition of association between Scipio and Terence.

The regular reiteration of this tradition of association, combined with the chronological problems of identifying Scipio and Laelius with the *homines nobiles*, ultimately has a simple solution: Terence did know and associate with Scipio and Laelius, but they are not the ones he mentions in his prologues. In this scenario one need not assert that Scipio and Laelius were accomplished in war, peace, and business at a young age, nor that Terence's dates must be dramatically adjusted. It also explains why later generations would assume that Terence had Scipio and Laelius in mind in his prologues (they were his *familiares*), and why Cicero used *putabantur* to describe the tradition of Laelius' surrogate authorship ("people used to make this kind of connection without doing any historical research, but it should not continue to be made"). And if Porcius' fragment does not, in fact, refer to Terence, it explains why Suetonius would link it to him nonetheless (since the poet in question in the fragment fraternized with Scipio and Laelius).

But the identity of the *homines nobiles* remains a mystery. As with Cicero's *grex*, Terence's prologues at best confirm that Terence lived and associated socially with persons of the type or quality of Scipio, whether or not these men actually pursued a humane blend of Greek influence and Roman tradition as Scipio is claimed to have done. Both Goldberg and Parker remind us that Terence's plays were produced by Roman politicians of every stripe (Goldberg 1986: 14; Parker 1996: 604–7). The dates of Terence's plays given in the *didascaliae* help to paint a picture of the difference in social and political orientations of several of his aedile benefactors who presided over the production of his plays. See Table 6.1.

Some of the aediles showed sympathies to both Scipio and philhellenism, some to one or the other. Such a diverse set of patrons strongly suggests that there was no appreciable political or social message encoded in

Table 6.1 Chronology

<i>Play</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Aediles</i>	<i>Philhellene?</i>	<i>Scipionic</i>
<i>Andria</i>	166	M. Fulvius Nobilior	Son of one	No
<i>Heaut.</i>	163	L. Cornelius Lentulus	?	Opponent
<i>Eunuchus</i>	161	L. Postumius Albinus	No?; cousin of one	?
<i>Phormio</i>	161	L. Postumius Albinus and L. Cornelius Merula ?	Same as above ?	? ?
<i>Hecyra</i> (3rd)	160	Q. Fulvius Nobilior and Lucius Marcus	Son of one ?	No ?
<i>Hecyra</i> (1st)	165	Sextus Iulius Caesar and Gn. Cornelius Dolabella	? ? ?	? ? ?

Terence's plays particular to Scipio or someone like him, regardless of the aristocratic character of some of his friends. D.C. Earl, who accepts at least a baseline patron relationship between Scipio and Terence, finds a sort of generalized, non-specific morality in Terence's use of words such as *gloria* and *virtus* (Earl 1962: 471–6). Such morality was palatable to a large audience, a large set of patrons, and a large set of ideologies. Morality and philhellenism were not the unique prerogative of Scipio, nor has Scipio been shown to be a unique influence on Terence. Certainly it is a mistake to seek in Terence the imprint of figures like Panaetius, Lucilius, or Polybius based on the historically unfounded idea of the Scipionic circle. In trying to locate Terence's socio-political influences we are ultimately left with what Terence himself gives us: he claims to have enjoyed a reputation as a companion of some noble men. No doubt this companionship derived at least in part from similar ideologies, and Chremes' famous claim *homo sum* at least hints at a sort of humanism with which figures such as Scipio would later be closely associated. But Terence was hardly a mouthpiece for the Scipionic circle or any other group. He was ultimately not a part of a circle, but simply part of a *grex*.

FURTHER READING

Gruen (1992) and Mattingly (1959, 1963) still offer the most detailed studies of Suetonius' *Vita Terenti* and the relationship between Terence, Scipio, and Laelius. Parker (1996) strongly denies not only the Scipionic circle, but any humanistic influence on Terence, insisting that Terence's patrons cared far more for political success than for the communication of moral ideas. For a summary of some of Terence's possible general political ideas, see Earl (1962). On the Scipionic circle, Strasburger (1965, 1966), Astin (1967), and Zetzel (1972) present the best cases for disposing of the idea, even if their proof is not always heeded.

NOTES

1. Mommsen compares the "fine taste" of the Scipionic circle with the "Italian Hellenism of the lower orders [which] was in reality nothing but a repulsive cosmopolitanism tainted at once with all the extravagances of culture and with a superficially whitewashed barbarism" (1880: 425). Mommsen's references to the Scipionic circle are scattered throughout the volume (1880: 88, 99, and 424–71).
2. Fenestella, according to Pliny *Nat.* 8.195 and 33.146, lived during the reigns of Augustus and Tiberius. Mattingly (1963) places Santra, whose dates are unknown,

in the same time period. Porcius' style leads Conte (1994) to situate him at the beginning of the first century BCE, though the heated character of his criticism of Scipio, Laelius, and Furius suggests perhaps a floruit in the last quarter of the second century (Gundel 1953). C. Memmius is the dedicatee of Lucretius' *De Rerum Natura* and praetor of 58 (Gruen 1992: 199).

CHAPTER SEVEN

opera in bello, in otio, in negotio: Terence and Rome in the 160s BCE

John H. Starks, Jr.

At first (even second or third) glance, Terence's *palliata* comedies seem too otherworldly, too Attic-New-Comedy, to yield much insight into Roman society of the early second century BCE. On the one hand, the *didascaliae* and prologues have been repeatedly mined, most often—though not always most productively, as shown, e.g., in the fruitful, critical approaches of Parker (1996) and Gowers (2004)—as if they are straightforward commentary and data on contemporary Roman theater history and criticism, and the only portions of the plays expressed in Roman terms. But limited scope inevitably diminishes perspective. Under the surface and around the edges of his scripts, Terence offers glimpses of Rome and Roman sensibilities, subtler than Plautus to be sure, but even in that comparison, somehow appropriate to the Roman social/cultural scene of the 160s BCE.

Duckworth categorically overstates, “[Terence], wishing to preserve the Greek atmosphere of his comedies, steadfastly refused to Romanize his productions and (except in his prologues) avoided all mention of Roman places and events,” and “... he [was] careful not to introduce Roman allusions” (Duckworth 1952: 272, 389; cf. 136). On the other hand, Suetonius, with customary sensationalism, suggests that Terence may have embarked on his tragic, final trip from Rome “to take a closer look at Greek customs and manners, since he was not representing them very well in his scripts” (Suet.

Vita Terenti 4; see Introduction, this volume). Despite the methodological hazards of counter-balancing modern and ancient literary critics to explore Terence's reflections and refractions of *Romanitas* in his "Greek" comedies, such absolutist views, expressed in whatever era, fail to recognize that the Latin comedian Terence naturally belongs somewhere between these poles of slavishly philhellenic Menander cipher (cf. McElduff 2004) and Greek-challenged innocent abroad in an increasingly Roman world extending its control eastward.

1 Roman Reflections: Locating the Roman Self in a Terentian Comedy

In his editor's introduction to an important 2004 collection of essays entitled "Rethinking Terence," A.J. Boyle (2004: 3, 6) instructively applies Lacan's "mirror stage" to "rethink" the under-appreciated (often ignored) role of Terence's comedies in the development and public expression of a Roman "self." The comedian consciously, if not always sharply, reflects and reconstitutes this Roman socio-cultural identity in reference and reaction to the "Greek" characters on his comic stage, and inevitably to Greeks in his contemporary Mediterranean world, whose conflict and contact with Rome had grown exponentially since the Punic Wars, especially after Macedonia's recent dissolution in the early 160s. Terence appears to have approached his Roman audience with Greek cultural material primarily by softening, de-contextualizing, and universalizing it (on the Greek models, see chapter 1, this volume; on the Roman models, see chapter 2, this volume; on the changes in society between Plautus' and Terence's time, see Cupaiuolo 1991). Comparison of *Heauton Timorumenos* 61–4 to Menander's surviving original (fr. 127K–T) offers a prime example of this authorial practice, with its excision of culturally specific, Athenian details, such as the name of the particular *deme* for a prized piece of farmland and mention of a mortgage deal (Goldberg 1986: 10–12). Terence retains only a generically applicable comic back-story. Donatus claims that, in *Phormio*, Terence reassigned Apollodorus' original messenger in *Epidikazomenos*, a barber who cropped the hair of a mourning girl (Greek practice), so as not to "bother (*offenderet*) the Roman playgoer with foreign customs" (ad *Ph.* 91; Apollodorus of Carystus fr. 18K–A). Why this funeral practice should be more "bothersome" to Romans than any number of other Greek/Athenian customs retained or reflected in Terence's scripts, e.g., mandatory marriage between an orphaned girl and next of kin (*Ph.* 124–35; *Ad.* 650–2; see chapter 15, this volume) or dining clubs financed through individual shares (*symbolae*; *An.* 88; *Eu.* 540), remains without comment, but omission of some foreign details to connect the script better with Romans is sensible and documentable.

Like his comedic predecessors in Rome, Terence also re-contextualizes, translates, or adds some Roman cultural norms intended for local consumption and understanding (see also chapter 11, this volume). Examples include the legal threat of debt slavery, disallowed under Solon's Athenian codes, but approved by Roman standards (*Ph.* 333); an analogy to a gladiatorial assault, an increasingly popular Roman spectacle with more frequent and extravagant bouts at the time (*Ph.* 964; Welch 2007: 18–22); military terminology for formations and command structures particular to Roman legions, with a follow-up slur against Pyrrhus' tactics (*Eu.* 774–6, 781–3; Barsby 1999a: 231–4); political wordplay on a slave holding a magistracy by “drawing a difficult province/assignment” (*provinciam cepisti duram*) when he is left nominally in charge (*quasi magistrum*) of several mischievous youths (*Ph.* 71–3; Smith 2004: 87, cf. Richardson 2008: 43–52); manumission of Syrus and wife (*uxor*, not *contubernalis*) Phrygia to full citizen status, as if under Roman legal standards (*Ad.* 973; Gratwick 1999: 201; Martin 1976: 237); ironic allusion to the passivity of grooms, using the language of Roman wedding rites (*Ad.* 693–4; see Hersch 2010: 140–4); proper invocation of two distinct manifestations of the goddess Fortune in Rome, *Fortuna* as “the uncertainty of affairs,” and *Fors Fortuna* as “bringer of good luck” (Don. ad *Ph.* 841; see chapter 15, this volume); and, finally, paying due honors over a family matter to *penates* before gathering support from business associates (*amicos*) in the forum (*Ph.* 311–13).

We expect simple Latin translations/transpositions of *agora/forum* or *acropolis/arx*, but these more completely cross-cultural “mapping points” orient the audience in the fictional world of the play through ready, if contextually incongruous, analogies that present ironic counterpoints to critical issues of character development or plot. For instance, although technically the uncorroborated ridicule of Pyrrhus' leading from the rear could be chronologically original to Menander (died 291 BCE), his fame derived from campaigns in Macedonia, Italy, Sicily, and Greece after 291. The entire passage, enveloped in Roman legionary jargon, shows the deliberate hand of Terence delivering a snappy one-liner to Romans presumably familiar both with Pyrrhus' legendary skill as an aggressive enemy strategist and with the significance of the Pyrrhic War in their historical expansion. In sending Demipho into his house to pray to the family's gods, Terence impedes the logical, dramatic action of getting him directly offstage in order to make a culturally relevant comment for Romans about the multiple, overlapping familial bonds between brothers and cousins in similarly twisted circumstances (mostly of their own making) that need remedies. With Roman cultural behaviors established, Demipho's legal business with *amici* in the forum also instantly translates to Roman standards of interaction within the patron/client system (cf. *Ad.* 645–6, where business with friends in the forum sets up

a case based on Athenian legal standards that leads to plot complications). In all the instances cited above (many notably from *Phormio* and all from Terence's plays of 161–160 BCE), Roman cultural references appear at moments of heightened agitation, activity, and potential crisis in the scripts, effectively enhancing the interconnection of plot and humor at critical junctures.

Donatus recognizes this phenomenon of intruded cultural memes when Terence directly maps an actual Roman locale onto his stage “Athens” in the interests of “comic effect” (σχῆμα *comicum*, ad *Eu.* 257; see chapter 1, this volume). The parasite Gnatho speaks of arriving at the *Macellum* (*Eu.* 255–7), a supermarket north of the Roman forum where various marketers welcome him as their prime customer: “vendors of savory, prepared meats and snacks (*cuppedinari*, Dalby 2003, s.v. *macellum*), fishmongers (*cetarii*), butchers, cooks, poulterers or possibly sausagemakers (*fartores*), and fishermen (*piscatores*).” Terence takes his audience on a mental tour of their own, relatively new (179 BCE; *Eunuchus* produced 161 BCE), central market, with emphatic reference on either end of the list to names signifying alternative titles for major portions of the whole Roman *Macellum*, the *Forum Cuppedinis* and *Forum Pisca(to)rarium* (Don. ad *Eu.* 256; Var. *L.* 5.146, 152); Plautus, who usually associates a *macellum* with fishmongering (*Aul.* 373; *Ps.* 169; *Rud.* 979), identifies the *Forum Piscarium*, roughly where the integrated *Macellum* would later stand (*Cur.* 474; cf. Fest. 42 L; see further Richardson 1992 s.v. *Forum Cuppedinis*, *Forum Piscarium*, *Macellum*).

Terence again features the centrally located and culturally essential *Macellum* as a conceptual landmark for the wild goose chase that Syrus sends Demea on (*Ad.* 573–86, 713–18). To gain trust, Syrus evokes familiar territory in order to lead Demea down (*deorsum*) out of the residential hills where Micio “lives” past the market and its adjacent portico (*porticum apud macellum*) into the busy forum (Gilula 1991a: 246–7). Vague, practically rural, directions—up and down hilly streets, a shrine (*sacellum*) to one side, a large fig tree, a little cross-street nearby—yield surprisingly too much detail to advance Syrus’ ulterior motives, when the old man recognizes that the long route he is being sent on will come to a dead end. Syrus’ hurriedly reconsidered, backup shortcut sends Demea on a distinctly urban path marked by identifiable structures from the *Macellum* west, past the recognized house of rich Cratinus (generic Greek plutocrat, “Mr. Big”), possibly conceived as located on the west end of the posh Palatine; he is then to go left on a broad street (*sinistram, recta platea*, maybe the Clivus Publicius), past a temple of Diana, surely the ancient one on the plebeian Aventine, and then to turn right toward an area just inside a city gate where Demea should find, across from a bakery/mill (*pistrilla*), a furniture shop making luxury couches for Micio (hence, where he can find Ctesipho). Gilula (1991a: 247) thinks this should be south of the Forum Boarium at the important, commercial Porta Trigemina, which leads

beyond the Servian Wall to the working-man's warehouse district around the Tiber docks, the Porticus Aemilia grain warehouses, and the "lumber yards" (Liv. 35.41.10). But the Temple of Diana is uphill south of the Porta Trigemina, so I propose that Syrus is conceptually sending Demea and the audience farther south by a meandering path over the Aventine, maybe to the seedy thieves' den, the Porta Lavernalis (Richardson 1992 s.v. *porta Lavernalis*), which opens to the land side of the Porticus Aemilia. In addition, this Temple of Diana, the second Roman landmark here, represented empowerment for the Roman *plebs* (D.H. 10.31–2; Cornell 1995: 261–2) and slaves in Italy (Fest. 460L, thus Syrus' familiarity with it) and symbolized "community, asylum, and arbitration, the brotherhood of the Latins" (Richardson 1992 s.v. *Diana, aedes*)—a symbol of fragile, idealized bonds between urban Romans and rural Latins.

Demea must walk from a market well known to a rural visitor, around the patrician Palatine, across the plebeian Aventine, past a temple that ironically evokes residents of both city and countryside in a familial Latin community, and finally down among the loud, dirty, unfamiliar factories and mills on the rough side of town near the warehouse district. Add the fact that commercial bakeries were themselves a new feature in Rome after the war against Perseus of Macedon (Plin. *Nat.* 18.107), which was won at Pydna in 168 BCE by Aemilius Paullus, the funeral honoree of this comedy (who also commissioned those granaries along the Tiber during his aedileship in 193 BCE), and the seemingly random details of this wayward journey across "Rome/Athens" add contemporary nuance and subtext to a comic diversion. The simple mention of a commercial bakery and a fine furniture shop, luxuries of the new Roman order, as the final destinations of this trek sparks Demea's moralistic umbrage at Micio's extravagance and a reaffirmation of his own mission to re-establish conservative family values (*Ad.* 584–6). Naturally no such furniture factory exists inside that gate (*Ad.* 715–16), but Syrus' fabrication deceived Demea with his own prejudices and indignation. Terence occasionally leaves these identifiable landmarks (a market, a prominent temple) and other socio-political markers where his Roman audience can find themselves at home, while immersed temporarily in a comically conceived fantasy world abroad.

2 Reflections on Rome: Referencing Roman Current Events and Policy

Considering Terence's subtle, economical application of cultural allusions to Roman standards, practices, institutions, and landmarks in his scripts beyond the prologues, we are justified in testing whether he further enriches his *palliatae* with hints at important events or movements in contemporary Rome (cf. Gruen 1992: 202). In *Eunuchus* (420–33, 496–8), Thraso launches into

his standard war story about besting a young Rhodian at a dinner party. When the Rhodian started “messing around with” (*alludere*) Thraso’s prostitute dinner-date, the soldier “assaulted/scored a hit on” (*tetigerim*) him, a mixed military/sexual image, with a cribbed retort—*lepus tute’s: pulpamentum quaeris?* (“A hare, like yourself, hunting game?,” which has been ascribed to Livius Andronicus, *SHA Num.* 13.5; cf. *CPG* 1.234, 2.357)—questioning the masculinity of a stereotypically hedonistic Rhodian, viewed as sexual prey shamelessly (*impudens*) playing predator (Don. ad *Eu.* 420, 426; Barsby (1999) 162-4; on Rhodian hedonism, cf. *Juv.* 6.296, 8.113; *Athen.* 8.352b–c). Terence admittedly borrowed the soldier from Menander’s *Kolax* (*Eu.* 30–3), where his counterpart, Bias the soldier, delivered a different ethnic joke about “shit-eating” Cypriot oxen (Menander fr. 3, 8 K–T; Barsby 1999a: 306–7). Thus Terence introduces the Rhodian and the sexual, ethnic humor in a soldier’s hyper-masculine assumptions about Rhodians as a luxuriant, and thus sensual/effeminate, Eastern merchant culture. The on-again/off-again embassies, recriminations, conflict avoidance, territorial and trade losses, and imbalanced alliance between Rhodes and Rome throughout the 160s (Ager 1991; Finkielsztejn 2001; Gabrielsen 1993; Lund 1999) surely contribute to Terence’s selection of Rhodian identity for this young man. The unsettled ethno-political dialogue over Rhodes and impressions of Rhodians in Roman circles could help explain why Gnatho’s sympathy for the young man’s bad judgment (*imprudenti*) and impertinent/freewheeling behavior (*libero*) elicit a curse from a hidden Parmeno, who interjects an audience aside between two of Gnatho’s lines (430–2). Parmeno curses the parasite’s excuses for the Rhodian’s peccadilloes (Barsby 1999a: 164), to be heard as standard adolescent foibles on the one hand, but on the other in ethno-political terms (“It bothers me that you attacked the Rhodian(s) for a foolish mistake and a saucy, independent streak”). Gnatho’s commentary and Parmeno’s curse represent rival opinions on the senate’s most contentious foreign policy crisis of the 160s (see Vishnia 1996: 177). Rhodian mistakes, unilateralism, and, above all, perceived arrogance in their responses to Rome appear as central charges, the subject of refutations and confessions in the ongoing arguments over Rhodes’ (in)actions regarding the war with Perseus, the heated deliberations on how to punish them afterward, and Rhodes’ ambassadorial pleas for clemency, which led to a delayed formal alliance (164 BCE) with a debased ally that had received several tongue lashings along the way (Cato *ORF* 163, 164, 169 = *Gel.* 6.3.1, 15, 48; *Plb.* 30.4, 31; *Liv.* 45.10.4–15, 23.16–18, 24.1; Gabrielsen 1993: 135, 137, 151).

With this awareness of Terence’s hand in rechanneling the humor of his *miles’* bombastic entrance through Roman perceptions of Rhodians, we may posit a contemporary understanding of a similar joke preceding this. Thraso’s bragging session begins with a mention of his role as “the king’s sole confidant”

(*Eu.* 397–410), which we could infer from the title *rex* as a generic Seleucid anyway, but the key is found in the final punch line of the segment. Thraso's fabricated access to the throne allegedly enraged Strato, the commander of the king's Indian elephants (412–17), the species all but monopolized by the Seleucids among the Hellenistic monarchs (Scullard 1974: 124, 134, 143–4; Barsby 1999a: 161). The Treaty of Apamea had compelled Antiochus the Great to decommission his elephants in 188 (Plb. 21.43.12); yet Antiochus IV Epiphanes boldly paraded forty-two elephants at the end of his magnificent military display at Daphne in 166 (Plb. 30.25.11), a defiant show of wealth and force aimed at a Rome that had flexed its muscles, after defeating Macedonia, by abruptly and undiplomatically shutting down Antiochus' operations against Ptolemy VI with a literal line drawn in the sand (Plb. 29.27, Liv. 45.12.3–8). When the proconsular commissioner Cn. Octavius (cos. 165) arrived in Syria to investigate Syrian affairs during the succession turmoil after Antiochus Epiphanes' death, he ordered the elephants to be hamstrung (Plb. 31.2.11), a contributing factor in his murder by a Syrian amid popular uprisings in 162 BCE (Cic. *Phil.* 9.4; App. *Syr.* 46; Obsequens 15; Scullard 1974: 186, 188; Walbank 1979: 3.478). Thraso taunts the envious Strato by asking, "Are you ferocious because you are a commander of wild beasts?" (415). By spring 161 BCE, when *Eunuchus* was performed, this line could not only work as a lame wordplay and insult from a nobody to a fictional character who reminds Romans of a historic military threat, but could also add the ironic twist that the Seleucid elephant commander should currently be unemployed, in command of nothing, and should have been for some time. The silencing of the elephant commander and his charges is further implied in a mock-violent exchange. *Gnatho*: "You slit his throat!" (*ingularas*); *Thraso*: "He was dumbstruck on the spot!"; *Gnatho*: "How could he not be?". The assault on the Rhodian, discussed above, immediately follows. Terence develops and connects these two tall tales, which climax in military attacks of one-liners on a Syrian and a Rhodian, without incongruous anachronism, but with resonance for contemporary Romans, in order to present a braggart mercenary whose tactical skills, like those of his New Comic antecedent Bias in Menander's *Kolax* (who can out-drink Alexander, fr. 2 K-T; Barsby 1999a: 306), are limited to dinner table antics and verbal pot-shots. Roman policy disputes with major players in the Mediterranean detente after Pydna have been reduced here to ludicrous insult bombs.

Just as Terence accents the soldier's introduction to the stage with Roman material, so he brings his two parasites Gnatho and Phormio onstage in contexts that allude to Roman surroundings and events of the day. Gnatho introduces himself and his "new" style of parasitism in a monologue that ends with the detailed walk through the Roman *Macellum*, discussed above, and a set of greetings and dinner invitations so impressive that Gnatho's sorry parasite buddy

asks how he can learn his method. Gnatho tells him to enroll (*sectari*) in his “Gnathonic” school of thought, directly comparing his discipline and pedagogy to Greek philosophical training (*Eunuchus* 263–5; see also chapter 4, this volume). This rare, and comically dubious, attestation of philosophers and formal education in Terence, with tongue firmly in cheek for the punch line, was delivered during the year (161 BCE) that the senate approved a *senatus consultum* authorizing the urban praetor’s motion to expel philosophers and rhetoric teachers from the city (Suet. *Rhet.* 1.2; Gel. 15.11.1; Gruen 1990: 171–3).

Phormio also first appears onstage describing his superior parasite methods (*Phormio* 326–45). He rebuffs worries that he might be enslaved for debt repayment, a Roman practice captured in bold Latin alliteration (*ducent damnatum domum*), and then launches into a “hymn” to patrons for providing costly banquets for loafing clients. Donatus informs us that this inverted pity for the “poor” patron is not in Apollodorus’ *Epidikazomenos*; rather the concept derives from a Latin text sometimes attributed to Ennius’ *Saturae* (fr. 14–19V; Don. ad *Ph.* 339). Terence, already operating within mockery of a Roman mode, has the client coming fresh from the baths, paying no diner’s club fee (*asymbolum*, in contrast to Athenian practice), and plopping down on a prime couch for a “feast that raises big questions” (*dubia cena*, 342), like “What should I eat first?” (343). He introduces this apparently borrowed irony by acknowledging the patron as *rex*—a common enough parasite frame of reference, whose significance Donatus explains with a direct analogy: parasite ~ king, freedman ~ patron (ad *Ph.* 338). Terence closes out the passage by revering the founder of the feast as a *deus praesens*, “god on earth.” The original Phormio of Apollodorus’ comedy was probably modeled on Seleucus I Nicator’s favorite parasite of that name (Aristodemus fr. 7, *FHG* 3.310 = Athen. 6.244f); Terence’s Phormio, without outright anachronism, appears to be riffing on Seleucus’ descendant, the recently deceased Antiochus IV, declared *Theos Epiphanes* (“God Manifest”) on issues of his coinage circulated in Syria for a decade (Walbank 1979: 3.285). Also, it should be noted that Antiochus, who had been a hostage resident in Rome for over a decade after Apamea (App. *Syr.* 39, Walbank 1979: 3.284), and thus a known quantity in Roman social circles, is described in Polybius’ rhetoricized character sketches as a lavish, fully participatory party host, particularly fond of entertaining himself among commoners (Plb. 26.1a.1; 26.1; 30.26.4–8). Tales of Antiochus’ eccentricities may have originated in local Roman sources, but may also have been circulated by the household of Demetrius I Soter, Antiochus’ hostage replacement in Rome (Plb. 31.2.1–2; App. *Syr.* 45) for nearly fifteen years until his own adventurous escape to claim the Syrian throne from Antiochus’ successor in 162 on the advice of his friend Polybius (Plb. 31.11–14).

Another piece of significant social legislation in 161 was the sumptuary *lex Fannia cibaria* aimed at curbing extravagant dinner parties. Beginning as a

senatus consultum limiting expenses, imported wine, and displays of wealth at feasts hosted by upper-class citizens (*principes*) for the *ludi Megalenses*, the legislation was expanded in a detailed *lex* to regulate total expenditures on feasting, both month by month and at important annual festivals such as the *ludi Romani* and *ludi Plebeii*. It included caps on certain luxury foods (e.g., pricey fish, stuffed/fattened poultry), (Gel. 2.24.2–6, Athen. 2.674c, Plin. Nat. 10.139). The law also appears to have reinforced restrictions from the *lex Orchia* (182 BCE) on numbers of guests from outside the family permitted at private dinner parties (five on market days (*nundinae*), three on others; Athen. 2.674c; Macr. 3.17.2, 5). Sponsorship of the law in the popular assembly by the plebeian consul for the year, C. Fannius Strabo, rather than the usual tribune or praetor, suggests senate resolve, a sense of expeditious urgency, and broad support across class lines for reform legislation that at least gave the public appearance of moderate restraint (see Macr. 3.17.4). Loopholes in the stipulations, checks on the *purchase* of commodities—an urban, mercantile issue—rather than their *provision* (e.g., from old-money, landed estates), and the difficulties of private enforcement, considered together with the surely related expulsion from Rome of Greek teachers to the nouveaux riches, suggest that the *lex Fannia* was a politically astute showpiece of old-fashioned morality masking a stronger senatorial concern over how much political power the “wrong sort of people” were buying with their new money after Macedonia’s defeat (Gruen 1990: 171–3; Dauster 2003: 66–9). Through grand character sketches of Aemilius Paullus and Scipio Aemilianus, Polybius captures the contrapuntal rhetoric of this culture war and the already well-established *topoi* of Greek decadence, moral lassitude, youthful dissipation, luxuriant posturing, and fast money in the post-Pydna era (Plb. 31.22, 25). “True” nobility sets itself apart in public messaging and law.

As for Terence, in 161 he produced his two parasite comedies (*Eunuchus* for the Megalensian, *Phormio* for the Roman Games), thus guaranteeing that dining out would be an issue in each comedy. Although Gnatho and Phormio both mention their prowess and interest in soliciting dinner invitations, they do not dwell on this stereotypical fixation nor does it define them or their style of comedy, as it does, say, for Plautus’ Curculio or Peniculus. Each delivers his strongest comments on being entertained at his entrance, where Roman re-contextualization is prominent as noted above, and in the final scene of each comedy. Gnatho’s self-introduction, ending in the philosopher joke, highlights his search for status enhancement, a consummate client projecting the ease of a patron on a politically invaluable market day, currying favor with food merchants who profit from him “when business is healthy or ailing” (*re salva et perdita*, *Eu.* 258), and carefully noting the location within the *Macellum* of all the banquet supplies for the rich, notably including expensive fish, choice butcher’s cuts, dressed poultry, and cooks for hire. Parmeno smugly observes

to the audience, “Do you see what a life of idleness (*otium*) and dining on someone else’s tab (*cibus alienus*) does for a person?” (*Eu.* 265). This tight piece of introductory comic commentary with noticeable Roman touches, including the inventory of luxury foodstuffs in the marketplace in a very un-Terentian combination of colloquial, early Latin vocabulary and asyndetic quintuplet (*Eu.* 256–7; Karakasis 2005: 122–3; Cic. *Off.* 1.150 cites this line to bash the lowest ranks of businessmen catering to luxury tastes), is evidence for passage early in 161 of the two *senatus consulta*, aimed, respectively, at philosophers and excesses surrounding the Megalensian festival occasion for *Eunuchus*, and probably full passage of the detailed prohibitions in the *lex Fannia*. In the finale, Gnatho carefully arranges for full-time access to Thraso’s table without formal invitation (*Eu.* 1058–60), and then offers up Thraso’s incomparable largess as a feast (*comedendum*) for Phaedria, Chaerea, and a few guests in order to secure his place in their tight-knit party patrol, a quasi-family (*gregem*, 1078–88). Phormio similarly wrests his only free meal from Nausistrata, after he has revealed the dirty deeds of her husband, who will hate this arrangement, but cannot object; Phormio joins the family, a *cliens* by default (*Ph.* 1051–3). Recall that when Phormio introduced himself, he transferred the “all-consuming worry and expense” of an existence built on entertainment to the *rex/patronus* for serving him a *dubia cena*. Phormio turns well-founded doubt about such arrangements into a self-effacing, parasite joke when Geta asks for clarification, but the joke really reflects on Roman policy and the whole function of enormous business dinners in social/political advancement, especially when the law technically limited the cost and menu in efforts to control entrance to the exclusive body of Romans who might be regarded, even for a night, as “living gods” (*di praesentes*). The groups assembled for dinner parties at the ends of these comedies, and even those discussed along the way, such as the soldier’s alleged private dinner with the king (*Eu.* 407–10) and the dinner party cat fight with a Rhodian over a prostitute, raise big questions.

3 Reflections for Romans: Elite Male Ideals for All to Admire

Incidental references to Roman conventions, locales, and even recent events may elucidate plot points or character development for Terence’s Roman audience, but the playwright also imbeds fundamental, Roman social structures and values in the fabric of his comedies. Family structure and management in Terence’s domestic comedies have frequently been recognized as Roman, under the perceived control of a *paterfamilias* (Gratwick 1999: 21–2, 29–30; Fantham 2004: 28–32; Lape 2004a; Leigh 2004: 158–91; McCarthy 2004: 105–7; Smith 2004: 84–7 and 92–5; and chapter 10, this volume) and

generally focused on reconciling prodigal or shiftless sons and wayward or overbearing fathers to normative paths of tempered social order. *Adelphoe* and less frequently *Heauton Timorumenos* draw attention in this regard with their focus on juxtaposed parenting styles and ethics. In fact, Terence acknowledges the formal nomenclature of the upper-class Roman family only once, when Demea questions in high Roman dudgeon how Micio, deviant bohemian that he is, can sanction their son's bringing a "call-girl mistress and a respectable lady-of-the-house (*materfamilias*) together under one roof" (*Ad.* 747). The legal vocabulary and stipulations of *patria potestas* over children's marriages (*An.* 540–51; *Hec.* 240–50; *Ph.* 232, 303–6, 878–80) and finances (*Eu.* 310; *Hau.* 228–9; *Ph.* 298–303) appear throughout Terence's corpus, appealing to a specifically Roman understanding of this most basic social bond.

Even the semi-independent voices and actions of several *matronae*, who mollify, confront, or correct deeply chauvinistic, misguided *patresfamilias* (Sostrata/Chremes in *Hau.* 1003–66; Nausistrata/Chremes, *Ph.* 990–1055; Sostrata/Laches in *Hec.* 198–280, 577–696), promote the well-being of their children and restore paternal integrity and authority in keeping with Roman models. Nausistrata is an interesting example of such a wife who appears to belong more in Terence's Rome than Apollodorus' Athens. This *epikleros/matrona* enters a financially mismatched marriage (*Ph.* 587) in which she owns the property and knows the business details of its yields and commodity prices under her father's former supervision well enough to recognize that her husband has somehow mismanaged her Lemnian estates, an outcome that she declares would not have happened if she had been born male (787–94). Phormio's revelation of Chremes' second family on Lemnos in the finale not only explains the missing funds, as she notes in proper business language that doubles as moral censure ("Was this the slump in prices/despicable lowness of character (*vilitas*) that reduced our income (*fructus*)?" 1013), but also allows her to control this last scene through several signs of remarkably strong, personal agency: frank observation on her own sexuality and aging (1010, 1021–5, see chapter 9, this volume); shaming of Chremes the polygamist for any right to moral outrage at their son Phaedria's sexual conduct (1040–2); refusal to forgive her husband or to resolve their marriage—or the comedy—till Phaedria has a chance to hear and judge the situation (1043–6); and Phormio's invitation to dinner (at his suggestion) as an immediate barb at Chremes (1050–5). Here, a bold *matrona*, like Plautus' Cleostrata in *Casina*, justly challenges Chremes' abuse of paternal authority and leaves its status technically unresolved, but she defends proper balance for her family and begins to lay a path for its orderly restoration.

In furtherance of these typical plot victories favoring reasonable *patria potestas* and aristocratic privilege, Terence's lead slaves, considerably less subversive and "superhuman" than their Plautine predecessors—particularly

in their dealings with their own masters—effect a fairly normalized naturalism in their contributions to the proper structure of their *familiae*. The tricks of these slaves, even Terence’s most manipulative *servus callidus* Syrus in *Heauton Timorumenos*, prove unsuccessful in their original topsy-turvy intent, yet the family resolves into upper-class normativity nonetheless due to magical coincidences behind the scenes (McCarthy 2004: 101–3). Even Terence’s strongest rebuke from a slave against a master’s unfairness—expecting gifts from their tiny, hard-earned *peculia* (*Ph.* 41–50)—is spoken in a protatic, audience monologue (McCarthy 2004: 107–8) by a slave outside the unjust *familia*, which is, in this case, run by a *paterfamilias* who deserves to be brought in line himself (and eventually is—not by a slave, but by a litigious parasite). Roman domestic order routinely prevails in these comedies.

Less often noted is how prominently Terence features the distinctly Roman patron/client relationship in his comedies, even early in his first production, *Andria* (166 BCE), a play that otherwise reflects little of its Roman environs in its conservative adherence to the Greek New Comic setting and formulae (see chapter 12, this volume). Terence, possibly inspired by his own freed status under senator Terentius Lucanus, invents Sosia as a freedman cook, the only declared freedman in his comedies and an intentional contrast to his loudmouth, know-it-all, New Comic antecedent, the stock *mageiros* (*An.* 28–39; Anderson 2004: 11–12, 17–18). Sosia and his patron Simo establish in the opening scene the expectations and obligations of the Roman client. Sosia is intimately, obsequiously dependent on his former master’s whims, while technically free to operate in society on his behalf, and thus to reinforce “Roman” social order onstage from beginning to end. Simo recalls the irony-laced source of the client’s obligations—Sosia’s “just and merciful enslavement” under him and his manumission for “slaving like a gracious freeman” (*servibas liberaliter*, *An.* 38)—while Sosia resents the reminder of a debt he can never forget emotionally or legally (*An.* 35–45). Sosia later comments in wry double-speak on the stark reality of how the Roman socio-political bonds of *amicitia* pressure the status-seeker “these days” (*hoc tempore*, *An.* 67)—whether he is Simo’s son following the up-and-comer crowd (*An.* 63–6) or Sosia himself obliging his former master—to abandon independent thinking and frank advice for sycophancy, since “feckless compliance wins partnerships, while truthfulness earns contempt” (*obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit*, *An.* 68). Cicero has Laelius (*Amic.* 89) cite this very line from his *familiaris* Terence for its insightful, yet troubling, cynicism about the uncomfortable mix of personal and professional sentiments in socio-political friendships/alliances (see also chapter 6, this volume). By omitting the comedic context and the freedman speaker, however, Cicero recasts the maxim between social equals only, not with its Terentian double meaning of class-conscious self-awareness, subjugation, and discontent.

More direct reference to Roman patronage appears in the later plays. In *Adelphoe*, the old family friend Hegio (440), a rare relic of “old-fashioned honor and trustworthiness” (*antiqua virtute ac fide*, 442), is hailed as both *patronus* and *pater* (456), the etymologically and conceptually linked, yet socially distinct, administrator(s) of external and internal authority built on the Roman familial system. A bit later, Syrus jokingly and rhetorically asks young Ctesipho, who is seeking an excuse to escape his father: “Doesn’t your family have a client (*cliens*), a partner (*amicus*), a guest-friend (*hospes*) ... people who’ve received your services?” (*Ad.* 529–30). But such business visits would not explain the overnight absence Ctesipho plans (531–2). The morning business calls (*salutationes*) of the Roman patron/client system, hierarchically suggested in Syrus’ proffered list, are clearly implied, since a Greek guest–host relationship or even a personal friendship could well explain Ctesipho’s overnight absence, though Roman business relations were a different matter. This Roman reality sets up a perfect conceptual contrast with the real nighttime “business” Ctesipho wants to engage in with his stolen music/call-girl friend (*amica*), and Syrus’ quip that “it should be a custom/habit (*mos*) for friends (*amicis*) to get services rendered at night” (532) becomes a satirical double entendre.

The complex food chain of patron/client obligations is best embodied in the parasite Phormio. As noted above, in rare self-mockery, he fawns generically in his opening scene on the patron who incurs all the pain and expenses of providing services/meals to his clients whose only reciprocal effort is to decide what to eat first, while admiring their wealthy host with religious awe (*Ph.* 337–45). Phormio in turn garners suspicion multiple times in his assumed role as *patronus* for an undowered woman, though he winds up genuinely championing the cause of a wronged wife by exposing her two-timing, two-familied *senex*, all on behalf of his own young “patron” (*Ph.* 307, 938–43). Similarly, in *Eunuchus*, the courtesan Thais submits herself to a *paterfamilias* “patronage and surety” (*in clientelam et fidem*, *Eu.* 1038) to become part of the one big, happy (and very odd) family. But this occurs only after multiple comically ironic observations that this capable, foreign businesswoman, who by temperament and domestic control may seem a *patrona* (885–7), has found herself awkwardly dependent on young, upper-class males who are legally and experientially unfit as patrons (770). Both Phormio and Thais, lower-class clients and intermediaries among the privileged classes, seek, foster, even reconstitute the nexus of paternalistic, aristocratic patronage. Though some characters perceive them through the stereotyped lenses of their status and professions, that is, as subversive underminers of the privilege system, they are ultimately reform agents who bolster Roman elite ideologies.

Terence seldom ventures far from domestic dynamics consonant with Roman aristocratic ideals, either with regard to social institutions, such as the

family and the patron/client nexus, or in his articulation of the socio-political values that promote those institutions. For the fiercely competitive arena of second-century Roman politics, “esteem” (*existimatio*) and “distinguished repute” (*gloria, nobilitas*) represent the pinnacle of an elite male valuation system that is reflected in Terence as elsewhere in Latin literature of the period. Habinek (1998: 45–59) documents how *existimo/existimatio*, in association with the related word *exemplum*, is transformed from routine accounting terminology to the bedrock principle of muscular, aristocratic power. This transformation is especially well documented in Cato and Terence. Monetary valuation morphs into social evaluation, undergirding a mutually supportive and exclusive interrelationship between dignified wealth and moral exemplarity. In multiple comedies, such social evaluation gains moral currency when Terence establishes a relationship with his tasteful audience against his worthless rival Luscius Lanuvinus, and then reflects within the script some instance of similar moral valuation that reinforces the social code. In the prologue of *Heauton Timorumenos*, for example, Terence sets up the audience as the ultimate assessors of which playwright follows and invokes an “example of the good” (*bonorum exemplum*), “the good” being construed here both as “good writers” and as any who align themselves with the “best” in society (*Hau.* 7–9, 20–6, 51–2; Habinek 1998: 56–7). Later Syrus’ first observation of Antiphila’s work-a-day demeanor, modest attire, and moral rectitude (i.e., an ideal Roman *virgo/prospective matrona*) is declared “the means to judge” (*existumandi copiam*, *Hau.* 283) her everyday character, a theme that continues throughout the play. There is a conscious contrast to Bacchis, the courtesan lover of the *adulescens* who turns out to be this poor, modest young woman’s long lost, well-to-do brother (see further chapter 13, this volume). Terence only slightly recasts this same exemplary moral contrast between good wife and grasping courtesan in *Hecyra* (*ad exemplum ambarum mores earum existumans*, “judging the characters of both of them from the way they each behaved,” 163). As in *Heauton Timorumenos*, he engages the audience similarly in both the prologue and script of *Eunuchus* (1–5, 757–9, 769–70) and *Adelphoe* (11–21, 891–8) with appeals to the *boni* and the *nobiles* as his backers against Luscius, and an admission that values can skew lower (e.g., Chremes’ correct worries about Thais’ assessment of his fortitude and capacity for patronage in *Eunuchus*) or higher than expected (Demea’s overdone and slightly misguided test case for garnering good will from the free *plebs* through gushing praise for a slave’s normative service in *Adelphoe*).

Terence casts a wide net with his definitions for *gloria*, whether wealth itself (in a clever play on the denotation “credit,” *Ad.* 814), fame linked closely with monetary gain (as in “fame and fortune,” *Hau.* 112), or reputation for excellence in word or deed (*Eu.* 399–400). Military exploits, the principal path to Roman political office, account for a plurality of his *gloria* references,

as in the last two passages above, and of course in several concerning the comic stereotype of the *miles gloriosus*, Thraso (*Eu.* 31, 38). That stock braggart reminds his Roman audience and us how ambiguous renown can be at its upper and lower ends, a quality to be earned by the “right” people, yet easily misappropriated in the wrong hands (or mouth) where it can lapse into vainglory or infamy. When the actor/producer Ambivivus Turpio declares that the first *Hecyra* was disrupted by *pugilum gloria* “audience buzz about boxers” (Lindsay 1931; Parker 1996: 595–6), the prologue and the author vicariously seethe with contempt for loud-mouthed yokels jabbering on about the big fight and that damned tightrope walker (*Hec.* 33–6, cf. 4–5; see chapter 16, this volume). Contrary to Earl’s conclusion (1962: 472–4) that this use of *gloria* disproves political implications of the term for contemporary Rome’s ruling class, it in fact shows Terence skillfully mismatching the elite ideals of *gloria* with popular chatter about meaningless feats of manliness. True glory is not a passive quality, but active word-of-mouth communication between discriminating observers, such as those gathered to watch *Hecyra* three different times. This wry twist on proper notoriety reappears in the script of *Hecyra* when Laches heaps socially misdirected, though personally grateful, praise on the courtesan Bacchis for ending her affair with his son out of respect for him and his new wife: “If she has really broken up with Pamphilus, she is well aware that she stands to gain fame (*nobilitatem*), fortune (*rem*), and glory (*gloriam*). She’ll be returning his kindness (*gratiam*) and adding her services to our client list (*amicos*)” (*Hec.* 796–8). Laches’ constant talk (761–7, 791–2) of family “friendship” with the courtesan for giving up her “friendship” with his son, and Bacchis’ own declarations of how unique this entire arrangement and her behavior are for a woman in her profession (788–9, 816–40), play ironically with Roman political vocabulary in an extremely inverted set of social expectations. Elite notoriety (*gloria, nobilitas*) is hardly challenged, and is actually advanced, by such unexpectedly fantastical association with an exceptional example of the socially notorious non-elite.

4 Noble Service at War, at Rest, at Work

Terence’s most direct, and yet still elusive, reference to Roman expansion as a Mediterranean power and powerbroker is, not coincidentally, in the prologue to *Adelphoe*, commissioned in 160 BCE along with a second run of *Hecyra*, by Q. Fabius Maximus Aemilianus (cos. 145) and P. Cornelius Scipio Aemilianus (cos. 147, 134) for the funeral games of their natural father, L. Aemilius Paullus (cos. 182, 168), who was a *triumphator* in 167 over the Macedonian king Perseus, the *interrex* during a consular crisis in 162, an incumbent augur, and the most recently elected patrician censor at his death (*MRR* 439, 442, 445).

nam quod isti dicunt malevoli, homines nobilis
 hunc adiutare adsidueque una scribere,
 quod illi maledictum vehemens esse existumant,
 eam laudem hic ducit maxumam quom illis placet
 qui vobis univorsis et populo placent,
 quorum opera in bello, in otio, in negotio,
 suo quisque tempore usust sine superbia. (*Ad.* 15–21)

As for the malicious accusation that men of rank assist our author and regularly write together, which his enemies consider a serious reproach, he regards it as a great compliment, if he finds favor with men who find favor with each and every one of you and the people at large, men from whose service in war, in peace, in business each of us has benefited at one time or another without disdain.

Speculative commentary intent on identifying Terence's renowned "ghost writers" settled most often, especially in the late Republic but possibly as early as the late second century, around a young Scipio Aemilianus and C. Laelius (see chapter 6, this volume). The later commentators Donatus and Eugraphius or their sources go so far as to link the trio of Scipio, Laelius, and L. Furius Philus (cos. 136) directly to each segment of the anaphoral tricolon *in bello, in otio, in negotio*, with divergent opinions as to whether *otium* ("peace, calm, rest, leisure, play") or *negotium* ("lack of leisure, business, work") best matched the personality of Laelius or Furius; Eugraphius even suggests a Servilius, presumably one of the Scipionic allies Cn. or Q. Servilius Caepio (coss. 141, 140, respectively), as an alternative to Furius (Don. ad *Ad.* 20; Eugraph. ad *Ad.* 12, 20). The grammarian Santra argues that *if* Terence had needed any assistance he would have consulted more mature ex-consuls with developed literary skills, such as Aemilius Paullus' associate C. Sulpicius Gallus (cos. 166), who served prominently at Pydna, notably by predicting a pivotal lunar eclipse on its eve, and was consul the year of Terence's first production, *Andria* (Suet. *Vita Terenti* 4). Terence's membership in a "Scipionic Circle" and the existence of such a co-op, long assumed by ancient and modern scholars alike as a humanist, philhellenic, left-of-center counterweight to Catonian conservatism, cannot rest on this politically astute, but intentionally vague non-admission (see esp. Goldberg 1986: 8–15; Parker 1996: 604–7; and chapter 6, this volume).

The comedian's cagey refusal either to confirm or rebut the slanders against his authorial originality (cf. *Hau.* 24) leaves all conjecture about his "patrons" irrelevant. No single faction, but rather a motley assortment of Roman officials bent on exhibiting their own prestige and seeking public support funded and patronized Terence's comedies, although this was only a single component in their multi-faceted rivalries and alliances. They, like Terence's advocate, the actor/producer and theater entrepreneur Ambivivus Turpio, banked on

Terence's success and popularity, which was already strong, but advanced substantially in 161 and 160 BCE with five productions (*Eunuchus*, *Phormio*, *Adelphoe*, *Hecyra* twice) and at least one command performance (on the same day!?) and a record fee/bonus (*pretium*) of 8,000 sesterces for *Eunuchus*, according to Suetonius. If Terence received benefits (*Ad.* 16) from the most influential men in Rome, so did every other Roman, and who would not count himself fortunate to be approved by such men? Powerful sponsorship and beneficence could certainly make the individual recipient feel confident, arrogant, even disdainful, a quality one might expect from the talented elite, but which was apparently exhibited by neither the poet nor his fans, whether in the front rows or the back seats of the theater and society. Yet when all Rome grows stronger from those supports, no individual has room for *superbia*. Terence, himself a freed private citizen and public playwright who benefited from their upper-class successes on behalf of Rome, flaunts his popular success as an "approved" middleman between these unnamed, though "well-known" (the base meaning of *nobilis*), men of great deeds and the general public. Terence was also a participant in those deeds, with his own recent triumphs in comedic takes on war (*Eunuchus*, esp. Phaedria and Parmeno's opening scene equation of love with the cycles of war and peace, and Thraso's mock siege of Thais' house), business (*Phormio*, esp. the repeated language of cash transactions and market economy throughout, Smith 2004), and, of course, leisure (in both comedies produced in 161 and *Heauton Timorumenos*, 163 BCE). The broadly determined, yet neatly expressed, contemporary themes of proud Roman success in *bellum*, *otium*, and *negotium* have attracted scholars curious about Terence's sponsors and predisposed to doubt that the young, African freedman could have produced such beautiful Latin unaided (Cic. *Att.* 7.3.10), while they also overshadowed the petty playwrights' squabble by providing the "big picture" of what the patron/client system meant to each member of an audience assembled to commemorate the extraordinary accomplishments of an aristocratic, republican hero and the superpower state he served.

Aemilius Paullus equated the man skilled in arranging good games and banquets with the savviest battle tactician to face an enemy line (Plb. 30.14; Liv. 45.32.11; Plut. *Aem.* 28.9). Paullus made himself exemplary of his own axiom when he outperformed Greeks in war and peace, first at Pydna, and then with victory-tour games at Amphipolis (167 BCE) that even amazed the locals, coming as they did from "Romans who were then rather clumsy and inexperienced (*rudes*) at spectacle" (Liv. 45.32.8–11). Through his personal attention to details as a provider of these games and his embodiment of the multi-talented Roman *imperator*, Aemilius Paullus supplied the function, without directly playing the role of a Hellenistic autocrat, by settling many of the Greek city-states on Rome's terms for the time, putting Syria, Egypt, and

other Hellenistic kingdoms on notice, and proclaiming Roman strength before Greek ambassadors and Asian kings in the political language common among the Alexandrian successor states and their satellites (Liv. 45.32–3, Plut. *Aem.* 28.3–5; Edmondson 1999: 78; Ferrary 1988: 560–5; Gruen 1992: 246–7; Marzano 2009: 91–2).

Aemilius' statesman-/gamesmanship is also said to have inspired imitators, whom sources denigrate as falling far short of his mark. Later in 167, L. Anicius Gallus (cos. 160, year of *Adelphoe* and *Hecyra*'s second and third performance) offered votive games for his defeat of Perseus' Illyrian ally Gentius, which were a lesser affair in every way (commander's rank, enemy's stature, quality of triumph, and booty, Liv. 45.32.1–2), and which Polybius labeled embarrassing, boorish and indescribable, once rival armies of the best Greek musicians and choral dancers descended into disorderly stage combat (Plb. 30.26). This production probably represents Anicius' conscious inversion of Aemilius' model, a parody of Greek cultural pretensions to amuse their Roman conquerors and show Greeks who won (Gruen 1992: 215–18). Polybius claims (30.25.1) that Aemilius Paullus' masterful display led Antiochus IV Epiphanes to draw Greeks back into his orbit with a luxuriant parade of military force and royal wealth, followed by thirty days of gladiatorial and beast fights (Plb. 30.26.1), in order to show he could compete with Rome on its terms. But Polybius undercuts this public show with an account of Antiochus' eccentric failure to exemplify the dignity of a sovereign, describing how he played producer, doorman, usher, head waiter, jester, mime, and dancer at the closing banquet, driving away the guests, and leaving the display a hollow contrast to Paullus' at Amphipolis (Plb. 26.4–9).

Upon his homecoming in Rome, Aemilius Paullus' spectacular triumph dazzled (Plut. *Aem.* 32–4), but only after the victor's worthiness to celebrate publicly was heatedly contested—a sign that little was taken for granted or given under the mid-Republican Roman system—by a surrogate, patrician military tribune, the fairly notorious Ser. Sulpicius Galba (cos. 144), together with legionary veterans disgruntled over Paullus' “old-fashioned discipline” in command and sparing distribution of donatives relative to the enormous plunder (Liv. 45.35–9; Plut. *Aem.* 30–1; Leigh 2004: 184–9). The seriousness of this challenge to Paullus' noble *dignitas* is reflected in the dramatic story that the first tribe in assembly was in the process of voting against his triumph, when the leaders' speeches (including one by Cato) swayed their clouded judgment (Liv. 45.36.6–7; Plut. *Aem.* 31.1; Leigh 2004: 184–5). Surprise that any such serious challenge could be mounted is documented in Livy's testimony, based on annalistic traditions biased toward senatorial privilege and prestige, that the ancillary naval victory of Cn. Octavius (cos. 165, year of the first *Hecyra*) and Illyrian campaign of L. Anicius Gallus, both

important but lesser conquests by plebeian nobility, were only awarded unchallenged triumphs in the assembly because “envy leaves the mediocre unscathed and generally takes aim at the top” (Liv. 45.35.5). But Paullus’ most substantial legacy was a stream of Macedonian wealth so great that all Roman citizens were relieved of direct taxation for the next 125 years (Plut. *Aem.* 38.1; Cic. *Off.* 2.76; Plin. *Nat.* 33.56; Harris 1979: 70–1; Leigh 2004: 170–1). Plutarch in particular, using pro-Aemilian sources (Polybius among others), highlights the populist power Aemilius wielded through this munificence, in spite of his lifelong support of aristocratic senatorial policy (*Aem.* 38.2), a virtue further enhanced by his reputed refusal to enrich himself on those spoils, to the point of leaving a relatively meager patrimony for his famous sons (Plb. 31.22; Plut. *Aem.* 28.10, 39.10). The one thing he apparently claimed was a legacy worth considerable intellectual cachet, the royal library of Macedonia (Plut. *Aem.* 28.11). Aemilius’ successes and qualities recommended him as a paragon of Roman leadership, fatherhood, and all-around nobility (Leigh 2004: 175–91), at war, rest, or work.

5 *Otium* in Terence in Rome: Changing Value Systems

The artistic interlacing of these three fundamental, social phenomena hinges meaningfully, and rather surprisingly, on *otium*. In Terence, the word is not just the usual pejorative for comedic loafers and ne’er-do-wells, but an invaluable nexus between war and commerce. *Otium*, when honored by festival attendees, actors, playwright, and patrons as an opportunity for something new and different (*Hec.* 43), is the natural locus and engine for all denotations of *ludi*—whether “spectacles,” “competitions,” “training grounds,” or “play”—particularly for Terence’s comedies, driven as they are by the competing rhythms and narratives of fathers and sons, maturity and youth, leisure class and working class, and ultimately settled, as they always are, in conformity with Roman aristocratic, paterfamilial norms. But that festival “free time” is also fraught with ironic peril, if critics and mismatched tastes threaten long-term *otium* and *negotium* (*Ph.* 2; *Hec.* 26) when these disparate parties cannot reach profitable, contractual agreement over the vagaries of mass entertainment. The shuttle-like, Latin connotations of *otium* and its natural dichotomy with *negotium* add substance to its core position in Rome’s self-identity after Pydna as a properly balanced counterpoint and reward for the disruption, stress, and effort of battle or trade, while it also holds its own as a field for elite competition in state service, as Aemilius Paullus and numerous aediles, praetors, consuls, and even censors of the period could attest.

In his opening monologue of *Adelphoe*, Micio famously establishes urban/urbane “leisure, ease” (42) as the defining quality of his personal philosophy and life choices, particularly his “easy come, easy go” finances and surrogate parenting, in pointed contrast to Demea’s rustic severity, toil, and parsimony (45). Demea soliloquizes later in the play along the same lines (855–81), contrasting Micio’s effortless life of *otium*, dinner parties, and expenditures with his own continuous labor, profit-seeking, and tight-fisted saving to gather a substantial patrimony. This classic battle alone, cast from either side as calm vs. anxiety or present vs. delayed gratification, resonates on countless cultural levels with ongoing, endless debates about Roman (elite) identity within the body (esp. senatorial) politic and its collective (read, top-down aristocratic) psyche. Overly simplistic dichotomies (like city vice vs. country virtue) interpreted as socio-political factions have generally dominated the ancient and modern interpretations: anti- vs. phil-hellenists; conservatives vs. liberals; senate vs. assembly. Numerous modern readers have seen Paullus in Micio, whether in translingual wordplay (both mean “little”), broad-minded educational philosophy, or sociable good nature and popularity, necessitating a contrasting association for Demea, usually assessed as a stern, conservative M. Porcius Cato (cos. 195, censor 184). But the play is no clear-cut allegory offering a disambiguated vision of Aemilius vs. anti-Aemilius (cf. Henderson 1999: 51); rather, as Matthew Leigh (2004: 160–75) shows through his interrogation of traditional, historicist readings, Aemilius and Cato both share traits that appear to belong to their iconoclastic opposites, especially in the years after Pydna (e.g., Aemilius’ *antiqua disciplina* defended by Cato in 167, and an unsuccessful charge of *luxuria* against Cato under Aemilius’ censorship in 164 (ORF 173–5; Leigh 2004: 172–3). Rhetorical icons just make easier comic characters, and often refract deeper (messier) realities.

Three years prior to *Adelphoe*, Terence interposed these same three principles in the plot and initial development for Menedemus, the title character in *Heauton Timorumenos*. The *senex* laments how he paternalistically badgered his son, Clinia, for being stereotypically dissolute and aimless:

nulla adeo ex re istuc fit nisi ex nimio otio.
ego istuc aetatis non amor operam dabam
sed in Asiam hinc abii propter pauperiem atque ibi
simul rem et gloriam armis belli repperi. (*Hau.* 109–12)

In fact this is only happening because you have entirely too much time on your hands. When I was your age, I didn’t spend my time on love affairs. I had no money, so I went off to Asia, where I earned wealth *and* glory in war.

Menedemus preached and practiced classic, “up by the bootstraps” hard work and economic opportunism, and renounced the wasteful pleasures of youth

only to push his son into identical service to a Seleucid king in Asia (117, a familiar scenario for Romans at odds with Antiochus III and IV over the last quarter century) and eventually flagellates himself by assuming his slaves' duties and refusing the rewards of leisure that he had denied to his son (121–50). Menedemus swings between extremes in his misunderstanding and miscalculation of the value of proper *otium*.

The other *senex*, Chremes, condemns his new neighbor for working too hard (53–74), inspiring Menedemus to opine, “Do you have so much free time (*oti*) from your own business that you meddle in another’s?” (*Hau.* 75–6). Chremes replies with what has become Terence’s most famous, and yet most misappropriated, line: *homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto*, a misguided, humanist (s)creed justifying nosey-neighborism. Complete neglect and rejection of *otium* lead Menedemus to parental regret, while Chremes mistakes “leisure” as a short break from being a busybody (498–508) and overlooks until too late how his son Clitipho has truly wasted family resources “relaxing” in the arms of a grasping courtesan (907–8, 928–31, 1033–4). For both *senes* and their sons, mistaken approaches to *otium* and parenting, as later in *Adelphoe*, produce all the upheaval.

In the course of *Adelphoe*, Hegio, with his Greek name built on “leader,” *patronus* and *pater* (456) to a family caught in the crossfire between the competing parental visions of Micio and Demea, faithful to a lifetime, kinship bond forged in wartime and peacetime through the dedicated business of hardscrabble economic advancement and fierce legal advocacy (489–99), delivers a homily on the patronage system and “true” nobility:

quam vos facillume agitis, quam estis maxime
potentes, dites, fortunati, nobiles,
tam maxime vos aequo animo aequa noscere
oportet, si vos voltis perhiberi probos. (*Ad.* 500–4)

The easier your life is, the more powerful, rich, and prosperous you are, the higher the status you enjoy, the more it is your duty to be fair-minded and to act justly, if you want to be regarded as honorable men.

The surprise is that this spokesman, hailed at his entrance and here as a paragon of traditional, elite values, and patron of “have-nots somehow more inclined to mistrust, take offense, and feel like helpless victims always boxed in and shut out” (*Ad.* 605–7), is revealed only in the denouement to be a poor man himself. Demea argues in the argot of the Roman aristocracy, “He’s her father, a man of quality (*bonus*), one of us” (951), that is, a deserving recipient of advancement to the leisure class through a gift of fertile property currently being leased to fund superabundant profits, which Micio himself had denounced as the bane of old age (*Ad.* 947–55). The unrelenting, dutiful effort of the

privileged is argued, rather counter-intuitively, to proceed from their attainment of leisure. This noble theory may apply to those who have achieved leisure, but Demea uses Hegio's argument for nobility of spirit and his destitute circumstances, along with several other feigned acts of excessive liberality, to mock and defeat Micio by affecting a relaxed social view he knows even Micio cannot willingly endorse. Micio accepts each set of personally costly terms because his son wants them, in keeping with his permissive philosophy; Demea, who has ranted numerous times against the leisurely feasting, carousing and free-living he thinks Micio condones, is as convinced of his rightness to judge stern discipline and extravagant wantonness as when he first came onstage, and the debate is settled for the time being in accordance with his conservative policy of containment, after he has facetiously argued (even with himself!) for expanded inclusivity and generosity (see also chapter 17, this volume).

In the years following Aemilius' Macedonian conquest, many factors extended opportunities for sharing in *otium* to a broader cross-section of Romans: more disposable income and investment capacity for Roman citizens from tax relief and economic growth, expanded outlays on public and private banquets, public works, festivals and triumphs, and Rome's vigorous foreign policy to realign diplomatic and commercial networks conducive to its own prosperity in a relatively peaceful Mediterranean basin. Terence, writing in the midst of this economic and social mobility, repeatedly offers characters who have engaged successfully in this fierce pursuit of new money, goods, and status, sometimes rapidly, easily, and thoughtlessly (Thraso, Demipho and Chremes in *Phormio*, Micio), sometimes laboriously, obsessively, and incessantly (Menedemus and Chremes in *Heauton Timorumenos*, Demea). Indulgences in and warnings about wealth management and increased leisure opportunity then naturally proceed from those divergent life paths, feeding the comic tensions within Terence's intricate plots. Terence offers his audiences no identifiable gentry, but a form of gentrification appears throughout. Each of these earning generations attempts to create a kind of closed economy around themselves, their children, relatives, and immediate neighbors (see Smith 2004), or, in the case of *Eunuchus*, their surrogate family of partying parasites. Once they have arrived at a level of comfort, they look to maintain the new community of achievers through mergers with other achievers and resistance to spreading the wealth. The cases of Phormio and Hegio are instructive, as both are socially advanced for good service, but with reservations and out of spite.

This alternation between social expansion and reflexive contraction also describes Rome in the period from the Third Macedonian War to the end of Terence's brief career (172–160 BCE). Several socio-economic policies and trends of this period may have bearing on Terence's choices: plebeians first won both consular seats in 172 and for two successive years, then again in 167 and 163, a frequency of plebeian ascendancy that would not be repeated for

decades, and one sign among many of a rapidly expanding aristocracy. The censors of 169, C. Claudius Pulcher (cos. 177) and Ti. Sempronius Gracchus (cos. 177, 163), took controversially severe action against *equites* and tax-collectors, probably both over issues of military recruitment resistance, a general problem of the time, and those groups' growing financial influence. This resulted in their being tried in the popular assembly for treason (Vishnia 1996: 140–2, 149–53). Gracchus in 168, opposed by his patrician colleague, restricted registration of freedmen in a single urban tribe, a diminution of voting power popular with many senators (Vishnia 1996: 157–8). In 167, the praetor M. Iuventius Thalna (cos. 163) tried to move war against Rhodes in the assembly, a war like the just-ended Third Macedonian War, that had initial popular support and would likely have enriched many, but he was thwarted by a tribunician veto on procedural grounds and opposed in the senate (Vishnia 1996: 177, 188). There were objections to Aemilius' triumph from veterans on grounds of insufficient donatives and excessive contributions to the state treasury. C. Fannius Strabo in 161 personally moved the sumptuary *lex Fannia* through the assembly and probably was instrumental in the earlier *senatus consulta* regarding the *ludi Megalenses* and the philosophers' ban. All these moves show resistance to expanding influence or spreading wealth and a general tendency toward containment of the new money, especially in attempts to cut off its political growth into larger, more fluid client networks that could move more readily between patrons in a "sellers' market" (Dauster 2003: 76–8, 91–3). In this light, the curbs on *otium* attempted and contested in Terence's plays carry more than generic social or philosophical relevance; this was a politically salient topic of debate in the 160s BCE.

6 Denouement

Terence wrote Latin comedy for Romans. Part of the success of the *palliatae* was to develop laughter around the distance between the stage and the audience, offering them a cloudy glimpse of another life, but in the moments where Terence is developing a connection with that audience, he often turns out an image, a cross-reference, a cultural convention that catches Romans where they are and leaves the Greeks in Menander's or Apollodorus' Athens. His angle, if we may call it that, tends toward the aristocratic, top-down view, the way the literary world operates among the literati and the literate, and to a great degree the way Rome really was run. His father-son dramas, even when they raise ethical questions about the fathers (as they always do about the sons), resolve with a momentary restoration of classic paterfamilial authority; his socio-economic focus is generally on the issues of new-money families—not snarky, sassy caricatures of their slaves, or cartoonishly stock

mercenaries, loan sharks, parasites, pimps, or courtesans pulled from the costume shop. Yet Terence was not un-“popular” as a comic writer. He knows that public tastes will keep him in business, as he admits in the opening lines of his first comedy, and yet in the second and third prologues of *Hecyra* he has no qualms about saying the *populus* ruined his previous productions, even one ensconced in funeral games for a blue-blood hero. Terence’s success burgeoned with *Eunuchus*, where he consciously adopted more of the language, action, and characterization of Plautus’ style of Roman comedy (Karakasis 2005: 121–43). Up through that production, Terence had been seen only at the *ludi Megalenses*, where more time was already dedicated to plays. In other words, he was doing fine in a larger crowd of comedy productions, but had not broken through into the more prestigious and selective *ludi Romani*, the big stage. The dramatic and financial success of *Eunuchus*, which was more grounded in Roman issues, humor, and camp, probably won him his *Phormio* contract for the *ludi Romani*. These successful comedies with more literary nuance, varied plot and character development, and more material drawn from and directed to Rome, attracted the commission for *Adelphoe* and a second attempt at *Hecyra* the following year. The second interruption of *Hecyra* may have felt like lightning striking twice in the same spot, but did not dampen enthusiasm for Terence, as the play was accepted for the *ludi Romani* in September 160. Only the simple *placuit* in the *didascaliae* to *Hecyra* indicates its successful production. Terence had had a very good run of about eighteen months in 161–160, when he disappeared from the literary scene. One might assume, with Suetonius’ biography, that he was hunting for his next success for the Roman public, but he never again got to show his increasing skill at bringing artfully turned Latin scripts to a growing audience of Roman fans.

FURTHER READING

The most instructive study of Terence in his Roman socio-cultural context is the 2004 special edition of *Ramus*. Gruen (1992), Habinek (1998), and Leigh (2004), with varied emphases, contribute substantially to the understanding of Terence’s broader semantic and thematic choices alongside the wider context of Roman social, intellectual, and political developments of the middle Republic. On important Roman political trends of Terence’s time, see also Vishnia (1996) on populist politics and Dauster (2003) on sumptuary legislation. On Rome’s overall contact with the Hellenistic East, Gruen (1984) offers the most comprehensive traditional history, while Eckstein (2006) applies modern international political theory in an informative study of Hellenistic Mediterranean geopolitics. On the special case of Rome and Rhodes, see especially Ager (1991) and Gabrielsen (1993). Finally, a new biography of Aemilius Paullus that goes beyond the historiographical survey of Reiter (1988), would be a welcome supplement to Roman Republican studies.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Religious Ritual and Family Dynamics in Terence

T.H.M. Gellar-Goad

The Greek New Comedy of Menander and the Roman comedy of Plautus and Terence reflect Graeco-Roman life, in areas as diverse as politics (e.g., Menander: Lape 2004a; Plautus: Richlin 2006; Terence: Earl 1962), women's speech (Menander: Bain 1984; Plautus: Adams 1984; Dutsch 2008), and law (Scafuro 1997). The genre can be compared profitably with modern situation comedies, since both represent, in an exaggerated and conventional manner, details and aspects of everyday life and society (cf. Sutton 1993: 44). Though the Roman *comoedia palliata* is adapted from Greek originals, it nevertheless consistently imitates contemporary Roman attitudes, language, and behavior (see also Starks, chapter 7, this volume). This point—that Roman comedy reflects Roman life—also holds true with regard to religion in Plautus (cf. Hanson 1959). Furthermore, Menander and Plautus both represent sacrifice, which was the fundamental religious act of Greek and Roman society, as an integral part of daily life, and also as a common topic of casual conversation.

Characters in Menander and Plautus regularly offer sacrifice and make plans to do so, as for instance when wedding offerings are prepared and presented to Apollo in Menander's *Samia* (74–5) or the pimp Lycus of Plautus' *Poenulus* sacrifices lambs to Venus (449–67). Plautine characters in particular often suggest that others perform the ritual, and even joke about sacrificial rites. For example, Ergasilus calls for a sacrifice of gratitude to be offered—to himself (*Capt.* 860)—as does the clever slave character Libanus (*As.* 712), while

Menaechmus Sosicles insults another character by giving him money to pay for the insanity-cleansing sacrifice of an expiatory pig (*Men.* 288–330, 517; see Section 4).

In Terence, however, sacrifice is simply absent. We know that sacrifice was an important part of Roman domestic life: in Cato's *De Agri Cultura*, for instance, we can see ritual proscriptions for the prospective plantation owner, and a wide range of archaeological and iconographical evidence, including numerous surviving household shrines in Pompeii and elsewhere. Yet Terence neither stages nor mentions any ritual whatsoever. There is a wider pattern of religious problems in Terence's drama, and we will consider them briefly here, but this absence of sacrificial ritual is the clearest and most striking such problem. Terence, as I will argue, deliberately and thematically erases sacrifice from his plays and, in doing so, highlights the instability of his plays' domestic relationships—and perhaps those of his audience as well. Terence focuses intensively on the relationships of family members, who are, in Rome, always allied by the practice of domestic cult. To eliminate sacrifice—an important element of domestic life—shows that Terence sees the Roman family as formally dysfunctional.

But first we must set the stage. In order to appreciate the import of the absence of ritual in Terence, we will first consider the religious context of Rome during the time of Plautus and Terence, the relationship between Greek and Roman sacrifice, and, in brief, how sacrifice is handled both in Menander and in Plautus. With this context in mind, we can then move on to examine the effects that Terence's erasure of sacrifice has on his plots, his fictional families, and his theatrical community.

1 Roman Religion

Roman religion, unlike many modern religions, was one of orthopraxy rather than orthodoxy. That is to say, piety consisted in correct practice rather than in correct belief, and so religion, both public and private, was organized around rites and rituals, especially sacrifice (see Prescendi 2007). Roman religion was also animistic, with immanent divinities believed to exist throughout the surrounding environment: the *Lares viales* inhabited the roadways; the *Lares compitales* were linked with crossroads; and trees, rivers, and fields all contained numinous deities. Such *numina* existed within the household, as well (see Orr 1978 and also McCarthy 2004: 108, with reference to Terence, the *genius*, and the *paterfamilias*).

Sacrifice was the cornerstone of Greek and Roman religious ritual. Festivals staged by the entire community, private offerings for blessing or purification, and agreements sealed between individuals or families (whether an oath or a

marriage pact) shared the common ritual feature of animal sacrifice. Other forms of sacrifice—of cakes, incense, or libations of wine—were likewise fundamental. For the Roman family, domestic ritual, too, was of prime importance, particularly to the head of household: the family's Penates and the household Lares were divinities whose protection was often as important as the goodwill of the Olympian pantheon. John North emphasizes the quotidian importance of ritual to Romans of the time of Plautus and Terence: "In early Rome, ritual action preceded and accompanied all everyday public and private events ... Constant reference to the gods and goddesses by means of vows, prayers, consultations, and sacrifices should be seen as an integral part of the life of Rome" (1988: 982).

Such ritual action included non-sacrificial ritual. Prayer, of course, was ubiquitous in everyday life in Greece and in Rome, as it is ubiquitous in Graeco-Roman comedy. Oaths by the gods are likewise common in Menander, Plautus, and Terence, and while they can generally be regarded simply as turns of phrase (such that *edepol*, like English "for God's sake" or "God only knows," could sometimes be devoid of substantive religious content, but other times communicate religious meaning), the playwrights on occasion create contexts in which the oaths become vivid and their religious derivations are emphasized (cf. the accumulation of gods in oaths in Men. *Sam.* 309–11 and Pl. *Bac.* 892–5). In Rome, furthermore, the rituals of augury and auspicy were important for undertakings of the Roman state, and references to the rites appear several times in the Plautine corpus (e.g., *astute augura*, "practice augury authoritatively," *Cist.* 694; *liquidumst auspicium*, "the bird-omen's clear," *Per.* 607). The *hariolus*, a kind of street-prophet or soothsayer, becomes in Plautus a symbol of deceit and foolishness (Slater 2000; and also Traill 2001).

Domestic sacrifice was a time for the family to come together in a shared religious experience, and public sacrifice allowed the entire community to gather as well. Thus, the performance of a sacrifice provided not only an avenue for reverent contact between the mortal and divine realms, but also a feast, an act of commensality that identified and strengthened the social bonds between participants. Put simply, a sacrificing community was a healthy community. This is a point that will prove fundamental to understanding and explaining the suppression of sacrifice in Terence's plays.

It is important to keep in mind the performance context of comedy: these plays were performed at religious festivals, and the performance space was ritually marked—for Menander, a permanent theater with a permanent altar, and for Plautus and Terence, a temporary stage structure built in front of the façade of a temple (see Manuwald 2011: 41–9). "Both the Old and New Comedies are rooted in the same holiday festivals consecrated to Dionysus, and Roman comedy was performed on various Roman holidays (*ludi*). This

‘festiveness’ seems to be an important common denominator” (Sutton 1993: x). In Roman comedy, therefore, the audience consists of festival-goers, and the theater’s location literally provides a religious backdrop. Whereas some attendees might have taken an exclusively worldly interest in the holiday—a respite from work, a free meal, and a show—others would have perceived it as a religious event, a perception supported by the fact that the statues of the gods, believed to be inhabited during the festival by the deities themselves, were brought outdoors from the temple to watch the plays and games, a practice parallel to the *lectisternium*, in which special seats were prepared for the gods as part of the sacrificial ritual (cf. Wackermann 1888; Latte 1960: 242–4, Beard, North, and Price 1998: 63; and Leigh 2002). At *Pseudolus* 162, Plautus invents the term *lectisterniator*, a *hapax* in extant Latin (on the term, see Chiarugi 1978).

2 Greek New Comedy and Roman *comoedia palliata*

In Menandrian comedy, the Greek features of sacrifice and other rituals are obvious. In Roman comedy, however, the distinction between Greek and Roman is not always clear. Though uniquely Roman terminology and practice can occasionally be found in Plautus (e.g., the terms *piacularis* and *succidaneus*, “expiatory sacrifice” and “substitute sacrifice,” at *Epid.* 139–40, or the mention of *mola salsa*, an exclusively Roman offering produced by the Vestal Virgins, at *Am.* 738), the hybrid nature of Roman New Comedy suggests that Greek and Roman ritual are to some degree intermixed from the outset.

Both Plautus and Terence preserve the Greek setting (e.g., Epidamnus in *Men.*), Greek names (including hyper-Greek names like Polymachaeroplages in *Ps.*), and Greek stage layout and costumes. Many elements of Roman life, however, intrude—not the least of which is the Latin language itself (see Starks, chapter 7, this volume). Benjamin W. Forston calls for a comprehensive study of mock-sacral passages in Terence and Plautus, and states that “although they are meant to be humorous, in order for the humor to work they had to contain much that was lifted straight from real Roman sacral formulae ... [T]hese passages have been underexploited for their potential to shed light on details of linguistic/formulaic practice in Roman sacral language” (2008: 109 n.30). A catalogue of Roman features in the “Greek” comedy of Plautus and Terence could be drawn out at length (the landmark work is Fraenkel 2007), but what is important to note is the admixture of Greek and Roman elements—and the concomitant implication that matters of sacrifice and ritual, too, will appear in Plautine comedy as a hybrid of Greek and Roman religious concepts.

New Comedy is a private, domestic genre that focuses on the relationships between individuals and families within a relatively small community. Accordingly, Menander, Plautus, and Terence all omit public or state rituals. Outside of *Amphitruo*, in which he is both a god and a character, Jupiter does not receive a sacrifice (or, at least, sacrifices conducted or mentioned are not explicitly devoted to him). Nor do Mars, Minerva, Ceres, Juno, or any of the other main Olympian deities (besides Apollo in Menander's *Samia*) who were of religious import to the Romans, with the notable exception of Venus, generally in her guise as goddess of desire.

Hanson remarks on "the relative unimportance of mythology" in Plautus, apart from *Amphitruo* (1959: 99), and I would extend this assessment to include Menander and Terence, as well. There is, however, one important exception. In Terence's *Eunuchus*, the young man Chaerea uses a painting of Jupiter and Danae as a basis for his decision to rape a girl with whom he is enamored (586–91; on the passage, see chapters 9 and 14, this volume). Chaerea justifies the rape with a mythological *exemplum* in one of the few places in Roman comedy (cf. Tromaras 1985) where we see mythology playing an active part in the play's progression. To the audience, who knows that the girl whom he has raped is a citizen, Chaerea's manipulation of the *exemplum* may come across as a travesty, as a misuse of mythology for troubling or even impious purposes.

It is moreover striking that Plautus and Terence both leave out much of Roman domestic cult—"no Latin comedy referred to a *Ianus* guarding the doorway of a house or to a *Vesta* inside or to a *Iuppiter dapalis*," or to the various other numinous divinities that, for the Romans, were immanent in the household and in the streets (Jocelyn 2001: 267). The multiple feast scenes depicted in Plautus show no evidence of a *Iuppiter dapalis*, god of feasting, nor of any other deities to whom libations and food offerings might be made by a family sitting down for a meal. Terence eschews other domestic rites as completely as he does sacrifice.

Though both are Roman adapters of Greek New Comedy, Plautus and Terence tend towards different theatrical goals. Plautus often engages in wild, sometimes fantastical, farce, and he displays consistent fascination with clever slave characters (*servi callidi*; see chapter 11, this volume), but little interest in the conventional marriage plots of New Comedy. Terence, on the contrary, enacts detailed dramatic treatments of particularly troubling versions of the stock marriage plot. He uses his plays to examine the situation of families torn apart by strife between father and son (Duckworth 1952: 286–7; Lape 2004a) or rape (Packman 1997; James 1998b, chapter 9, this volume; Penwill 2004), and he is widely recognized as being more interested in psychological portraits and motivations than Plautus.

At the same time, New Comedy is a genre of conventions, and the genre's stock characters and plots allow for some comparison of features between plays and authors. When characters in two different plays find themselves in similar situations, we can examine the differences in the characters' responses and in the way the situation unfolds in order to gain insight into the playwrights' differing goals and techniques. For instance, when both Periphanes of Plautus' *Epidicus* and Chremes of Terence's *Phormio* must acknowledge and address the fact that they have a second family, Plautus tends towards resolution and Terence towards a painfully unresolved "cliffhanger" ending. When enslaved characters take refuge from angered masters on the stage altar, as in the longest preserved fragment of Menander's *Perinthia* (see Arnott 1979–2000: 2.472–501) and at Plautus' *Mostellaria* (1094–115), Plautus aims for humor generated by the *servus callidus*, while Menander creates a scene of savagery by master against slave, perhaps with undertones of human sacrifice. This comparative approach will prove useful in considering Terence's deliberate suppression of sacrifice and the larger religious environment of his plays.

3 Sacrifice in Menander

Menander integrates sacrifice regularly in his work. The young lover's mother in *Dyskolos* performs a sacrifice for her son's well-being during the course of the play, and he says that she sacrifices regularly:

μέλλουσα δ' ἢ μήτηρ θεῶ ἑύειν τινί,
οὐκ οἶδ' ὅτω—ποεῖ δὲ τοῦθ' ὅσημέραι,
περιέρχεται θύουσα τὸν δῆμον κύκλῳ
ἅπαντ'—ἀπέσταλκ' αὐτὸν αὐτόθεν τινὰ
μισθωσόμενον μάγειρον. (*Dys.* 260–4)

Mother's planning on sacrificing to some god or another—I don't know which one—but she does this every day, she goes sacrificing all 'round the entire district in a circle—and she's sent *him* [their slave Getas] to go hire her a local sacrificer on the spot.

The sacrifice that takes place during the play is an important plot device (Scodel 1993a: 168), and her habitual performance of sacrifice marks the mother both as pious and as a character deserving of sympathy (*pace* Domingo-Forasté 1989).

Knemon, the grumpy old man of the title, on the other hand, complains about sacrifices:

ὥς θύουσι δ' οἱ τοιχωρύχοι·
 κοίτας φέρονται, σταμνί', οὐχὶ τῶν θεῶν
 ἔνεκ', ἀλλ' ἑαυτῶν. ὁ λιβανωτὸς εὐσεβεῖς
 καὶ τὸ πόπαννον· τοῦτ' ἔλαβεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὸ πῦρ
 ἅπαν ἐπιτεθέν· οἱ δὲ τὴν ὀσφῶν ἄκραν
 καὶ τὴν χολήν, ὅτι ἔστ' ἄβρωτα, τοῖς θεοῖς
 ἐπιθέντες αὐτοὶ τᾶλλα καταπίνουσι. (*Dys.* 447–53)

Would you just look at how those jerks are sacrificing! They're bringing baskets and wine-jars, not for the gods, but for themselves. Incense is sacred and cake—the god gets the whole of these put on the fire, and they give the tailbone and the gall-bladder, because *those* are inedible, to the gods, and themselves gobble down all the rest.

In his only substantial comment on all the hubbub surrounding the sacrifice that takes up the middle of the play, Knemon expresses suspicion of the motives of sacrificants (cloaked in a moralistic gripe against gluttony) and ignores the social function of sacrifice. Furthermore, based on the surviving fragments, Knemon does not offer a sacrifice of gratitude when saved from his fall in the well, nor does he thank or even mention the gods. In effect, with this speech Knemon (whose perspective is called into question repeatedly throughout *Dyskolos*) removes himself from the sacrificing and feasting community—cf. 474–5, θύειν με βοῦς οἶε ποεῖν τε ταῦθ' ἅπερ | ὑμεῖς ποεῖτ'; (“Do you think *I* sacrifice cattle and do all those things *you* all do?”)—and his rejection of sacrifice highlights his misanthropy, exactly as his home, the setting of the play, does: “It does not seem far-fetched to see this isolated, stony, and all but barren hilltop farm as the outward sign and symbol of Cnemon’s equally desolate spiritual condition ... He has turned his back on the larger and more comprehensive society of men and the gods” (Sutton 1993: 48).

Menander occasionally uses sacrifice as a plot hook. *Aspis* opens with a sacrifice about to be performed, but interrupted, by news of the death of a family member; and *Fabula Incerta* 7 (see Arnott 1979–2000: 3.529–55) opens with the discovery of a half-burnt legal document on the stage altar. In *Samia*, a young groom is practically obsessed with the ritual preparations for his marriage, and this obsession is one of the driving forces of the play’s progression.

Essential to any sacrifice in Greek New Comedy is the μάγειρος, the skilled hireling (the sacrificer) who procured, transported, slaughtered, butchered, and cooked a sacrificial animal. Epic, tragic, and sometimes even Aristophanic depictions of sacrifice generally combine the role of sacrificant and sacrificer in the heroic protagonist, but New Comedy falls closer to the historical, classical procedures for sacrifice by dividing the

ritual functions between sacrificant and μάγειρος. (“Sacrificer” refers to the professional slaughterer; “sacrificant” refers to the individual who initiates the sacrifice and hires the sacrificer. The terms are derived from Hubert and Mauss (1899), where the roles are named *sacrificateur* and *sacrifiant*, respectively.) As Ruth Scodel remarks, the μάγειρος in Greek New Comedy “is a fixed type: he is an *alazon*, someone who claims more for himself than he is entitled by his actual social role or personal qualities,” but at the same time he “bears the weight ... of the tradition which makes sacrifice central to drama” (1993a: 161 and 164; cf. Dohm 1964 and Berthiaume 1982).

Menander’s plays feature many more sacrifices than do the plays of Plautus, proportionally speaking. Although the fragmentary state of Menander prevents us from defining generic rules conclusively, the surviving texts show families that generally end up performing sacrifice by the end of the play, despite whatever crises and turmoil may have preceded. At each play’s conclusion, the families have successfully resolved their problems. For instance, the fragmentary end of *Aspis* contains what may be ceremonial language as part of a double wedding (540–4, with Arnott 1979–2000: 1.91); wedding rites also conclude *Samia*, and evidently *Sikyonioi* (418–20, with Arnott 1979–2000: 3.291); *Dyskolos* and *Misoumenos* finish with a prayer to Victory after the interpersonal conflicts that they depict have been mediated (967–9, 994–6); and *Perikeiromene* ends with an explicit invitation by one character to another to make an offering together after another double wedding has been arranged (σύνθουε δῆ, “sacrifice with me, then!” 1024).

Menander’s families, therefore, are generally marked as healthy. Menander brings his plays to an end by portraying families together in a celebration of their newfound bonds and security, a device not frequently found in Plautus, who exhibits much less interest in solving citizen crises. As the sole surviving author of Greek New Comedy, Menander is emblematic of the genre’s concern with citizen marriage and the production of legitimate children. James Redfield has stated that “comedy is life affirming, and from a comic point of view both marriage and sacrifice affirm life” (2012: 178). A properly conducted Greek marriage, it should be noted, requires sacrifice. In Menander, we can add, sacrifice affirms as well the health and happiness of a newly formed community or interfamilial bond. This feature of Menander’s theater—that a successful ritual act symbolizes the successful resolution of the play’s main conflict and the reconciliation of its characters—is consistent with Eric Dugdale’s observation that “[a]lthough rituals in plays are often dramatic interpretations rather than exact re-enactments of such rituals as performed in real life, they are nevertheless frequently represented as achieving their goal” (2008: 85).

4 Sacrifice in Plautus

Plautus treats sacrifice much differently than Menander, although still with great frequency. Offerings are occasionally made, as when the enslaved woman Leaena begrudgingly offers to Venus wine as a libation (*Cur.* 123), but it is far more common for Plautine characters to talk about sacrifice than actually to perform it. Furthermore, such talk is frequently used to mock, or assert authority over, other characters. In *Menaechmi*, one character calls another crazy by telling him to go sacrifice a pig to purify himself:

SOS. responde mihi,
adulescens: quibus hic pretiis porci veneunt
sacres sinceri? CYL. nummis. SOS. nummum a me accipe:
iube te piari de mea pecunia.
nam equidem insanum esse te certo scio,
qui mihi molestus homini ignoto quisquis es. (*Men.* 288–93; cf. 314–15, 517)
SOS. Tell me, boy: what's the price for an unblemished sacrificial pig 'round here?
CYL. A nummus. SOS. Well then, here, take a nummus,
and have yourself cleansed at my expense.
'Cause I sure as heck know you're insane, whoever you are,
botherin' me, a guy you don't even know.

Similarly, at one point in *Asinaria*, the two clever slaves, Libanus and Leonida, call for their young master, Argyrippus, to offer them sacrificial victims in gratitude for their service:

ARG. quid nunc, amabo? quoniam, ut est lubitum, nos delusistis,
datisne argentum? LIB. si quidem mihi statuam et aram statuis
atque ut deo mi hic immolas bovem: nam ego tibi Salus sum.
LEO. etiam tu, ere, istunc amoves aps te atque ipse me aggredere
atque illa sibi quae hic iusserat mihi statuis supplicasque? (*As.* 711–15)
ARG. Please, what's next? Since y'all've played around with us like you wanted, will
you hand over the cash? LIB. Sure, if you build me a statue and altar and sacrifice
a cow to me like a god—'cause I'm your Salvation.
LEO. Master, are you gonna get that jackass away from you and get yourself over
to me and give me what *he* ordered for himself and supplicate me?

In calling for sacrifice, Libanus and Leonida set themselves up as gods, in a clear position of ritual authority over their owner. In Plautus, ritual imagery indicates the power relations among characters (*contra* Tolliver 1952: 50 believes that such imagery indicates “all degrees of disrespect for the gods”

and is deleterious to Roman religion and society). So, in *Epidicus*, the title character begins the play by likening himself to a sacrificial victim (because his young master asks him to do things that will get him in trouble with his older master), but he progressively takes on ever-greater roles of religious authority, like augur and ritual embalmer. Near the conclusion, when he is at the height of his power, Epidicus is called a demi-god by one of the old men, Apocides (*apage illum a me! nam ille quidem Volcani iratist filius / quaquatangit, omne amburit, si astes, aestu calefacit*, “Get him the hell away from me, ’cause he’s the son of an angry Vulcan, for sure: he incinerates whatever he touches and if you get too close, he’ll make you hot with his incandescence,” 673–4).

There is not a direct parallel between the Menandrian μάγειρος and the Roman cook. The latter has no sacrificial capacity—since Plautus makes his plays more Roman by divorcing cooking from ritual—whereas the former is the primary sacrificer of New Comedy. Yet the two do often fulfill similar theatrical roles, and each wields both a sacrificial knife and, usually, wits as sharp as the blade itself (cf. Lowe 1985a, 1985b). In only one play (*Aulularia*), moreover, are the archetypes of Menandrian comedy preserved intact in Plautus, especially in the role of the cook as μάγειρος. Otherwise, inasmuch as they are clever banterers, Plautine cooks employ sacrificial imagery to mock other characters on stage, as at *Pseudolus* 839–46, where the cook gives Ballio the pimp a hard time by claiming that the scents of his own cooking are Jupiter’s only source of sustenance.

Unlike Menander, Plautus does not conclude his plays with festal sacrifice. He does, however, end his plays on four occasions with feasting: *Asinaria*, *Persa*, *Pseudolus*, and *Stichus*. In none of these scenes is there even a hint of sacrificial imagery—there is only the potential subtext of sacrifice, with the meat that may be consumed by the participants (although the food is perhaps more likely to consist of fish and other non-sacrificial delicacies). Two of these scenes (*Ps.* 1246–335 and *St.* 683–775) depict comedic communities that are essentially healthy. But the other two (*As.* 830–941 and *Per.* 758–857) are focused more on drunken licentiousness than on feasting; they feature virulent altercations between characters and they end abruptly with sudden, curt final lines—and with main characters still enslaved.

In Plautus, therefore, the image of the community is not as clear-cut as it is in Menander. Plautus is uninterested in the genre’s convention of marriage; he prefers instead complex plots surrounding clever protagonists. Accordingly, he deploys sacrificial imagery—for insults, jokes, deceptions, and assertions of authority or power—more than he does sacrifice itself. Plautus’ communities are not sacrificing communities, but feasting communities, and the diversity of Plautine feast scenes complicates any attempt to describe these communities synoptically as “healthy” or “unhealthy.”

5 Sacrifice in Terence

In Terence's entire corpus, not a single sacrifice is conducted, mentioned, planned, remarked upon, or even merely implied. Terence's plays lack even a single cook character (*coquus*). When Terence describes food, it is never sacrificial meat. A butcher (*lanius*) and a sausage-maker (*fartor*) are each mentioned once (*Eu.* 257), but otherwise, all comestibles are fish or vegetables. Terence's most elaborate food scenes are at *Adelphoe* 376–81 and 420–6, with *obsonium* ("victuals," especially fish), fish-gutting, *salsamenta* ("pickled fish"), and fish-cooking. A focus on fish in these passages not only maintains the higher tone of dignity affected by Terence in his plays (as he mostly avoids the disgraceful *lanii* and *fartores*), but also reflects the purely private nature of Terence's drama, since fish, in the Greek and Hellenizing Roman worlds, was "an item for private, secular consumption, as and when desired" (Davidson 1998: 12).

Terence occasionally uses the division between sacrificial and non-sacrificial foods as a tool for plot advancement or characterization. At *Andria* 369, the slave Davos reassures his love-struck young master Pamphilus that a wedding is not actually being prepared by saying, in reference to one of the wedding's arrangers, *holera et pisciculos minutos obolo in cenam seni*, "an obol's worth of greens and a bit of fish for the old man's dinner." A marriage feast would require sacrificial meat, and a pescetarian meal such as this one thus precludes the possibility of a wedding feast. Once, at *Adelphoe* 587, the term *silicernium*, "funeral feast," is used as an insult by a slave against his master, but it seems to be simply a one-time, offhand joke, rather than an epithet replete with sacrificial significance. Phormio may be using festal, if not explicitly sacrificial, language when he describes the parasite at dinner resembling a god attending a feast, perhaps to receive a sacrificial offering, perhaps as part of the *lectisternium*: "Don't you regard the man as a manifest god on earth?" (*non tu hunc habebas plane praesentem deum? Ph.* 345).

Beyond these brief moments, there is no further sacrifice or sacrificial imagery in the six plays of the Terentian corpus. This exclusion of sacrifice and the paucity of religious material and imagery in general, especially in light of the wealth of ritual material that permeates the plays of Menander and Plautus, is simply stunning, and it is no accident. Terence's omission of sacrifice is a conscious, active decision, a decision that pointedly does not represent lived reality. By suppressing deliberately sacrificial action and language, Terence breaks with both Roman and Greek predecessors and with audience expectations. The audience would have noticed the failure of Terence's characters to speak about and perform sacrifice in places

where it would have been incorporated in Menander or Plautus. And the audience would be disquieted by this failure for several reasons, notably Terence's clear break with generic convention, the inconsistency between Terence's dramas and the context of the religious festival in which they were initially performed, and the limitations that this absence of sacrifice places on the creation or healing of the comedic society in the plays' conclusions.

Terence's removal of sacrifice cheats expectations dictated by the genre. One expects, for instance, the old man of *Heauton Timorumenos*, Menedemus, to offer a sacrifice in celebration of his reunion with his son, but, strikingly, he does not. By contrast, the old man of Plautus' *Rudens* does perform a sacrifice to celebrate when he is reunited with his daughter:

aliquando osculando meliust, uxor, pausam fieri;
atque adorna, ut rem divinam faciam, quom intro advenero,
Laribus familiaribus, quom auxerunt nostram familiam.
sunt domi agni et porci sacres. (*Rud.* 1205–8)

We gotta put a stop to the kissing at some point, my wife, and dress me up so I can perform a sacrifice when I get inside to the household Lares, since they've increased the size of our household. We've got sacrificial lambs and pigs at home.

The failure of Terence's Menedemus to sacrifice, then, is an inversion of the generic norm. Whereas the reunion of the old man of *Rudens* with his daughter is fortuitous, and her absence is not an object of obsession for him, Menedemus, the titular self-tormentor, sets himself to manual labor as punishment for having driven his son away, and fixates on the loss of his son. Where we would expect a reunion sacrifice all the more, we have nothing. The case is the same with weddings, births, and recognition scenes in Terence: there simply are no sacrifices.

Terence's suppression of sacrifice has a subtle effect on the theatrical atmosphere of his works. Those who knew New Comedy well (a substantial portion of the audience, if we follow Fontaine 2010) would, I believe, expect sacrifice as confirmation that intra-familial resolution had been accomplished by play's end. Those unfamiliar with Terence's Greek originals, on the other hand—those who knew the stock characters and plots only from previous Roman adaptations—could still perceive the stark differences between Plautus' and Terence's handling of religion and ritual. People from both parts of the audience, I argue, would notice the absence from Terence's stage of the core rite of Graeco-Roman religion and this observation would communicate a sense that the families depicted onstage are unwell, or out of joint.

6 The Larger Religious Picture

George Duckworth notes that the gods are mentioned much less frequently by Terence's characters than by Plautus': "Terence's failure to bring the gods into the speeches of his characters undoubtedly reflects his desire to preserve the more philosophical nature of his Greek originals" (1952: 298–9). But in Terence's most important Greek model, Menander, the gods are constantly mentioned, often called upon, and occasionally brought on stage as divine prologues, as is Pan in *Dyskolos*. The absence of the gods from the speech of Terentian characters, except for the standard exclamatory addresses (*edepol*, *hercle*, *ecastor*), is correlative to the absence of sacrifice from his plays, and reinforces the disquieting effect of such an absence.

In addition, there is almost no substantive prayer in Terence. For instance, in *Adelphoe*, Terence is "vague ... about the prayer for approval of Aeschines' marriage" (Jocelyn 2001: 266 on *Ad.* 699–700 and 704–5). An audience might not take notice of this peculiar lack of Terentian prayer by itself, but the combination with Terence's total exclusion of sacrifice does, I argue, create a palpable, and even foreboding tone in his plays—a stifled religious atmosphere.

The stage altar, a constant feature of both Greek and Roman theaters, would still be present in Terence's drama—but its very presence, for it is mentioned only once, when one character tells another to take branches from the altar to lay under a baby they are abandoning (*An.* 726), strongly marks the absence of sacrifice from Terence's drama. Blocking and acting decisions, like having characters studiously ignore the altar as they pass by (or, instead, pause by it and exude a sense of despair), could emphasize the altar's state of disuse.¹ For Menander and Plautus, who do incorporate the stage altar and occasionally even use the altar for humorous or theatrical purposes, the altar is a feature of the ritual experience of attending a play, staged as part of a religious festival. Enslaved characters occasionally seek refuge or sanctuary on the altar (the longest fragment of Menander's *Perinthia*; Pl. *Mos.* 1094–115, *Rud.* 761–70), sometimes (as in *Mostellaria*) to humorous effect (cf. *Hau.* 975–6: *nemo accusat*, Syre, *te: nec tu aram tibi / nec precatorem pararis*, "nobody is accusing you, Syrus. You don't need to find an altar or someone to plead for you"). The theatrical "hook" of Menander's *Fabula Incerta* 7 is a contract left burning on the altar at the play's opening (see Arnott 1979–2000: 3.529–55); there is a climactic clash between old man and pimp at the altar in *Rudens* 761–70; and offerings are made at the altar in *Curculio* 125, *Mercator* 675, *Miles Gloriosus* 411, *Trinummus* 39, and *Truculentus* 476. For Terence, who eschews the altar, its central location onstage points to the disconnect between the religious, festival context of Roman comedies and the missing rituals in Terence's plays themselves.

In *Hecyra*, Terence makes brief reference to these very religious festivals. The young man Pamphilus has recently discovered that his wife Philumena has left his home not because she is angry with her mother-in-law Sostrata but because she is pregnant with the child of her rapist (see chapter 16, this volume). As he tries to prevent Sostrata from leaving their in-town home for the country, he gives her the following reason:

PAM. tum tuas amicas te et cognatas deserere et festos dies
mea causa nolo. SOS. nil iam istaec mihi res voluptatis ferunt:
dum aetatis tempus tulit, perfuncta satis sum. (*Hec.* 592–4)

PAM. Besides, I don't want you to abandon your friends and relatives and your public festivals for my sake. SOS. Heaven knows, those things don't give me any pleasure nowadays. While my time of life allowed it, I had my fill of them.

The idea is not revisited when the issue of Sostrata's move to the country is brought up later in the play. Pamphilus here treats Sostrata's religious devotion—or rather her observance of what should be holy days for him, too—as a mere pastime. His dismissive tone is reminiscent of Menander's *Dyskolos*, where the young man Sostratos treats his mother's conduct of sacrifices in a similarly contemptuous way (260–4, quoted in Section 3). Further, Sostrata's acquiescent response is intended simply to rebuff Pamphilus' objection, and should not be understood as a genuine expression of her feelings about the religious festivals. Terence again uses religion to portray problems in the family: the manipulative son disingenuously appeals to his mother's religious sentiments for his own benefit, while the mother feels she must trivialize her pious dedication in order to ease the apparent conflict between herself and her son's wife.

Terence's drama focuses on domestic affairs, yet this fact alone does not explain his suppression of sacrifice. The Lar Familiaris and the Penates were an important part of domestic life; in Plautus, the Lar is almost exclusively a private, domestic deity (Giacobello 2008: 40–3), even though the Lares did in fact have important public functions in Roman religion (cf. also 45–9). Yet they nevertheless play virtually no role in Terence's drama, with only a single reference to the Penates out of six entire plays: *ego deos Penatis hinc salutatum domum / devortar* ("I'll go home from here to give my greetings to the Penates," *Ph.* 311–12, spoken by the old man Demipho, recently returned from a trip abroad). This marginalization of the household gods is, again, un-Plautine, as Plautus even assigns the prologue of *Aulularia* to the central family's Lar. Terence's prologues, of course, are external to the fiction of the plays, and are concerned not with plot summary but with literary production and polemics. Nonetheless, the contrast between the presence of the gods in Plautus and in Terence is telling, and extends from public life into the realm of domestic cult and the family.

7 Terence and the Family

The administration of Roman domestic cult is the obligation of the head of household. In Plautus, these old men are frequently irresponsible heads of household, as seen in their sexual escapades in *Asinaria*, *Casina*, and *Mercator*. Yet we do, occasionally, see even them engaged in ritual activity. One, in *Epidicus*, is said to sacrifice to Orcus regularly in thanks for outliving his wife (173, an obviously humorous allegation, and the only time Orcus or any other god of the underworld is mentioned as a recipient of sacrifice in extant New Comedy). Another in *Trinummus* says that he wants to make an offering to the Lar, so that he, in turn, can outlive his wife (39). In Terence, citizen male heads of household are not always sexually profligate—though the bigamous Chremes of *Phormio* is—but they can be disastrously harsh to their sons (as in *Adelphoe* and *Heauton Timorumenos*) and to their wives (as in *Hecyra*). Perhaps we can see a link between these problematic instantiations of the *paterfamilias* and the absence of domestic cult in Terence: in ritual, as in family relationships, these men fail to live up to their obligations (and cf. Smith 2004: 88 on how *Phormio* “critically and unflatteringly examines the hypocrisy and injustice of those [citizen males] seeking to protect or increase their surplus of wealth”—the head of household may be more interested in income than in family).

This link touches on a recurring element of Terence’s drama, namely the difficulties that his males exhibit with maturity. Both adolescent and grown males in Terence are consistently characterized as failing to operate as or develop into true adults who participate fully in society. Of the two fathers in *Adelphoe*, for instance, the one, Micio the bachelor, lives a life that constitutes from a Roman perspective a state of prolonged adolescence, and the other, Demea, eagerly embraces a regression to Micio’s immature lifestyle at the end of the play. Likewise, in *Hecyra*, the young man Pamphilus metatheatrically rejects the conventional recognition scene that would resolve the strife that he has caused between his parents (cf. Anderson 2000). And in *Eunuchus*, one brother (Phaedria) settles for sharing the courtesan he loves (Thais) with another man while the other brother (Chaerea) abandons his obligations and even sheds his citizen status in order to commit the premeditated rape of a citizen girl (cf. Rosivach 1998: 46–50, as well as Anderson 2009: 57 on *Eu.* 541: “Chaerea’s neglect of his agreement and duty to his friends is one additional mark of his selfish immaturity”; all *pace* Philippides 1995, an extension of the argument by Donatus that the rape is to be taken effectively as a marriage coming-of-age ritual). Men in Terence, whether young or old, are frequently unable or unwilling to fulfill the tasks, expectations, and roles of men in respectable Roman society. We can draw a

parallel between this tendency and the fact that Terence also does not depict grown men executing the obligations of ritual and domestic cult that come with the position of *paterfamilias*.

We have seen that Menander uses sacrifice as a sort of capstone for the successful completion of the citizen marriage plot, and that Plautus in *Rudens* marks the reunion of a daughter and a father with celebratory sacrifice. We see nothing similar in Terence. I believe Terence was aware that, in New Comedy as in Graeco-Roman life, a sacrificing community is a healthy, successful one; and thus he underscores his gripping depictions of domestic strife by removing the physical ritual embodiment of spiritual stability—that is, sacrifice—from his comic household, a thematic choice that constitutes an important break between Terence’s drama and the conventional realism of the genre.

There is no resolution between husband and wife in *Phormio*, after the revelation that the *paterfamilias* Chremes has maintained two families and two wives for years. *Adelphoe*, *Heauton Timorumenos*, and *Hecyra* all present extremely troubled relationships between fathers and sons, with the major issues often unresolved by the play’s conclusion. Sutton remarks that “New and Roman comedy (centrally) are concerned with generational conflicts within single families. Most often such conflicts involve fathers and sons” (1993: xi)—and this concern is particularly prominent in Terence. In *Hecyra* specifically, as we have seen, Pamphilus conspires to conceal from his father the rape that he has committed against the woman who has become his own wife, and *Eunuchus* deals with the only daytime, sober, premeditated rape of a citizen in extant New Comedy. Accordingly, the families that Terence depicts in his plays are thematically dysfunctional—and one way Terence communicates this theme is by suppressing normal sacrifice. This religious dimension reinforces the other means that Terence uses to depict the dysfunction of the family, including the mistreatment of wives by their husbands (as in *Hecyra* and *Phormio*), the destructive and largely unpunished behavior of young male rapists (in *Eunuchus* and *Hecyra*), and the greed of citizen males (thus Smith 2004).

Anderson (2001) examines how Terence, as a former slave, was alienated from the humor, perspectives, and interests of the privileged classes. Terence’s intentional suppression of sacrifice demonstrates another aspect of this estrangement. Terence’s enslaved characters simply do not sacrifice. In this respect, Terence’s dramatic practice is consistent with Plautus’, for in New Comedy enslaved characters, as a rule, do not sacrifice (although there is limited and regrettably fragmentary evidence for an enslaved sacrificant in Menander’s *Karchedonios* fr. 1, Arnott 1979–2000: 2.102). Nevertheless, in Plautus, *servi callidi* are regularly associated with sacrificial imagery, and many such characters adopt the terminology or authority of ritual officials (or even of gods)—whereas enslaved characters in Terence are not associated with sacrifice or ritual imagery whatsoever.

In the actual Roman world, however, as Bömer (1981) establishes, enslaved persons could and did sacrifice, whether individually or as ritual officials in *collegia*. Terence does not realistically depict the religious activity of enslaved characters, any more than that of citizens; the dysfunction of the family extends to the individuals that it holds as slaves, entangled in the household's ills. In the final scene of *Adelphoe*, the newly generous old man Demea compels his brother Micio to free the *servus* Syrus and his *uxor* Phrygia (and grant Syrus certain financial assets), yet Syrus neither makes nor mentions an offering to the gods in thanks for this fortunate turn of events. He does not even offer a prayer, merely a generic wish that the gods will grant a boon—not to Micio, his manumitter, but to Demea, the man who pushed Micio towards manumission (*dī tibi, Demea, omnes semper omnia optata offerant*, “May all the gods always grant you all your desires, Demea,” *Ad.* 978). This failure to sacrifice is symptomatic of Terence’s skeptical view of the Roman family. Terence’s comedy does not genuinely express much joy, and his characters, by neglecting this basic religious rite, weaken the very familial and social bonds that make them Roman.

8 Conclusion

Terence suppresses the conduct and discussion of sacrifice from his plays, in a marked divergence from his Greek model Menander and his Roman predecessor Plautus. This suppression of sacrifice cheats generic expectations, reinforces the sense of a lack of resolution by play’s end, and generates a foreboding theatrical atmosphere within the performance context of a religious festival (or funeral games) that comprised public sacrifices. This erasure of sacrifice is indicative of a wider, thematic problem with religion in Terence. Prayer and even simple mention of the gods are much less common in Terence than in Plautus or Menander, and the most prominent Terentian use of myth—Chaerea’s exploitation of the Jupiter/Danae story to justify his rape of Pamphila in *Eunuchus*—is deeply troubling, to say the least. Against this background, stock invocations of the gods ring hollow, as does Pamphilus’ own self-interested invocation of his mother’s religious observances in *Hecyra*. Ritual and religious speech, when present in Terence, are problematic.

This break with Menander and Plautus in the handling of religious language, content, and theme should not be regarded merely as another area in which Terence is anomalous in adapting his Greek originals—and furthermore, as Fontaine notes, Terence’s “poetry is in some respects not nearly as different from that of Plautus as is sometimes alleged” (2010: 16). We might, for instance, compare Terence’s erasure of sacrifice to his erasure of details of Greek topography that are present in his Greek model, as at

Heauton Timorumenos (61–4). But while we can readily understand the reasons for the latter—in adapting Menander for a Roman audience, the particulars of Attic local topography would be irrelevant and even confusing (cf. Leffingwell 1918: 14–15)—the answer is not so simple for his treatment of sacrifice, since Greek and Roman ritual shared much in common, and the Romans even possessed a practice that they called the *Graecus ritus* (on which see Scheid 1995). Nor can the absence of sacrifice be attributed to Terence’s interests in a philosophical drama (again, Duckworth 1952: 298–9) because, as we have seen, the philosophical comedies of Menander are filled with sacrifice and sacrificial imagery. By excising sacrifice from his plays, Terence is rather making a thematic statement about his dramatic world and about the problematic families with which he populates it. In this way, Terence demonstrates his skepticism about Roman families, especially about the father–son relationships—they are, in his view, systematically dysfunctional.

It is a generic norm of New Comedy that a sacrificing community is a healthy one; and so Terence depicts his non-sacrificing communities not only as irreligious (or non-religious) but also as distinctly unhealthy. The absence of sacrifice runs parallel to the lack of resolution at the ends of the plays, each a worrying feature that may linger in the minds of the audience after they have left the theater. As Sutton writes, the Saturnalian spirit of the festival day “does not necessarily mean that the spectator ... will not remember what he has felt and learned while watching comedy after he goes home” (1993: 64; *contra* Segal 1987). This assertion is particularly pertinent for Terence, who, more than Plautus or Menander, shows in a realistic way the psychological pain and familial strife that can afflict seemingly normal Roman families.

With the failure of interpersonal resolution—and with the failure to sacrifice—the creation of a renewed, healthy, comedic citizen society (cf. Frye 1957, 1965) is deferred, and the purpose of the genre is perhaps confounded. Sutton contends that “Terence ... writes a kind of drama meant to subvert comedy itself” (1993: 121). And through his erasure of sacrifice, Terence subverts as well a key indicator of the success of Graeco-Roman comedy’s central generic concern: the establishment of functioning citizen families.

FURTHER READING

Besides works already cited, there is little scholarship on ritual and sacrifice in Roman comedy. Dunsch (2009) provides a detailed analysis of religious elements in Plautus’ *Mercator*. This chapter takes off from my own M.A. thesis (Gellar-Goad 2008), but is not part of it. Sections of the thesis on the stagecraft of sacrifice, theatrical uses of sacrifice in Menander and Plautus, and ritual personnel on the Graeco-Roman stage

are under preparation for publication; a short piece on ritual imagery and the *servus callidus* figure in Plautus' *Epidicus* is currently in print (Gellar-Goad 2011–12). It may be helpful to consult Westaway (1917: chapter 6) on religion in Plautus. For domestic religion in Greece, see Faraone (2008) and Boedeker (2008), and, in Rome, see Bodel (2008). On gender and sacrifice, see Isenberg (1975), Detienne (1989), Scheid (1992), Osborne (1993), Dillon (2002), Schultz (2006), and most recently Holland (2012) and Stehle (2012). On religion and literature in Rome, see Feeney (1998).

NOTE

1. I developed this point in conversation with Lora L. Holland (*per litteras*).

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I owe great thanks to Lora L. Holland, James Redfield, Patrick J. Dombrowski, and particularly Sharon L. James for their help in connection with the arguments presented here.

CHAPTER NINE

Gender and Sexuality in Terence

Sharon L. James

The subjects of gender and sexuality in Terence take on meaning in context, against their relevant literary/dramatic historical background, and in the classed social organization of life in antiquity. Social hierarchies were more porous in Rome than in Greece, but certain boundaries, at least within Terence's comedy, seem impermeable. Terence presents gender and sexuality, on his stage, as strictly delimited by the interests and perspectives of the citizen class, particularly the men. What is more, he consistently shows those interests and perspectives as exploiting the bodies of subaltern persons and damaging the lives of citizen women.

A brief overview of the relevant theatrical background will allow us to focus on what is distinctive about gender and sexuality in Terence's drama. Menander, Terence's preferred Greek source (see chapters 1 and 2, this volume), sets the basic pattern: the generic masterplot heads inexorably toward marriage, ideally between two young people who care for each other, but in any case with a young man whose conscience is developed enough that he may be trusted to be a kind and worthy husband (as with Gorgias of *Dyskolos*, who does not even meet his bride). The comic obstacles to marriage range from mistaken/lost identity (*Perikeiromene*, *Misoumenos*) or confusion and mystification (*Phasma*, presumably *Theophoroumene*), to an interfering father (Didot papyrus, *Epitrepontes*)

or uncle (*Aspis*), to rape (*Epitrepontes*, *Heros*, *Georgos*, and many more). Too little survives of Diphilus, Philemon, and Alexis to support any similar surveys for their drama.

In Roman hands, things change considerably: Plautus, barely concerned with sentimental Menandrian marriage plots or citizen society's values, gives center stage to the clever male slave and to his own linguistic and metric brilliance and wit, regularly bringing ugly social realities, such as slave torture, into his often riotous theater (see chapter 11, this volume). Terence, by contrast, returns to the more sedate Menandrian atmosphere, focusing on citizen family life, but with a skeptical twist, and virtually none of the fun and games that fill the Plautine stage. Instead, he takes a critical perspective on the gender and class values that structure Roman society, and shows citizen male privilege as a socially damaging element at the very heart of Rome: within the citizen family.

This approach means that I read Terence as representing Roman, rather than Greek, citizen families and values: Greece stands in for Rome (on Terence in particular as representing Roman gender and sexuality, see James 1998b; on the Romanization of plot and context, see chapter 7, this volume). My discussion here is organized by class and age, drawing, where appropriate, on Roman social realities and, again, on Menander and Plautus. I define these terms loosely, treating gender as a social construct, understood and reinforced culturally, and sexuality as more individual. Of course, social and cultural structures affect individuality, so sexuality may be seen as a subset of gender, especially in a genre that is so clear about its expectations for men and women, sexual behavior, and social class. As we shall see, in citizen males, sexuality is often a marker for development into proper gendered behavior. Overall, New Comedy is resolutely heteronormative, so the spectrum of sexuality for citizen men in antiquity, which includes pederastic homoeroticism, is not on view: in New Comedy, citizen men, especially in Terence, are strictly heterosexual. By "class" I mean the ancient distinctions of citizen, free non-citizen, and slave; particularly in Roman Comedy, the lower citizen classes do not appear, but as a rule, neither do the ruling classes (senators and knights). It bears repeating that generically New Comedy is concerned almost exclusively with citizens; non-citizens and slaves are a crucial part of its population, but are part of its priorities only in Plautus.

As a rule, citizen gender and sexuality is more about family in Terence than in Plautus (see chapter 10, this volume). That is, Terence never fails to conclude a play with marriage, where Plautus will frequently not even bother with it (*Asinaria*, *Bacchides*, *Captivi*, *Mercator*, *Miles*, *Mostellaria*, *Persa*, *Pseudolus*). Insofar as a blanket statement can be made about citizen gender and sexuality in Terence's drama, it is this: women absolutely obey the rules for their gender and class, but their status and safety depend absolutely upon the men in their

lives, who frequently enact their own gender roles and exercise their own sexuality at the expense of women. Rape is the most obvious example of male danger to women, but by no means the only one—Chrysis of *Andria* demonstrates the risks that even non-violent male sexuality poses to citizen women (and Bacchis of *Heauton Timorumenos* makes the same claim for non-citizen women). In Menander such situations may be resolved after years when a man, realizing that a woman is his long-forgotten rape victim, does right both by her and by their offspring (*Heros*, *Phasma*, *Hiereia*). In Plautus these risks can be magically erased by the belated development of an older man's guilty conscience (*Cistellaria*, *Epidicus*). But in Terence a woman can pay a permanent price for being the object of male lust (*Andria*, *Phormio*). In recognizing the vulnerability of women to male sexual force, Terence is more realistic than romantic and sentimental Menander or uproarious, farcical Plautus.

In fact, the primary role of women of *all* ages, in Terence's theater, is to be subject to the urges or control of men. Where Menander's citizen mothers have some domestic power (Nikeratos' wife in *Samia*, Moschion's mother in *Perikeiromene*, Myrrhina in *Heros*), Terence's wives do not. And where Menander will show a displaced citizen daughter managing her life as best she can, often standing up to the man who has domestic power over her (Krateia in *Perikeiromene*, Glykera in *Misoumenos*), Terence's lost daughters are either victims of rape (Glycerium in *Andria*, Pamphila in *Eunuchus*, who is also the victim of Thais' unscrupulous uncle) or are passively faithful to a hapless or disappeared lover (Antiphila in *Heauton Timorumenos* and Phanium in *Phormio*). Likewise, the sharp-tongued, powerful *uxor dotata* of Plautus (Cleostrata in *Casina*, Artemona in *Asinaria*, Dorippa in *Mercator*) does not exist in Terence. Sostrata of *Adelphoe* shows some backbone, preparing to sue Aeschinus for raping and abandoning her daughter, but as a poor widow dependent on her kinsman Hegio and her slave Geta, she is socially almost helpless. Still again, the raped citizen daughter Pamphile of Menander's *Epitrepontes* shows great strength of character, but her literary granddaughter Philumena, in Terence's *Hecyra* (adapted from Apollodorus' *Hekyra*, itself based on *Epitrepontes*), is repeatedly victimized, and never has—as Pamphile has—a chance to speak for herself (see below).

The question to ask about Terence's citizen women, then, is this: does the playwright see them as merely passive victims, who are of little interest to him? It is often said that the *senex* is the most important character to Terence. But such does not mean that Terence is attached to his *senes* or that he heroizes them, as Plautus does the *servus callidus*. Terence performs a skeptical autopsy of the Roman citizen family, beginning with its power center, the *paterfamilias*, who is repeatedly unjust, even cruel, to his wife, peremptory with his daughter, and often callous toward his children, particularly his son (here I am taking a perspective opposite to that of Fantham 2004).

1 Gender and Sexuality among Senior Citizens

Two of Terence's plays, *Heauton Timorumenos* and *Adelphoe*, focus on fathers who share articulated concerns about the right model for fatherhood, and on the father-son relationship. *Hecyra*, *Andria*, and *Phormio* showcase fathers seeking to enforce arranged marriages for their sons, and showing both personal and ideological frustration at the young men's resistance—these men do not understand why their sons have not only failed to obey them but have also disregarded larger social expectations of filial behavior. Thus Simo of *Andria* says of his son Pamphilus, “if he refuses to marry because of his love, that will be a clear act of disobedience on his part which deserves to be punished” (*An.* 155–6). Demipho of *Phormio* is seeking to marry off his son Antipho not for business purposes, but to help out his own miscreant brother in secret. (Antipho does not know that he is being pressed to marry his illegitimate cousin; he knows only that his father is forcing an unwanted marriage on him.) *Eunuchus* barely features the relevant father, but *Hecyra* prominently stages Laches and Phidippus, acting precisely as fathers concerned with their children's marriage. So we may say that Terence takes a consistent, even generative, interest in fathers, and in the social definition of fatherhood as a status that merits obedience from all members of the *familia*. That is, issues of fatherhood not only take center stage in several of Terence's plays, but actually generate their plots—an unusual feature in a genre dedicated to marrying off young people. These fathers often complain that they are mild and indulgent with their family, but ignored, abused, and exploited by them (e.g., Phidippus and Laches, *Hec.* 223–7, 244–5; Chremes, *Hau.* 647); as we shall see, such complaints are always undercut by the fathers' behavior.

Fatherhood is necessarily gendered, and Terence's *patres* show themselves, on the whole, to be thinking and acting in ways consistent with gender, age, and class expectations for their role. Strikingly absent among these *senes* is sexuality. The old man in Menander is generally free of inappropriate sexuality. In *Samia*, Demeas feels the passion and heartbreak of a younger man, through a prism of insecurity and anxiety generated by his age. He believes easily, and mistakenly, that his concubine Chrysis preferred his son over himself, and he reacts with anger and hurt feelings. But he seems to be an exception, as Menander's old men are generally more interested in money and business than in sex. (Hence Smikrines in *Aspis* seeks to marry his *epikleros* niece, against the wishes of all others, because of money, not sex; on the *epikleros*, see chapter 15, this volume.) Lacking the great majority of Menander, we cannot say with certainty that he excluded the *senex amator*, but the character would be uncongenial to his theater. I think it unlikely that such a proponent of happy young marriage would stage geriatric desire.

Plautus, by contrast, often stages sexual desire in *senes*, always as inappropriate and deserving of punishment. Lysidamus of *Casina*, Demaenetus of *Asinaria*, and Demipho of *Mercator* are the most obvious examples, but they are hardly alone. As soon as they meet the seductive and beautiful Bacchis sisters, Nicobolus and Philoxenus of *Bacchides* slide off their paternal high horses and down into a pit of iniquity with their sons (such an ending in Menander's original is hard to imagine). Daemones of *Rudens* notices how attractive Ampelisca and Palaestra are, but decides to behave himself, because of his suspicious wife. Alcesimarchus' father, in *Cistellaria*, flirts very sexually with Gymnasium, and then makes a deal for her time. Hanno of *Poenulus*, seeking his lost daughters in far-flung brothels, sleeps with the girls who have turned out to be no relation. In *Stichus*, Antipho harasses his sons-in-law to give him one (or more) of the women they have brought back for resale as prostitutes. Lysimachus, the elderly neighbor of the *senex amator* Demipho in *Mercator*, conducts some sexualized flirting with the *meretrix* Pasicompsa. Thus Plautus integrates geriatric male sexuality throughout his theater: these ten *senes* who exhibit desire, often at the mere sight of a beautiful woman, constitute a significant percentage of his old men.

Terence, however, stages no elderly male sexuality: only one of his *senes* has had extramarital sex. That activity took place in a marital-type relationship, and seems to have ended early: Chremes of *Phormio* had a second wife and family, under a false name, on Lemnos. As with Periphanes of Plautus' *Epidicus*, the relationship of the *senex* to his other woman seems to have ended by abandonment long before the play begins. The only hint of ongoing sexual activity among the *senes* of Terence comes up with Chremes and his wife, Nausistrata, discussed below.

But if sexuality is absent from Terence's old men, gender (defined by age and class) continues to rule them. Because of his status as *paterfamilias*, the Terentian father expects to be obeyed. He is interested in marriage for his son, not for himself—every married *senex* speaks ill of his wife, and even the easy-going Micio of *Adelphoe* is horrified at the prospect of a late-life marriage. The primary concern of the Terentian *senex* is business, but controlling his home is a close second, and his hostility toward what he considers his wayward family members marks his view of his own advanced adult masculinity: it is defined by proprieties and by mastery over his surroundings and subordinates. But it seems rather a job to keep up that wide-range control: the married fathers take a distinctively harder line with their sons than do the widowed or bachelor fathers. (See, for instance, the intransigence of Laches in *Hecyra*, who forced Pamphilus into marriage by harassing him relentlessly, or the hard-headed anger of Chremes in *Heauton Timorumenos*, as he cruelly punishes Clitipho by pretending to disinherit him.) The unmarried fathers Micio and Menedemus are much milder. The widowed Demea of *Adelphoe* behaves like a harsh father

because his indulgent brother Micio effectively plays the role of his wife: Micio is the parental foil, or intra-family rival for authority over Aeschinus and Ctesipho. That is, Demea considers Micio to be interfering with Demea's paternal control because he indulges both sons, rather as Chremes of *Heauton Timorumenos* blames his wife Sostrata for Clitipho's failings. Micio conducts his child-rearing without reference to his brother, and, never having married, seems to feel none of the strain that the *paterfamilias* finds so burdensome.

Their need for control, however, does not mean that Terentian fathers lack all human connection. There is a struggle inherent within the position of *paterfamilias*, as Menedemus of *Heauton Timorumenos* learns when his son Clinia runs away: paternal intransigence means filial alienation. Menedemus punishes himself by performing slave labor on his own farm (*Hau.* 65–6), because he belatedly recognized that his excessive strictness amounted to a form of paternal cruelty. He accuses himself of having lacked humanity (99) and of having treated his son abusively: *vi et via pervolvata patrum* ("harshly, as is the common way of fathers," 101). That he loves and misses his son is evident (see, e.g., 470–5). Menedemus converts from a *durus pater* to a *lenis pater*: he himself says, "I've had enough of being a severe father, quite enough" (439). In this play, paternal strictness is aggressive, judgmental, inhumane.

Menedemus is the best-known example of Terentian fathers who seek mutual love, respect, and understanding with their sons. But he is not the only one: even Demea of *Adelphoe* wants an emotional connection with his sons. His harshness stems from his basic personality, according to his brother Micio (*Ad.* 40–6), who points to, and questions, a rarely articulated aspect of Roman fatherhood: the principle of ownership embedded in *patria potestas*. A father should teach his son to *want* to do right, rather than to do so out of fear, says Micio: "that's the difference between a father and a master" (76). Micio's own failures of honesty and paternity notwithstanding (see Johnson 1968), he has raised a son who loves him and seeks his respect (681–3). Demea complains that his sons hate and avoid him, but love and seek out Micio (870–4). Demea's resentment finally explodes: he determines to abandon his "hard life" (*vitam duram*, 859), meaning not his life of thrift, caution, and hard work, but his relentless, invasive *duritia*. He borrows Micio's model, because he too wants his sons to love and value him (879; here I am arguing against the interpretation of Hunter 1985: 108). He does so at Micio's expense, in revenge against his brother, who has been intolerably genial. Demea's final speech demonstrates that he retains his principles, which he wants his sons not to fear but to respect.

Menedemus and Demea learn that excessive paternal harshness costs them something they did not realize they valued: the affection and respect of their sons. Terence rewards their self-reflection and flexibility by permitting them a rapprochement with their sons, though their final reconciliations are limited.

Their longing for emotional connection and trust, rather than mere obedience, demonstrates a consistent principle in Terence: the *durus pater* risks alienation within his own family. By showcasing the authoritarian nature of fatherhood, consistently described with forms of *inhumanus*, Terence diagnoses a standing fault line in the gendering of the Roman *senex*. The aberrant elderly sexuality of the Plautine *senex* is certainly a failing, but it is also the sign of a human being with human weaknesses. Plautus' *senex* often remembers his own wild youth and grants his son similar indulgence (e.g., Demaenetus in *Asinaria*), but Terence's *senex*, as Clitipho bitterly complains, has forgotten his own youth and seeks to force his own son into premature old age (*Hau.* 213–16).

Terence's old men press marriage upon their sons, but complain about their own wives and marriages. Those maligned women, by contrast, are patient and devoted, as both wives and mothers. Where Plautus will allow the Saturnalian hilarity of a wife's punishing her repulsively wayward husband (*Casina*, *Asinaria*), Terence deliberately suppresses such improbable comedy: Nausistrata of *Phormio* learns that her husband had a second wife and family, but she reacts with sorrow and hurt feelings rather than anger, deferring to their son concerning the father's punishment. Like all the wives in Terence, she is dignified and resigned (cf. Fantham 2004: 28).

Terence shows these women through a double prism: the audience first learns about them through the vituperation of the old men, a characterization that turns out to be false (a structure typical for Terence's ironic drama). After seeing the women on stage, viewers must adjust their expectations and recognize that these women are highly sympathetic and almost always suffering inexcusable abuse from their husbands. Thus, Laches of *Hecyra* storms on stage, exclaiming that if there is a school for teaching wives to be difficult, his wife Sostrata is the headmistress. His neighbor Phidippus openly abuses his wife Myrrhina. Chremes of *Phormio* calls Nausistrata savage (*saevam*, 744). Chremes of *Heauton Timorumenos* consistently speaks abusively both of and to his wife. But when the women come on stage, the audience sees that they are mild, kind, and anxious; that they are *morigerae*—dutiful wives; and that they want to do right by their families, including their husbands. Not a thing their husbands have said of them turns out to be true.

The *matronae* in Terence fulfill their prescribed gender roles to perfection: faithful wives and devoted mothers, they accept their husbands' domestic authority and yield their own interests to the convenience of their children. The only act of wifely disobedience in all of Terence is Sostrata's secret failure to expose her baby girl in *Heauton Timorumenos*—a dramatic necessity and a decision consistent with her character as it is shown in the play. The *senex* works hard to enforce and maintain his gender role, often expressing resentment that his family members resist his authority, but the *uxor* fits into her gender role naturally.

With the striking exception of Chremes in *Phormio*, Terence's *senes* and their wives do share one trait: they lack active sexuality. There are three different stories about Chremes' second family: that he secretly had an affair with Phanium's mother a long time earlier (*Ph.* 873); that he took her as a second wife (*uxorem ducit*, 1005); and his brother Demipho's version, that he had raped Phanium's mother some fifteen years earlier, then never touched her again. (Martin 1959: 171–2 rightly notes that “Demipho is deliberately trying to minimize” Chremes' offense.) Nausistrata quickly realizes that the second family accounts for the lowered rents from her properties on Lemnos, and turns to another concern: her husband's future fidelity. Can she expect him to be more faithful, she asks, reminding Demipho that old age is no guarantee—Chremes was already a *senex* fifteen years before (1023). Then she asks her brother-in-law a striking question: “Am I getting any younger or more attractive now?” (1024).

This question raises a surprising specter, inserted by Terence (on Terence's expansion of the final scene and his placement of Nausistrata where she would not have been in Apollodorus, see Moore 2001: 256). Nausistrata is asking about her sexual attractiveness to her husband. But the prospect of sex between elderly spouses cannot be long contemplated on the comic stage, so Phormio interrupts. When Demipho and Nausistrata resume talking, their subject has shifted to Chremes' repentance. But for a moment Terence opens up a tiny glimpse into marital relations among the elder generation, showing the *matrona's* anxiety about sex, and her consciousness of her own sexuality. The subject of the *matrona's* sexuality is seen only once in the rest of extant New Comedy, at *Asinaria* 873–4 (it is hinted at in *Mos.* 696); from there, Plautus' *uxor dotata* Artemona proceeds to give her husband a well-deserved comic humiliation. But Nausistrata does not punish her husband: she leaves his fate to their son. Moreover, she shows no belated hostility toward her husband's illegitimate daughter, Phanium, whom she has found to be a sweet girl. Terence introduces this moment of sexual anxiety in a *matrona* to poignant, rather than comic or repulsive, effect.

2 The Younger Generation

The *adulescens* is the chief figure in the beginnings of New Comedy: Menander's young male protagonist has typically misbehaved with the girl he loves, on a scale from rejection (Charisios of *Epitrepontes*) to physical abuse (Polemon of *Perikeiromene*) to rape (numerous young men, including Charisios). The miscreant youth must repent and do right, not only by the girl, but sometimes also by a relevant older man (e.g., Moschion and his father in *Samia*), and become a self-controlled adult, ready to participate maturely in marriage and in his own society. An alternate plot presents a more hapless

young man, unready to take action toward his amatory desires and in need of assistance (Sostratos of *Dyskolos*, Thrasonides of *Misoumenos*). Mistaken or lost identities are famously part of the obstacle course of true love in Menander; in such cases, the young man shows remarkable sexual restraint (e.g., Stratophanes of *Sikyonioidi*; see James, forthcoming, "Rethinking"). Overall, the young citizen man seems to be the character of greatest interest to Menander.

In Plautus, however, the citizen *adulescens* is the least intriguing member of the cast. His youths show virtually no development, conscience, or responsibility. If they do begin to recognize their mistakes and to feel guilt at having hurt others (usually young women), they need the help of another before they can take steps to make things right. The typical Plautine *adulescens* seeks only to pursue his desires at his father's expense, but is too witless and frightened to manage his situation. Hence he depends on a clever slave, a friend, or a parasite—and hence much Plautine stage humor. The marital imperative of New Comedy, of little interest to Plautus, means that the young man will eventually have to marry and have children. But nothing about Plautus' theater suggests that the *adulescens* will become a mature, responsible, self-controlled adult. That character, too, would be of little interest, not least because he can offer no fun.

The *adulescens* in Terence, as I have argued elsewhere (James 1998b), shows his masculinity on a spectrum of development from spineless and passive, to sexually impulsive but not fully integrated into adult ownership, to fully assured of his sexual rights to the bodies of others without regard for their feelings or experience. Phaedria of *Eunuchus*, Charinus of *Andria*, Ctesipho of *Adelphoe*, and Antipho of *Phormio* exemplify this immature stage of Roman masculinity: they are weak, unable to take effective action on their own, and hence dependent upon another agent to help them gain access to their beloveds. Clitipho of *Heauton Timorumenos*, Pamphilus of *Andria*, and Aeschinus of *Adelphoe* show the mid-point of development: Pamphilus and Aeschinus impetuously raped and impregnated their beloveds Glycerium and Pamphila, and then took responsibility by promising to marry the girls, but they lack the courage to stand up to their fathers. Clitipho cannot tear himself away from the expensive Bacchis, and is helpless in the face of his father's anger. These young men need assistance managing their circumstances, and they must confess their deceptions to their fathers. Finally, Pamphilus of *Hecyra* and, especially, Chaerea of *Eunuchus* show a fully developed sense of masculine sexual privilege for Roman citizen men: they commit violent rape and abuse against the young women they claim to love, but feel pangs of guilt toward neither beloved nor father.

As I noted above, Nausistrata gives us a glimpse into maternal sexuality. But that vision is more than can be staged for the daughter: in Terence, the sexuality of the citizen daughter is strictly passive. Plautus stages a long-lost

daughter raised to be a prostitute, the pseudo-*meretrix* miraculously restored to her family (Planesium of *Curculio*, Palaestra of *Rudens*, Adelphasium and Anterastilis of *Poenulus*, Selenium of *Cistellaria*) and a citizen daughter pretending to be a prostitute (Virgo of *Persa*). With these figures, Plautus puts forth a strange imaginary creature: a bride trained at flirtation and seduction, having some exposure to, or knowledge of, sex, even if she is still a virgin. The citizen daughter in antiquity was instructed about sex by her mother and other women of the household and family, in the days before her wedding, but she was expected to have no experience of men. Plautus' pseudo-*meretrix* offers up the prospect of a bride who is virtuous *and* sexy, already aware of her own sexuality and conscious of male sexuality. This impossible figure defies Graeco-Roman gender rules at a particularly explosive point, as the bride's virginity must be bestowed upon her husband, and inexperience is a primary proof. The pseudo-*meretrix* bride comes to the Roman stage from Menander, and is part of the absurdist fantasy of Plautus' theater.

But Terence eliminates this girl: not a single citizen daughter in his works is recovered from a pimp or an adoptive mother/*lena*. In Terence, each lost daughter has been carefully protected by a socially marginalized woman, who takes great care with her virtue, even if she herself is a practicing courtesan. Glycerium is brought up by Chrysis (*An.*), Pamphila is guarded by Thais and her mother (*Eu.*), Phanium is under the supervision of her nurse Sophrona (*Ph.*), Antiphila was brought up by her adoptive Corinthian mother and, after that mother's death, lives modestly with an old woman (*Hau.*).¹ If these girls acquire any experience of sex, they are introduced to it by rape and then made accustomed to it by the devotion of the penitent rapists, who remain faithful through the inevitable pregnancy (so, also, the impoverished citizen daughter Pamphila of *Adelphoe*).

Sexuality in such girls conforms to the norms for Roman citizen daughters: they are virtuous and devoted—perfect wives—but they never speak for themselves. The only exception is Antiphila of *Heauton Timorumenos*, whose brief declaration of devotion to the absent Clinia (396–7) is followed by a Victorian-style near-fainting fit at his unexpected arrival. She is permitted only minimal, generic, speech: *salve, anime mi* (“How are you?”, 406) and *salvom venisse gaudeo* (“I am glad to see you safely back,” 407). Performance would grant some latitude to viewers for inferring her feelings, but the text leaves the expression of passion to Clinia: “Am I really holding you, Antiphila? I’ve longed for you with all my heart” (407–8). This line includes a stage direction for an embrace, but Antiphila’s speech is severely restricted. Still, she is given more chance to speak her heart than is any other citizen girl in Terence.

Thus Terence places tight reins on the citizen daughter, in keeping with Roman values, which link the sexual purity of the wife, especially the bride, to the social and political status of her husband and, by extension, to the Roman

state—a connection made clear in Roman mytho-history, in the tales of Lucretia, Tullia, Horatia, Tarpeia, and Verginia. If men in ancient Greece were obsessed with the purity of their brides and the fidelity of their wives, that obsession was generally personal, focused on verifiable paternity. Athenian *polis* law required men to divorce adulterous wives, and exercised various penalties on the women, such as loss of the privilege of wearing jewelry and exclusion from certain religious rituals. This *polis* law marks a state concern about paternity and female sexuality that is visible from our first evidence of Greek culture: myth and male attitudes toward women exhibit an obsession with determining paternity that long pre-dates the formation of the *polis*. But Rome comes in to being as an *urbs*, and considers female sexuality and chastity a state concern from its beginnings. In Rome, the issue is connected to the safety and freedom of the state itself: hence Verginius kills his daughter rather than see her ruined by Appius Claudius (Liv. 3.44–58), and fomented an uprising founded precisely in male ownership of both daughters and wives, whose purity cannot be called into question or put at risk, even by themselves.

In reflecting this absolute requirement, which allows no room for independent female behavior, let alone independent female sexuality, Terence removes even that tiny amount of assent to marriage that Menander allows to such women as Glykera and Krateia. His citizen daughters are utterly passive. Even the long-lost daughter conforms to this inviolate rule. Gender and sexuality are virtually merged in her: to conform to her gender role, the citizen daughter can have no sexuality. In fact, she is virtually never seen on Terence's stage. Her only sound is to call out in agony, from off stage, for help in childbirth, usually on Juno Lucina.

But her single shout demonstrates perfectly how the citizen girl's sexuality serves its—and her—civic purpose: to give birth. If the young citizen male in Terence's drama often loses control of his sexuality and rapes a citizen girl, he may also show his guilty conscience, and swear to stand by her (Pamphilus of *Andria*, Ctesipho of *Adelphoe*; in Plautus, this plot happens only in *Aulularia*). In such cases, Terence takes pains to showcase her as nice and deserving (as also with Phanium in *Phormio* and Antiphila in *Heauton Timorumenos*, who are not pregnant). But she is always vulnerable and dependent upon him, as she would have been in Roman life.

The citizen girl's dependence upon her lover is a gender norm, rather than a function of sexuality. For women in Terence, gender—a social construct—overrides individual sexuality, and in the citizen girl, both are restricted to relative passivity. The dependence of these girls on their citizen lovers (rapist-lovers or not) operates as a trigger for the young men's belated process of maturing. Although not every such youth recognizes the trauma he has forced upon his beloved (e.g., notoriously, Pamphilus of *Hecyra* and Chaerea of *Eunuchus*), some are concerned not only for her safety but for her happiness

as well. In the unions of Phanium and Antipho (*Phormio*), Glycerium and Pamphilus (*Andria*), Pamphila and Aeschinus (*Adelphoe*), Antiphila and Clinia (*Heauton Timorumenos*), Terence allows a vision of a happily married young woman whose passive patience and suffering are rewarded with a devoted husband. But she achieves that reward only by passivity and risk.

3 Rape

Rape in Terence's drama merits a separate discussion, as it is a defining marker of both gender and sexuality (on rape, see chapters 14 and 25, this volume). A few preliminary points: first, in antiquity, rape was legally recognized as happening only to citizens, precisely the women whose bodies mattered most to the state. Second, as we have seen, in Terence sex and gender are subordinate functions of class and age. (These two principles virtually create a formula for rape in his theater.) Finally, Terence inherits a disturbingly high incidence of rape from Menander, whose theater relies heavily upon rape as one of the temporary obstacles that separate a young man and his beloved.² Normal stage conventions require a night-time, drunken, hit-and-run event for the present-generation rapes; the circumstances of the older-generation rapes are fuzzy (though Plautus pointedly makes sure that the victims know who the rapists were). In both cases, a belated marriage solves the legal and social problem of rape by rescuing the victim and legitimating the inevitable baby. Rape figures in four of Plautus' twenty plays (*Aulularia*, *Cistellaria*, *Epidicus*, *Truculentus*), and four of Terence's six (*Adelphoe*, *Andria*, *Eunuchus*, *Hecyra*), usually operating both to mark the hasty and opportunistic sexuality of the young citizen male and to generate forcibly a fertile marriage. The unfailing appearance of a baby (except in *Eunuchus*) marks the marital function of rape.

Thus rape happens frequently in New Comedy and rarely suffers expressed criticism—both facts that are disturbing to modern readers. Critics have not failed to note that these two facts are extremely surprising, given that citizen women were supervised and protected, and that rape was a very serious crime. So the tolerance of rape in New Comedy has mystified scholars, who often theorize that drunkenness and penitence were an acceptable combination to the ancients, as the texts sometimes suggest (Lape 2004a: 47 discusses *Ad.* 470–1). The staged solution to rape is always marriage, as it might well also be in actual life, but this penalty could in fact be called a reward. In Menander, a rapist—young or old—is expected to feel guilt over his violation of community norms, not to mention his violation of the girl he loves and of the inevitable baby whose life he has endangered by allowing it to be born out of wedlock. He is then expected to seek to do right by both beloved and baby (*Samia*, *Epitrepontes*, *Heros*, *Hiereia*, among others). Thus marriage is

effectively his reward. In Plautus, a clear pattern for rape evades detection: Phaedria of *Aulularia* fits this profile neatly, as do the elderly rapists of *Epidicus* and *Cistellaria*, but Diniarchus of *Truculentus* does not.

Terence's treatment of the rape plot is distinct. To begin with, as I have argued (James 1998b), Terence presents, in *Hecyra* and *Eunuchus*, a skeptical view of rape as the mythical foundation for Roman marriage (in the legend of the Sabine women) and for marriage in New Comedy. By using the rape plot in four of his six plays, Terence marks the vulnerability of the female citizen body, which is placed at constant risk by men (for a different aspect of this risk, see Chrysis in *Andria*, discussed below). The Menandrian version is found in *Andria* and *Adelphoe*, where the event and the trauma of rape are submerged, subordinated to the pressing crises of the potentially disastrous fate awaiting the victim and the urgent need to legitimate the baby. (The primacy of the father-son relationship in these plays further subordinates the issue of rape.) Rape marks a stage the young man must pass through, on his way to becoming a respectable adult, and indeed Pamphilus of *Andria* and Aeschinus of *Adelphoe* are desperate to marry their beloveds.

But Terence's two most notorious rape plots, in *Hecyra* and *Eunuchus*, violate the normal pattern, in significant ways. Where other rapes are glossed over with a form of *vitio* ("to deflower") and unspecified circumstances, these two are characterized as brutal and traumatic to the victims (see also chapter 14, this volume). Normally the victim of a night-time anonymous rape manages to get a token off the rapist (as in *Epitrepontes*), which allows him to be identified later. In *Hecyra*, he steals a ring from her instead. In *Eunuchus*, the rape is premeditated and takes place indoors, in broad daylight, with a stone-cold sober rapist—all in violation of the drunken night-time pattern that normally procures pardon. Pamphilus and Chaerea not only fail to perceive (let alone repent) having injured their beloveds: they actually exult upon learning whom they have raped. Modern readers are almost uniformly appalled by these two characters, and many scholars (myself included; see James 1998b and extensively Christenson, chapter 14, this volume) have argued that Terence takes a very negative view of them, showcasing their violation of community values and their indifference to the suffering they have caused the women they love; see particularly Smith (1994) and Penwill (2004). (On this issue, Charisios of *Epitrepontes* is a crucial *comparandus*; within Terence's oeuvre, Pamphilus of *Andria* and Aeschinus of *Adelphoe* are very alive to the conditions and feelings of their beloveds Glycerium and Pamphila.) None of this repentance and concern for Pamphilus and Chaerea: they are concerned only with themselves, and, as I argued in James (1998b), Terence shows the foundation of their marriages as shaky. The audience may well wonder how happy Philumena and Pamphila can be to find out that they must spend their lives with these two young men.

In Terence's theater, then, rape marks the opposed experiences of gender and sexuality for men and women. Young men, blind to everything but their opportunity and desire, commit rape in a form of male mastery over a woman, and in the case of Pamphilus and Chaerea, we can expect them to develop into the kinds of unpleasant, forceful old men who populate Terence's stage. Young women suffer violation and can only hope that the rapists will stand by them and rescue them from social disaster. Rape is their introduction to sexuality, and it marks their gender role in very Roman terms (terms hardly alien to Greece, of course): they are dependent upon citizen men and they exist to bear children to those men. The trauma of rape spreads out, in *Hecyra* and *Eunuchus*, to infect *all* the women in a household (or in two households, as in *Hecyra*). If Terence allows a vision of a happy and loving marriage to such couples in *Andria* and *Adelphoe*, he takes it away in *Hecyra* and *Eunuchus*, where the outrage and distress that rape causes all kinds of women—mothers, sisters, slaves, prostitutes—is neither addressed nor redressed, and where the redress to the daughters, in the form of marriage to the rapist, is felt by many to be dubious at best.

4 Gender and Sexuality on the Margins: Courtesans and Others

The only women allowed active sexuality in Terence's theater, then, are the marginalized women—and then only if (because?) they will not turn out to be lost marriageable daughters. Significantly, they are pressed, by men and financial need, to lose their virtue (see chapter 10, this volume). Their life patterns demonstrate how vulnerable are non-citizen women (some of whom appear to have imitated the lives and *mores* of citizen women) if they have no stable male protection. Thus, for instance, Chrysis of *Andria* was a citizen woman forced by poverty and the negligence of her family (*An.* 71–2) to move to Athens and try to support herself (see chapter 12, this volume). She started out in good citizen fashion, living modestly and chastely and supporting herself with woolwork (74–5). But eventually lovers came, promising money and pressuring her until she gave in and became a *meretrix*.

Even the relatively hostile *senex* Simo attributes Chrysis' fall from grace to human nature (77–8) rather than to any innate female quality, and he acknowledges her family's failure to support her, a failure that falls upon her male kin as the responsible parties. Of course, when her cousin Crito turns up to collect her estate, he places the blame for Chrysis' profession squarely on her shoulders: "she chose to acquire wealth here dishonorably rather than live in honest poverty in her homeland" (797–8; my translation). Regardless, Crito is perfectly comfortable claiming the wealth she earned so disgracefully

(*inhoneste*, 797). He is, in fact, disturbed to hear that her adoptive sister Glycerium is still alive and in Chrysis' house, as he has been hoping that Glycerium has been restored to her citizen family. (He is thus the means of that restoration, because he can testify that Chremes' brother had transported her to Andros when she was a small child.)

But, as so often in Terence, Crito has been unjust to Chrysis. She may have become a *meretrix*, but she remained aware of the risks faced by a citizen woman or girl who lacked a male protector, and she sought to provide as much protection as possible for her adoptive sister Glycerium. Pamphilus quotes Chrysis' deathbed speech to him, in which she states, as clearly as it can be stated, that youth and beauty cannot protect a woman (indeed, they are what put her in danger): "you see her youth and beauty, and you are well aware that both of these are now useless to protect her honor or her property" (286–8). As she continues, she effectively marries Pamphilus to Glycerium (about to give birth to his child), calling upon him in terms of citizen wedding: "by this right hand of yours and by your own better self, by your good faith and her lonely state" (279–80; see also chapter 23, this volume). She reminds him that Glycerium has already been the equivalent of a wife to him, and is utterly dependent upon him: "if she has obeyed you in everything, I give her to you to be her husband, friend, protector, father. I entrust these possessions of ours to you; I commit them to your good faith" (293–7).

In this speech, Chrysis calls upon all the values and obligations of citizen life, in a desperate attempt to preserve the respectability and happiness of her adopted sister. Whatever her sexuality had become—and it must have been complex, with three simultaneous lovers who knew about each other—Chrysis retained the gender values that had formed her as a respectable citizen female. Ironically, at the end of her life, she must depend upon a member of the very class of young man that had drawn her out of decent citizen life and into her profession. Specifically, she depends upon him to move her adopted sister back into the citizen life that Chrysis knows was originally hers. In this play, Chrysis is a sacrificial victim of all kinds of male interests and negligence: her family's indifference to her condition, the urgency of young men who would not leave a beautiful young woman alone, and a covetous, judgmental cousin who resents the likelihood that she has bestowed her money on the adoptive sister rather than leaving it for him. Through her sexuality, Chrysis enriches her family and supports her sister; through her retained respectable gender ideals, she protects that sister once Glycerium has been made pregnant by Pamphilus. Her family's poverty put her respectability at risk, and she presses Pamphilus not to let the same happen to Glycerium. And indeed, he is keenly aware that it might, as he exclaims: "Let a nature formed and fashioned in purity be corrupted by the demands of poverty? I won't do it!" (274–6). Thus this play dramatizes how a combination of female poverty and male sexuality

can destroy a woman's respectability, particularly if the relevant men, i.e., her kin, fail to protect her.

Terence famously stages this figure, the independent courtesan, as ethically and emotionally sensitive, the model of the *bona meretrix*. Scholars generally agree (*contra* Gilula 1980) that his *meretrices* are generous, thoughtful, respectful of citizen values, affectionate, and kind. (Discussions of this figure tend to be restricted to Bacchis of *Hecyra* (see also chapter 13, this volume) and Thais of *Eunuchus* (see also chapter 14, this volume), with little or no reference to Chrysis of *Andria*.) I bypass the subject of "good" or "bad" *meretrices*, on the grounds that the very concept belongs to the citizen perspective and falls outside my scope here, because that subject is associated—in both scholarly discourse (from Plutarch to the present day) and in the plays themselves (as articulated by suspicious, resentful men)—with the courtesan's financial motives, and is thus a function of social class and ethics rather than gender and sexuality.

I am concerned here with how the Terentian *meretrix* moves between culturally determined gender roles: she may be *procax* ("demanding," *Hau.* 227 and *Hec.* 159) and seductive (especially in her speech)—and thus is a danger to citizen households because she tempts their sons into financially irresponsible behavior (*Hec.*, *Eu.*, *Hau.*)—but she frequently protects their lost daughters and occasionally cements (*Hec.*) or even establishes (*An.*, *Eu.*) a citizen marriage. (Hence she often behaves like a citizen mother.) Thus even a woman considered utterly ruinous to citizen finances and moral virtues is a vehicle for reuniting and strengthening fractured families. Terence adapts this formula from Menander (on which see the brilliant analysis of Henry 1986), but the near-total loss of Menander's plays does not permit us to know how much Terence has altered his plots. I have discussed the danger that the independent courtesan poses to young men's self-control, as seen chiefly in Plautus and Ovid (James 2006), and it bears remarking here that although much the same happens in Terence, he takes pains to show these women as concerned with the health and happiness of citizen families in a way not seen in Plautus.

Even the single Terentian *meretrix* who could be called grasping and difficult turns out to be surprisingly thoughtful, even kind. This is the *meretrix* least discussed in scholarship, namely the very interesting Bacchis of *Heauton Timorumenos*. She provides many of the missing links in the courtesan's story. Her lover Clitipho describes her as: "strong-willed, demanding, arrogant, expensive, high and mighty" (*Hau.* 226–7). She routinely spurns lovers (363). He must give her gifts without demurring, and he fears to tell her that he has no money of his own. The slave Syrus instructs her to behave imperiously inside Chremes' house, and she does so with ease (455–63). Later, she plays hardball about the money she believes is owed to her (723–43). Bacchis seems a clear case of a demanding, hard-hearted prostitute.

But when we actually meet her, she is a surprise. Talking with Antiphila, who is, as far as anybody knows, a non-citizen without financial security or support other than Clinia, Bacchis congratulates her on having a character that matches her appearance—on being both beautiful *and* good. Some of the marginalized girls, as it turns out, get to form long-lasting unions with their lovers—and they may continue to be virtuous. Others are less lucky:

It's in your interest to be good, but our clients don't allow us to. Lovers cultivate us because they are attracted by our beauty; once that's faded, they take their affections elsewhere; and, unless we have meanwhile made some provision for the future, we're left to live on our own. With you, on the other hand, once you have decided to live your life with the one man whose character is most compatible with yours, they devote themselves to you (*Hau.* 386–94).

In this remarkable speech, Bacchis reviews the phenomenon that befell Chrysis of *Andria*: the urgency, the insistence, of male desire that can push a woman from virtue into prostitution. Bacchis is very clear on the economics and the expiration dates of such women (389–91). The lucky girls, who find a faithful lover, may be allowed to remain virtuous and true to a single man, but the other crowd—Bacchis' group—cannot. Why? The men do not permit it. Bacchis shows no bitterness, and she does not (as a Plautine *meretrix* might) counsel Antiphila to be faithless, to distrust Clinia's devotion, to make as much as she can while she is young and beautiful. Instead, she ascribes a marital status to Antiphila's relationship and praises it, speaking affectionately to the younger woman (cf. 404). She turns out to be a more complex character than we are initially led to expect (see Knorr 1995; on Terence's expansion of her role, see, among others, Richardson 2006 and chapter 13, this volume.)

The two best-known courtesans in Terence, Bacchis of *Hecyra* and Thais of *Eunuchus*, have been widely discussed (see e.g., chapters 14 and 16, this volume), so I confine myself here to discussion of the gender and sexuality of these two remarkable characters. Both women know how to handle themselves under fire by hostile men; they speak graciously, but stand up for themselves when they feel they are being treated unfairly. They operate to reunite fractured families, and they earn the patronage of citizen men. Readers and critics tend to consider them thoughtful, generous, likable. They are aware of the delicate circumstances in which they must maneuver, and they respect the social divisions of Athenian/Roman life. Thus, for example, Bacchis feels compunction about meeting Philumena (*Hec.* 793). Like Chrysis of *Andria*, Thais of *Eunuchus* has helped to preserve the respectable character of a citizen daughter. The agreement of Phaedria to share Thais at the end of *Eunuchus* bothers virtually every reader, less because it contradicts his declared passion for her than because she seems to deserve better.

The other non-citizens of Terence's drama—slaves, nurses, brothel prostitutes—are not staged in terms relating to sexuality. Their gender roles are determined by age and profession. Mysis of *Andria*, Sophrona of *Phormio*, and Canthara of *Adelphoe* are maternal aides or substitutes, and they advocate for their mistresses as best they can. The male slaves labor as determined by their owners, but their function is never sexual, as is occasionally hinted in Plautus (e.g., *Casina*). Male slaves exhibit no sexuality at all—a marked difference from Menander and Plautus, who allow for some erotic subjectivity in slaves (*Heros*, *Truculentus*, *Rudens*, *Pseudolus*, *Asinaria*, *Persa*). A hint at sexuality among slaves comes at the end of *Adelphoe*: the newly freed Syrus asks Micio to free his wife Phrygia as well—who, as it turns out, was the first to nurse Micio's grandson. She must have been pregnant shortly before (it seems unlikely that Micio has kept a lactating wet-nurse about the house), so it is possible that she and Syrus have a baby. Her bodily functions, related to her sexuality, have been put to work servicing her master's family.

Brothel prostitutes (Bacchis in *Adelphoe*, the unnamed music girl of *Phormio*) are virtually invisible. Where Menander and Plautus will give characterization to such women (Habrotonon in *Epitrepontes*, Acropolistis in *Epidicus*), Terence shows them exclusively in their social function as the object of sexual passion in men who do not consult their preferences (indeed, as Aeschinus is kidnapping Bacchis, in *Adelphoe*, she may not even know him as her lover Ctesipho's brother, or have any idea who he is). Thus the sexuality of female slaves exists in a passive way, only insofar as it inspires the sexual urges of citizen men. In this respect, too, Terence represents the privileged perspective of the citizen male, who is in a position to consider people in terms of their utility for himself, whether those people are his own sons, his wife, his slaves, or marginalized women whose very existence threatens his plans.

But these characters regularly articulate a strongly opposed perspective that represents their own views of themselves as both classed and gendered subjects rather than objects (see especially the female slave Pythias, enraged at Chaerea's brutal rape of Pamphila in *Eunuchus*; on modern performance and casting of the role, see chapter 25, this volume). The desire of Syrus, in *Adelphoe*, to gain the freedom of Phrygia, is telling: he calls her his wife, though they cannot have a state-recognized marriage. As free persons, their relationship will not depend upon the permission of an owner, and their bodies will belong to themselves. More important is that they consider each other spouses, as the word *uxorem* (*Ad.* 973) indicates. Martin notes, "Syrus, having himself become a free man, rather grandly speaks of Phrygia as *uxor* rather than concubine" (1976: 237). But this remark misses the point—Syrus does not adopt the view of the master class toward himself and Phrygia: he considers her a true wife, not a mere bedmate. He thus demonstrates independence of perspective and a desire to see his wife and himself freed from the ownership

of even the mild Micio. These two slaves, marked by their names as foreign, see their relationship as worthy of legal and social respect.

5 Conclusion

The subject of gender and sexuality in Terence is fraught: he recognizes the effect of socio-legal categories and hierarchies upon even the most intimate aspects of life in Rome. Menander repeatedly stages an idealized cohesive society, whose members cooperate across class lines; Plautus focuses insistently on the most vulnerable subaltern in Roman society, the slave who becomes king for a day and demonstrates his subjectivity, his radically alienated view of the owner classes, and his explosive self-confidence. But Terence takes his magnifying lens indoors, into the heart of the citizen family and finds the gender rules for men operating as laws that govern all others. Divide this topic up any way—by class, by age, by status, by profession—and the result will be the same: all parties serve the interests of the *paterfamilias*, whose privileges begin in his impassioned youth and bloom into authority that cannot be subverted (as so often happens in Plautus). Even in the most personal aspects of their lives—love, sex, marriage, children; gender and sexuality—everyone is subordinate to *patria potestas*.

FURTHER READING

The majority of Terentian scholarship that falls under the general rubric of gender and sexuality tends to study male characters, particularly the *senex*, but there has been significant attention to Terence's courtesans and no shortage of work on rape in his drama. Frequently a comment about some aspect of gender and sexuality occurs *obiter dictum* in a discussion of something unrelated; I bypass such comments here. James (1998a) argues that constructions of gender are fundamental to the plots of Roman Comedy, and gives a very brief overview of those constructions.

Of scholarship not already cited above, a few titles merit singling out. Lape (2004a) studies Terence's fathers and sons from an anthropological perspective. Fundamental to all considerations of women in New Comedy is the groundbreaking work of Fantham (1975). Crisafulli (1998) reviews prostitution in Roman Comedy generally, but study of the prostitutes in Terence has typically engaged with the old debate about *bona* or *mala*, as argued by Gilula (1980), who considers all *meretrices* in Terence to be *malae*. Traill (2008) gives a very fine review of the origins of the concept of "good" or "bad" prostitutes. Knorr (1995) takes up the case of Bacchis in *Heauton Timorumenos*, arguing that she is a *bona meretrix*. Oliveira (2004–5) provides an exhaustive summary of misogynist remarks in Terence. Slater (1988) studies the defects and failures of patriarchal structures and attitudes in *Hecyra*.

Scholarship on rape in Terence is not lacking, and it should be noted that many studies not particularly focused on rape do in fact engage with it, even if only in passing. Studies of rape in Terence usually invoke rape in Plautus and Menander, as well, but I omit those titles here. Smith (1994), Pierce (1997) and (1998), James (1998b), and Penwill (2004) study aspects of rape in Terence; Packman (1993) discusses the misleading tendency of English translations to avoid the term rape. Rosivach (1998) includes rape in his overall consideration of the way young women suffer sexual exploitation in New Comedy. Scafuro (1997) discusses the legal issues regarding rape and seduction, and how they are resolved, in New Comedy.

A final relevant subject, not touched upon above (for reasons of restricted space), is gender and speech. New Comedy has always been used for studying speech, and there has been particular interest in it as a source of information about women's speech. This interest goes back at least as far as Donatus, with interim spates of scholarship on the subject. Adams (1984) brought the issue back into prominence; Dutsch (2008) gives both a wide-range study of female speech in Roman Comedy and an excellent history of the scholarship on the subject. I have worked in this field myself, in James (2005) and (forthcoming, "*Mater, Oratio*"). These studies look at both Terence and Plautus; Maltby (1979) gives a fine review of the speech of old men in Terence. Karakasis (2005) reviews speech in Terence, with some attention to gender.

NOTES

1. Some consider Antiphila a *hetaira* on the grounds that Clinia fears she has become one, and complains that her "wicked mother" cares only about money (*Hau.* 231–4); see Knorr (1995: 223 n.8). But her behavior proves otherwise, as the play takes pains to demonstrate, and Sostrata marks the Corinthian adoptive mother as "respectable" (629); apparently she became poor some time after the adoption (96), but her poverty and her interest in money do not necessarily mean that she has been preparing Antiphila for prostitution. Even Knorr remarks that Antiphila "has been chastely brought up and is still unfamiliar with the tricks of the trade" (1995: 223). Indeed, in Clinia's absence, she behaves like a faithful wife.
2. Here I include what Scafuro (1997: 273) has found in Menander's *Heros*. Rape features in *Epitrepontes*, *Georgos*, *Heros*, *Hiereia*, *Kitharistes*, *Samia*, *Phasma*, and *Fab. Inc.* 6. *Georgos*, *Heros*, and possibly *Kitharistes*, have two generations of rape victims in a single family of women, in what Scafuro calls "older-generation rapes, found in Plautus' *Cistellaria* and *Epidicus*. Webster (1974: 110–83) reconstructs sixty-one Menandrian plots, of which twenty-six plays either include or might include rape. On the subject of rape, some of Webster's plot reconstructions "rest on very shaky grounds" (Rosivach 1998: 147). I suspect that 30–35 percent of Menander's plots featured rape. (See James (forthcoming, "Rethinking.")

CHAPTER TEN

Family and Household in the Comedies of Terence

Z.M. Packman

1 Cast and Character; Household and Community

The subject of this essay is the family as presented in the works of Terence, and in particular the family best represented in these texts: that of the propertied, citizen-class household peopled by father and son, household slaves, and sometimes wife or daughter as well. The cast of characters presented by the modern editor at the beginning of each comedy helps to establish, for a reader, the centrality of this kind of family unit. Translators (Copley 1967; Brown 2006) may do this by indicating relationships among the characters, informing the reader that one or another is the son—or wife, friend, slave—of another listed above. In Latin texts, by contrast, the editor distinguishes characters by gender, civil status, and property. The slave (*servus*) is a man without liberty, citizenship, or property; soldier (*miles*) and slave trader (*leno*) are free men, but without citizenship in the community where they reside, perhaps temporarily, and without landed property to support them. They earn their living in one case as a mercenary; in the other, by trafficking in human merchandise. The *parasitus* is a man both free and of citizenship status in the community in which we meet him, but without landed property to support him, so that he too is obliged to sell his services in return for financial support. The economic

activities of the *parasitus* are not strictly defined, except that he is neither a mercenary soldier nor a slave trader; he acts as agent or advisor in whatever enterprise is seen to need one. No reference to age or relationship is made in these role designations; only among male characters classified as free, citizen-class, and propertied is a distinction made between elder (*senex*) and junior (*adulescens*), indicating father–son relationships within the household. We are not invited to follow the adventures of a *senex* without a son or an *adulescens* without a father, nor those of fathers and sons lacking liberty, citizenship, or property. It is the relationship between father and son in a propertied, citizen-class family that is the primary object of interest in the comedies of Terence.

Female characters are also designated by status indicators. The *ancilla* (household slave) is without freedom; the *meretrix* is either a slave in the possession of a *leno* or a free woman without citizenship. In the latter case, we find this character acting as head of her own household, which she supports, in most cases, by providing companionship and/or entertainment to one or more men of the community. Such characters are often referred to in English texts as “prostitutes,” but the relationship between their economic activities and their sexual relationships is variable. Glycerium’s foster sister in *Andria* (82–91) is said to have operated a kind of supper club, and is credited with several lovers; Philotis, seen briefly at the beginning of *Hecyra*, has spent two years cohabiting with a soldier in a contractual relationship, apparently as housekeeper and mistress; Antiphila, in *Heauton Timorumenos*, supports her household with woolwork while her citizen-class boyfriend is abroad. The non-slave *meretrix* is not celibate, sometimes not even serially monogamous, but always a long way from turning tricks in back alleys. The slave *meretrix*, by contrast, is a young girl acquired by a trader for resale at a profit: although *leno* is regularly translated as “pimp,” we do not hear of one peddling his young women on the street or in a brothel. On the contrary, the *leno* Dorio in *Phormio* is sending his young slave to music school (80–90), presumably to inflate her resale value, and the circumstances are similar in the case of Bacchis and the *leno* Sannio, in *Adelphoe*.

The citizen-class woman in a household supported by landed property is designated *mulier* in the scene headings of manuscripts. Modern editors, most of whom provide a prefatory list of characters while suppressing the scene headings, have replaced this role designation with two others, distinguishing the unmarried citizen-class girl as *virgo* and the married woman of the same class as *matrona*. These substitutions having been made in silence, except in the Budé of Marouzeau (1942–9), where they are nevertheless unexplained, it is difficult to know what considerations prompted them. It may be that it was thought appropriate to offer a mother/daughter distinction comparable to the traditional father/son distinction, as if the mother–daughter relationship were of similar significance to that of father and son in these texts.

However motivated, the decision to apply the designation *virgo* to female characters who, in two of three cases, are only heard from offstage, crying out in the pangs of childbirth (*An.* 473, *Ad.* 486) seems awkward from a modern point of view, though possibly no more so than the occasional application to such characters, heard but never seen onstage, of the designation *muta persona* (Ashmore 1908; Sargeaunt 1912).

These are the characters, male and female, regularly met with in the world of Roman Comedy. A few other role designations occur in one or two of Terence's comedies: *advocatus* or *libertus*, for male characters with a special relationship to a *senex*; *nutrix* or *anus* for an elderly slave woman.

The audience of a Latin comedy, presumably without a playbill, would nonetheless have recognized character types, as they appeared, from costume and mask. Circumstances of performance would have drawn their attention to the household, too, as the entire action of the play was performed before a set with three doorways in the background, representing the entrances to, in most cases, private homes (Marshall 2006: 49–56). In each of Terence's comedies, at least one of the houses represented in the background is presided over by a citizen-class male with at least one grown son (only in *Eunuchus* do we find a household with two grown sons—Terence generally limits the problems which one *senex* must deal with to those which one *adulescens* can generate). In two of the comedies (*Heauton Timorumenos* and *Phormio*), two father-and-son households are represented at the back of the performance area. In *Hecyra*, the home of a second citizen-class family is represented, one headed by a *senex* whose daughter is married to the son of the household next door. In *Adelphoe*, a backdrop house is inhabited by a widow with a grown daughter—citizen class but in reduced circumstances—next door to the father-and-son household. A smaller number of non-citizen households also appear: in three cases (*Andria*, *Eunuchus*, and *Hecyra*), the home of a *meretrix* appears at the back of the stage alongside that of the propertied, citizen-class family. In one case each, one of the doors at the back represents the entrance to the home of a *miles* (*Eunuchus*) or a *leno* (*Phormio*). Various kinds of households are therefore seen to be of interest in Terence's comedies—but of fifteen households represented on his stage, nine are headed by propertied, citizen-class men with grown sons.

For audience and reader alike, the majority of characters appearing onstage are recognizably related to each other as members of particular households. Sixteen characters are described as *senes*, and nine of these are heads of onstage households with grown sons; the others, friends and actual or prospective in-laws. Thirteen characters in Terence's comedies are described as *adulescentes*, of whom ten are sons of the households whose fortunes are the chief concern of the play; the others, friends and acquaintances. Along with *senex* and *adulescens*, the commonest character appearing onstage is the *servus*, the male slave.

Some seventeen appear in Terence, at least two per comedy, and most belong to a citizen-class, propertied household headed by a *senex*. The *miles* appears once (*Eunuchus*); the *leno* (*Phormio*, *Adelphoe*) and *parasitus* (*Eunuchus*, *Phormio*), twice each.

The setting of dramatic action in public space on or along the street, rather than inside the homes of the characters involved, favors the appearance of male characters, as the women of the citizen-class household are conventionally represented as occupied primarily within and about their homes. Accordingly, while we see fathers and sons among the *dramatis personae* of every one of Terence's six comedies, mothers and daughters appear much less often. The citizen-class wife, whether *mulier* or *matrona*, appears in three of the comedies (*Heauton Timorumenos*, *Hecyra*, and *Phormio*), and the same designation is given a citizen-class widow in *Adelphoe*. Most have relatively limited roles. These characters emerge from their homes in support of their children—daughters in three cases (*Heauton Timorumenos*, *Adelphoe*, and *Hecyra* (Myrrina)); sons in three as well (*Heauton Timorumenos*, *Phormio*, and *Hecyra* (Sostrata))—when such intervention into business otherwise seen as men's is deemed necessary to the welfare of the young people. The citizen-class daughter is even more rarely encountered on Terence's stage than her mother. She emerges only in *Heauton Timorumenos*, and then only before she is recognized as a member of the citizen class. Otherwise, this sort of character is only heard offstage in *Andria* and *Adelphoe*, crying out in childbirth, as is the case also with the young wife in *Hecyra*. The fact that these characters are kept offstage is presumably meant to emphasize the degree of sequestration and protection which the comedy household attempts to provide young girls of the citizen class—ineffectively, as it transpires, in all cases presented by Terence. Out of ten female slaves who appear onstage in Terence's comedies, only four belong to citizen-class households, where their primary sphere of activity would be the home. The rest are slaves of the non-citizen household of a *meretrix* and, perhaps for that reason, engaged in a wider range of activity.

In terms of kinship, the citizen-class household represents the end of one branch of the patrilineal family tree: a man of independent status (i.e., with no living father or other male ascendant) and his descendants (his children, for the most part; rarely also an infant grandchild), both male and (if unmarried) female. The household includes any woman who, though born to another family, is married to and therefore living with the head of household or his grown son. In addition, the household includes slaves who are legally related to the head of household as property, rather than kin. The casts of four of Terence's comedies include closely-related members of separate households, always persons related along the male line. Brothers appear in four of Terence's six comedies (*Heauton Timorumenos*, *Eunuchus*, *Phormio*, *Adelphoe*). Young brothers share the home of their father except in *Adelphoe*, where one has

been adopted by his father's brother; the older generation of brothers who appear in *Phormio* and *Adelphoe* preside over separate households. Cousins on the male line (sons of brothers) appear in *Phormio*, behaving very much like actual brothers, and the same is the case in *Adelphoe*, where the young men who are cousins by adoption are also brothers by birth (on adoption in Plautus and Terence, see Lindsay 2009: 138–43). Kinship relationships off the strictly patrilineal line, even those very close by birth or involving members of the same household, are acknowledged with somewhat less attention (mothers and sons in *Heauton Timorumenos*, *Phormio*, and *Hecyra*), often without interaction onstage (fathers and daughters in *Andria*, *Heauton Timorumenos*, and *Hecyra*; mothers and daughters in *Heauton Timorumenos*, *Hecyra*, and *Adelphoe*; sisters and brothers in *Heauton Timorumenos* and *Eunuchus*).

Such are the households met in the works of Terence. The citizen-class, propertied family dominates as the primary object of attention, and that attention is especially directed towards a set of events crucial to the household's renewal and maintenance over time: the maturation of the son of the household, and the establishment of his marriage with a young woman of his—or, as the case may develop, his father's—choice. The problem of how to accommodate the grown son in a household presided over by his father is central to Roman Comedy in general, and particularly to the comedies of Terence. Much of what is found below will be devoted to identifying particular challenges to stability and prosperity in families of this sort, and to the devices resorted to, and the persons involved in, meeting those challenges. Families of other sorts—unpropertied or non-citizen—will be acknowledged briefly at the end of this essay.

2 Managing Sons: Subsistence Parenting

Of the many problems which might have prevented the perpetuation of the citizen-class, propertied, patrilineal family (lack of male offspring, for example, or the death of such before marriage; natural disasters affecting agricultural holdings; social or military disruptions affecting the community), the one on which Terence's comedies focus is the need to bring the son or sons of the household into legitimate marriage—that is, with the daughter of a citizen-class family, as this is the only kind of union capable of producing citizen-class children for the next generation. The citizen-class bride should also, by preference, be born to a propertied family, as in that case she will bring a portion of her family property into her marital household as dowry and transmit it to her sons. Citizenship and property: these are the marks of the privileged household and of its dominant inhabitants. These are what must be preserved and passed down from one generation to the next.

Dramatic tension in this system arises from the fact that the *senex*, as head of household, must make the arrangements for a son's marriage, in an agreement with the father of a prospective bride, while the son, having arrived at an age sufficiently mature for marriage, may wish to choose his own mate. Opportunities for conflict are compounded by the fact that the young women eligible for legitimate marriage are so severely sequestered that the only relationship with them available to a young man seems to be one of rape (so in *Adelphoe*, where, however, rape seems to have led to courtship; in *Eunuchus*, the young rapist was unaware that his victim was of citizenship status; in *Hecyra*, victim and rapist were unknown to each other until they found themselves married). By contrast, the young women with whom it is possible for a comedy youth to form an acquaintance and conduct a courtship are, as non-citizens, legally incapable of contracting a legitimate marriage or giving birth to legitimate—i.e., citizen-class—children. And any relationship a young man may have developed with a non-citizen woman is likely to interfere with his father's plans for his marriage in either or both of two ways: the young man may refuse marriage out of commitment to the girl he loves, or a prospective father-in-law may balk at marrying his daughter to a man in a committed relationship with another woman. Both these obstacles to a young man's marriage are addressed in the earliest of Terence's comedies, *Andria*, and much of the fun of that play consists in a father's attempt, against all odds, to manage the pretended acquiescence of his son to a proposed marriage, and the pretended acquiescence of the proposed father-in-law to the same marriage, to a point where both parties might pretend acquiescence at the same time (see chapter 12, this volume). As such an occasion never presents itself, the problem can only be overcome by recognition of the young man's girlfriend as the long-lost daughter of a citizenship-class household—the same one, as it turns out, with which the young man's father had hoped to form a marriage alliance. The reluctant bridegroom appears in several other comedies of Terence, but only as a minor theme: in *Heauton Timorumenos*, it is only in the last scene that a young man's attachment to an unmarriageable girlfriend is revealed to his father, who at once forces his agreement to a legitimate marriage with a citizen-class woman (see chapter 13, this volume); in *Phormio*, a young man has married, in his father's absence, a girl whose eligibility is only properly established after the father's return; once again, she proves to be a daughter to the man whom his father had already decided on as his in-law of choice. In *Hecyra*, a similar situation lies in the background, as a young man has already been forced to abandon a non-citizen girlfriend in favor of a legitimate wife (see chapter 16, this volume).

In four of Terence's comedies, a young man's father must navigate a somewhat different situation, balancing against each other two distinct risks to the maintenance of the household in the next generation. One risk is

economic: the household depends on inherited property for its maintenance. To ensure the best prospects for himself and his household, a young man should enter into a marriage with a young woman from a propertied family, so that the bride will come with a dowry. Marriage with an undowered girl of citizen-class status but without much in the way of property is the anticipated result, in the texts of Roman comedy, of rape (so in *Eunuchus* and *Adelphoe*), and while such a marriage can be expected to produce citizen-class children to continue the household in another generation, those children will be disadvantaged to the extent that their economic base lacks a significant contribution from their mother's family.

Legitimate marriage with an undowered bride might fail to bring wealth into the citizen-class household, but a son's relationship with an unmarriageable girlfriend is shown to actually reduce its wealth. The young man who has fallen in love with a slave will wish to transfer property out of the household in the form of her purchase price; one who has developed a relationship with a free non-citizen will wish to contribute to her support, particularly if he hopes to maintain an exclusive relationship with her. In *Heauton Timorumenos* and *Eunuchus*, we meet young men in love with high-maintenance *meretrices*. Clitipho, in *Heauton Timorumenos*, is abruptly cut off from access to family funds when his father discovers his attachment, and this seems to come at a time when he is himself prepared to give up the relationship and enter into a legitimate marriage arranged by his father. In *Eunuchus*, Phaedria ultimately settles for a shared relationship with the *meretrix* he loves. She will divide her time between him and a relatively well-off soldier, on the understanding that the soldier will bear most of the expense of maintaining her household.

A *meretrix* of a less expensive sort is the object of another young man's affection in *Andria* and *Phormio*. Pamphilus' girlfriend in *Andria*, and Antipho's in *Phormio*, before their seemingly fraudulent marriages, are committed to their young men in a relationship amounting to, in modern parlance, common-law marriage. In every case, an apparently unmarriageable young woman of modest habit and monogamous inclination is found, in the end, to be the long-lost daughter of a citizen-class family, and therefore capable of entering a legitimate marriage and contributing to her husband's family not only legitimate children, but also a dowry with which to help maintain them.

A slave girl is the object of a young man's affection in *Phormio* and in *Adelphoe*. In each case, the price of the girl's purchase is found. In *Phormio*, the title character, a clever *parasitus*, extracts the cost from the boy's father and uncle through a complicated scheme (see chapter 15, this volume). The young woman is purchased, with the expectation that she will enter into a committed relationship with her young man. In *Adelphoe*, the price of purchase is negotiated by the young man's brother, who—as the adopted son of his father's more liberal brother—has access to funds which the lover himself could not have

provided. In this case, it appears that the young woman will remain a slave in the household of her boyfriend's father, where, in the older man's expectation, her labor will at least cover the cost of her maintenance. In both cases where a young man seems committed to a long-term relationship with an unmarriageable slave or freedwoman, he has a paternal cousin who is married or shaping up to marry. The community will not suffer the loss of a citizen-class household—or the loss will only bring the family back to the single citizen-class household which it maintained before brothers in the previous generation established separate homes. Similarly, in *Eunuchus*, where one young man plans to keep up a long-term relationship with a freeborn but non-citizen woman, his brother, having raped a citizen-class girl, will soon be married.

The risk of failing to maintain property sufficient to support the household in the coming generation is balanced by a second risk, that of alienating the son expected to head the family at that time. Terence's texts repeatedly acknowledge that the severity of a father's conduct towards his son, and in particular his control of expenditures, might result in the withdrawal of the young man from the family, and even from the community, so as to earn his own living independently, and thus make his own decisions and meet his own needs. This kind of development has already occurred in the background to *Heauton Timorumenos*, where an unhappy father, Menedemus, explains to his neighbor in the opening scene that he has driven his own son abroad by his harsh response to the young man's relationship with a young woman not only poor but unmarriageable due to lack of citizenship status. In *Phormio*, Phaedria claims that he will follow his beloved, a slave, if she is sold abroad (551), and Ctesipho, in *Adelphoe*, was apparently ready to make the same move in a similar case (274–5). In *Andria*, Terence allows the suggestion that a young man might forsake life altogether if thwarted in love: Clinia's claim that he will perish if separated from his beloved (244) may be exaggerated, but a slave of the household is prepared to risk defying his elderly master out of fear for the boy's life (210). The prospect of losing a son is taken very seriously by the comedy father and all members of the household, and it is this which accounts for the often very considerable leeway granted to the young man in the way of personal choice and personal expenditure in the comedies.

However much the sympathies of audience or reader may lie with youth, it is the *senex*, representative of the older generation, on whom the burden chiefly rests of meeting the needs and expectations of his son, his household, and his community. Much is required of skill, resourcefulness, and resilience for the successful navigation of the Scylla-and-Charybdis risks of financial ruin and filial alienation, and much of the interest of this genre lies in watching characters only marginally equipped to handle such a challenge somehow see it through to at least a passably successful conclusion. In this the *senex* obviously, and crucially, has the help of the other members of his household:

a wife and/or slaves, whose future also depends on the maintenance and renewal of the household, and to some extent that of his son, who is never specifically motivated either to sever his ties with the paternal household or to drive it into bankruptcy. Others pitch in as well—brothers and cousins, friends and acquaintances, who represent the interest of the larger community in the outcome of this domestic drama (Asheri 1963: 2; Davidson 1998: 183–6). Were the enterprise to fail, the son of the household, rather than making the desired transition from *adulescens* to *senex* over the course of a generation, would turn out to be something much less valuable to kin and community, by the standards of the comedy world: either a *parasitus* without inherited property to support his household, and therefore obliged to attach himself as employee or assistant to propertied members of the community in order to feed himself and his dependents, or a *miles*, a man who has left the community in which he had citizenship rights, to make his living as a mercenary. Terence uses the characters of *miles* and *parasitus* more sparingly than Plautus, but when present, such characters draw attention to what is at risk in the transition from youth to maturity in the life of the citizen-class male, and what the costs are if something goes wrong in the process. Expensive dealings with a parasite may motivate a father (Chremes in *Phormio*) to change his own behavior in order to spare his, or in this case his wife's, property. Observing the situation of a soldier and a parasite, and the unsatisfactory relationship between the two, may inspire a son (Phaedria, in *Eunuchus*) to compromise on the expense of supporting his girlfriend. One way or another, the fathers of Terence's comedies manage to see their sons through to adulthood without losing them or impoverishing their shared households.

3 Managing Daughters: An Economy of Exchange

Of the six or seven marriages formed or forming at the end of Terence's comedies (Pamphilus' and possibly Charinus' in *Andria*; Clitipho's and Clinia's in *Heauton Timorumenos*; Chaerea's in *Eunuchus*; Antipho's in *Phormio*; and Aeschinus' in *Adelphoe*) only one, Clitipho's, is entirely arranged by the young man's father. A similarly arranged marriage is already in place at the opening of *Hecyra*. Other marriages accomplished or in prospect at the ends of Terence's comedies develop out of relationships established by the young couple themselves (consensually, as it appears, except in the case of Chaerea in *Eunuchus*, where the relationship is one of rape (see chapters 9 and 14, this volume); in the case of Aeschinus, in *Adelphoe*, the relationship begun in rape has developed into a form of courtship). Most of these marriages depend upon the discovery of citizenship status for the apparently non-citizen young

woman involved in the relationship, a circumstance which seems to cast a fairy-tale light upon the story. That such recognitions might be deliberately fabricated is acknowledged by characters in the comedies themselves: in *Andria*, a slave of his household suspects that Pamphilus and his girlfriend are putting together a made-up story for the specific purpose of legitimizing their anticipated offspring (220–4); in *Eunuchus*, young Chremes is wary even before a story emerges—when the *meretrix* Thais questions him about his long-lost sister, he at once suspects that she intends to assume the identity of a dead girl in order to claim citizenship for herself (523–5). Legal action taken to establish a young woman's claim to liberty and citizenship status may succeed when even the person making the claim believes it to be without merit (*Ph.* 125–34); the anticipated difficulty of defending against such an action, albeit brought in bad faith, persuades a hardened slave trader to agree to a sale price otherwise seen as inadequate (*Ad.* 193–6).

Recognition of a long-lost daughter or sister by a citizen-class family establishes a marriage, with children capable of inheriting citizenship status and landed property, between young people who might otherwise have cohabited in a form of concubinage, with children, if any, incapable of inheriting their father's position and property. A young man in love could look to his friend's mother (as in *Heauton Timorumenos*), his uncle (as in *Phormio*), or even a former girlfriend of his own (*Hecyra*), or of his brother (*Eunuchus*) to come up with the required tokens and a credible story, when the situation called for it. In *Phormio*, Antipho's beloved is recognized by a father who has actually seen her often enough to know her by sight. In other cases, recognition is based on information or tokens provided by and/or recognized by women and accepted without further investigation by their men. In *Hecyra*, the legitimacy of a baby, conceived in rape before the parents' marriage, is established through cooperation between the young wife's mother and the young husband's former girlfriend, when the latter is found to be wearing jewelry which his new wife's mother is prepared to identify as her daughter's, taken from her by her assailant. The young rape victim in *Eunuchus* is identified as the long-lost sister of a local citizen based on details such as the names of her parents, as divulged by her foster sister, a *meretrix*. In *Andria*, the young woman's citizenship is established on the basis of information, including the name of her uncle, known to the family of her deceased foster sister, also a *meretrix*. In *Heauton Timorumenos* a citizen-class mother recognizes her long-lost daughter by the tokens with which she says the girl was exposed.

A young girl of foreign origin might be thought to benefit if she could claim citizenship and a relationship to an established family of the citizen class, and this would certainly be helpful to a young man who wished to marry her. But the recruitment to the citizen class of girls who do not appear to belong to it, which seems to be a steady feature of the comedy world, at least in Terence, might also benefit the community at large, preserving citizen-class

households and compensating for what appears to be a shortage of daughters. Only in *Heauton Timorumenos* do we hear of a daughter's having been exposed at birth (623–30), but the other long-lost sisters and daughters of Terence's comedies are alienated from their citizen-class birth families through circumstances that seem never to affect their brothers: Thais' foster sister in *Eunuchus* was stolen by pirates as a child (108–20); Antipho's beloved in *Phormio* was the child of an irregular alliance that left her unable to locate her father's family after her mother's death (569–90); Glycerium in *Andria* was lost to her family as a child when her uncle died abroad with her in his custody (923–8). Out of ten citizen-class households represented on the stage of Terence's comedies, only two are seen to house legitimate daughters raised in their birth families: Phidippus' in *Hecyra*, and the widow Sostrata's in *Adelphoe*. Not even these stay-at-home citizen-class girls have had a sheltered life: we are told that both have been victims of sexual assault. And what of the infants born offstage during the course of a Terentian comedy? All boys.

If the relative number of marriageable youths and marriageable girls in the comedy world is understood to be anywhere near what we see and hear of in the surviving texts (see, e.g., discussion in the essays in Rawson 1991), it might have been difficult for a comedy father to arrange a marriage for even a compliant son. It bears noting that when Clitipho, in *Heauton Timorumenos*, objects to the young woman whom his father first suggests arranging a marriage with, the young man's mother offers to help him find some other girl who will suit him better (1060). As the two men are able to settle on another prospective bride, we do not have a chance to see how she would have gone about this, but we know her as a resourceful woman, who had already reclaimed for her household, and for the citizen class, a long-lost daughter whom her son's best friend desperately wishes to marry.

The marriage forming or formed at the end of a Roman comedy is in most cases one between a young man who has been raised in a propertied, citizen-class home—and a young woman whose early history has been characterized by separation from her family of birth, through storms at sea, shipwreck, pirates, and sale into slavery. It appears that one of the underlying themes of Terence's work is the contrast between the stable, orderly world of the ancient city (as represented in comedy), and the chaotic, dangerous outside world (as represented, for instance, in the ancient novel), with the two systems competing for new generations of inhabitants (on these themes, see Konstan 1983). It is easy to imagine the same story told from the other side, with a young woman the central character, and shipwreck and seashore in the background, rather than household and city. This is what Plautus actually offers in *Rudens*, but Terence kept to the better-established tradition of an in-town location and male principals, leaving the wider world and the feminine protagonist to be explored in a genre developed for readers rather than viewers.

The comedy family, and its head of household, the *senex*, face the prospect of losing a son and heir to a young woman who might draw him into another world and instead manage, with the help of women belonging to both worlds, to bring the son's beloved into the structure of the city, and into the citizen-class family. Why is she willing to enter this den of masculine privilege? She does not say, and she is not given much opportunity to do so. True love is certainly part of the answer, and perhaps the prospect of companionship in her marital household; maybe above all the impending birth of a child, whom she will find it easier to raise in an environment that is stable and well provisioned—at least if it's a boy.

4 Mirrored Experience, Parents and Children in Terence

The maintenance of the citizen-class household, as presented in Roman comedy, is understood to be an ongoing process. Its recreation is a recurring event, with each new generation facing the same or similar issues at maturity. The texts themselves acknowledge that the character we meet as *senex* was once an *adulescens* himself, and behaved accordingly. Menedemus in *Heauton Timorumenos* acknowledges (110–12) that he himself went abroad as a young man to earn his living as a *miles*—possibly to build up a nest egg—independently from his citizen-class birth family. His son has followed his example, to the great regret of the father, who knows from personal experience the perils involved. In the same comedy, Clitipho reflects with some bitterness on the lurid stories his now straitlaced father tells of his own youthful escapades (220). Phaedria's father, in *Phormio*, raped a citizen-class girl in his youth, with complications lasting up to his own son's coming of age. The mature husbands and fathers in the world of Terence's comedies seem to have had, many or most of them, the same kinds of experiences that their sons face in their turn, and sorted them out, in all likelihood, in the same ways.

If that is the case, we must also understand that the adult citizen-class women in the comedies came into marriage in the same way as their daughters-in-law: through an arrangement made on their behalf by their fathers; or as rape victims united with their assailants; or, more often, as lost or kidnapped children raised as slaves or as foster children in non-citizen households, but claimed or reclaimed by some citizen-class household in time to form a legitimate marriage with a young man of the citizen class, guaranteeing another generation of citizen-class children to the household and to the community.

How do couples joined in these ways get along over the long run? The primacy of the masculine point of view is acknowledged even with the young married couple in *Hecyra*, where the bride has gained the respect and affection

of her husband by putting up with poor treatment, not to say actual abuse (164–6). Among male characters of the older generation, three are seen to deliver fairly offensive spousal dressings-down. Both *senes* in *Hecyra* denounce their wives, who are shown to be entirely innocent of the charge, for undermining the marriage of their grown children. Laches (198–201) is scornful of women in general, referring particularly to their supposed determination to oppose their husbands' wishes and break up the marriages of their children. Phidippus' version of much the same complaint (532–4) is even more extreme: according to him, his wife is trying to break up their daughter's marriage *and* have their infant grandchild killed. In *Heauton Timorumenos*, Chremes rails at his wife for having *failed* to kill their own unwanted (by him) daughter in infancy (632–44). He regards his wife as feeble-minded and disobedient, and is particularly outraged by the total lack of moral sensibility displayed by her in allowing the little girl to live.

Regular exposure to this sort of communication would obviously cause even a mature and responsible woman to long for a life of shipwreck and desert isle, with or without pirates, but we hear of no fed-up comedy wives decamping. It may be that the comedy *senex* becomes outrageously disagreeable only under especially trying circumstances, as, in each case represented, the genuinely indignant husband and the allegedly unsatisfactory wife are restored to a comfortable, even affectionate, relationship by the end of dramatic action. In the meantime the woman of the house always seems to be on excellent terms with her children, other members of the household, and the community at large. By contrast, when Nausistrata, at the end of *Phormio*, reproaches her husband for misconduct, she is seen as justified even in the estimation of his brother: Chremes has been using the proceeds of his wife's dowry to support another household overseas, with a woman and a child. Even in this case, the couple seem destined for forbearance and reconciliation, as long as the husband stays on good terms with their son, in whose hands Nausistrata leaves the case—appropriately, as it is he who will inherit his mother's dowry, or what is left of it, at her death, in accordance with regular Greek practice (Asheri 1963: 14).

5 Other Families: Non-citizen or Non-propertyied

The one case where a citizen-class household represented in Terence's comedy is without either father or son, and in reduced circumstances, probably because of their absence, is in *Adelphoe*, where a widow remains with her grown daughter in the home of her deceased husband. The risk to such a household was that poverty would cause the young woman to try to earn a

living on her own, in all likelihood by leaving the city of her birth in order to live as a *meretrix* abroad. This threat is averted, in *Adelphoe*, when the girl is married to her rapist—as always, in Roman Comedy, a single, citizen-class man of propertied family. Terence allows us to see the results of inadequate family property or income in the *meretrices* who appear in his comedies, some of them first- (Glycerium's foster sister in *Andria*) or second-generation (Thais in *Eunuchus*) economic refugees from cities in which their families had citizenship status, but he does not allow us to witness such a development during the course of a comedy, affecting a young woman of citizenship status in the community in which the action takes place.

Free but non-citizen *meretrices* preside over homes represented in the backdrop of *Andria*, *Eunuchus*, and *Hecyra*, and a similar household is described in *Heauton Timorumenos*. In two cases, the *meretrix*'s household includes a younger foster sister (*Andria* and *Eunuchus*), as well as female slaves. Such households are to some extent a mirror image of the patrilineal citizen-class family—matriarchal and matrilineal—although the *meretrix*, as non-citizen and non-male, holds no income-producing property, and is therefore obliged to earn her living by providing services to others, while the citizen-class, patrilineal and patriarchal family depends mostly on working its own land. The death of a *meretrix* in *Andria* threatens the continuance of her household, which is in fact closed down with the recognition of the young girl who might have attempted to maintain it as a long-lost member of a propertied, citizen-class family. The households of *meretrices* in the background of the other two comedies do not seem to be under any particular threat, and the young women who preside over them are presented as obliging and responsible neighbors, who are consequently accorded a relationship of patronage with propertied, citizen-class families, helping to assure the future of household and mistress in each case.

Households of the soldier (*miles*) and the slave trader (*leno*) are represented in the background of only one comedy each, *Eunuchus* and *Phormio* respectively, and receive little attention as to their condition and sustainability. Both are represented as prosperous; neither, as under any immediate threat. Both are presided over by male heads of household, but except for the slave girl belonging to the *leno*, we learn little of other members of the household, and are not encouraged to consider who, if anyone, will preside over the household in another generation. If, as seems likely, the *leno* as well as the *miles* is to be regarded as without citizenship in the community represented onstage, either might be expected to return to the city of his birth when he has amassed enough wealth to re-establish himself there, like Menedemus in *Heauton Timorumenos*, or move on to another city when economic opportunity beckoned. The loss of this household to the community, at death or departure, would be less significant than that of a citizen-class family managing a portion

of the community's productive land. The *miles* and the *leno*, like the *meretrix*, are probably best understood as persons who have left the communities in which their forbears had citizenship standing in order to earn their living abroad, whether from inability to cope with the demands of family or community life at home or because inherited family property has been lost or become incapable of supporting all those dependent on it.

The household of the character designated a slave (*servus* or *ancilla*) is of course one headed by his or her owner, whether citizen class or free foreigner. That the slave might be part of a subunit of that household, which could be thought of as a family in itself, is at least once indicated when, at the end of *Adelphoe*, the slave Syrus is granted his liberty, and immediately asks for the liberty also of his wife. He uses the term *uxor* (973), although of course no legal marriage would have been recognized between partners of slave status (Gardner 1991: 31), and if on his manumission he is to move out of the household in which he has been a slave, he will be heading up a new household as a free non-citizen, working for pay like any other of that class.

That leaves the only character type whose home is not represented in a comedy of Terence's: the parasite. Phormio, in the comedy of the same name, and Gnatho, in *Eunuchus*, are the only representatives of this class in the comedies of Terence, and we are left to assume that these citizen-class males, seeking pay or practical support for services rendered to propertied citizen-class families (in the case of Phormio) or well-off resident aliens (in the case of Gnatho), are maintaining households consisting of themselves and members of their immediate families—for all we know, slaves as well—without the landed property which would normally be expected to support a citizen-class household. Phormio, at least, is so successful in raising money, and so clever in general, that one can well imagine him restoring his family's fortunes through eventual acquisitions of income-producing property.

6 Mirrored Experience, Author and Audience

The question of how the world of Roman Comedy, and ancient drama in general, relates to the world in which it was produced is ultimately undeterminable (see Strobel 2004: 212–16 and chapter 7, this volume), but always worth pondering. The onstage community, like the one before which the comedy was performed, was composed of households, with the citizen-class, propertied household understood to be at its core; the household was composed of individuals, with the male head of household, along with the son who would succeed him, understood to be central to that social unit. The works of Terence offer a version of the world inhabited by the audience, and a commentary on it, where the tensions generated by the competing interests

of community, household, and individual are acknowledged, and where—as this is comic, rather than tragic, drama—those tensions are resolved to the general satisfaction of persons and institutions. The comedy version of the world is simplified so as to concentrate, presumably, on central sources of concern. That is probably why we see only one son per household (except in *Eunuchus*) and no daughters in the same households as sons (except at the end of *Heauton Timorumenos*). The presence of other members of a younger generation would reduce the anxiety generated by the need to have a single son properly married and increase the anxiety related to the preservation of the family property, if it were required to support the households of two sons, rather than one, and/or dower a daughter as well.

It is especially difficult to assess how nearly onstage characters and events resemble those the audience would have dealt with in real life when the playwright is presenting to a Roman audience persons and places identified as Greek. Readers of subsequent eras, including our own, of course bring to the study of these comedies their own individual and cultural experiences, along with whatever understanding they have already gained of the ancient world. Most modern readers will suspect that the tensions acknowledged in Terence's comedies between the needs of community, family, and individual are to be taken more seriously than the means by which those tensions are resolved, especially where those means involve the recovery of long-lost daughters, but even here caution is required. The sober texts of Roman law (Corbier 2001: 66–72), admittedly all of later date, confirm that establishing the status of persons exposed or otherwise lost to their families as children, in the event of attempts by their households of origin to recover them, was a real and persistent concern for the administrators of the empire. And for Athens, the origin of the texts on which Terence modeled his comedies, there is much evidence, in non-dramatic texts, of anxiety relating to false claims of citizenship, particularly on the part of women (Scafuro 1994).

FURTHER READING

For the household and father–son relationships in Terence, see especially Fantham (1975), Anderson (1984), and the more recent discussion by Fantham (2004) and Lape (2004a). Rosivach (1998) offers analysis of civil status and personal relationships in New Comedy. Similarly valuable for recent scholarship on the performance of Roman Comedy in its own time is Marshall (2006). For social, economic, and legal issues in the ancient city, I am particularly indebted to Cohen (1991), Davidson (1998), and Hunter and Edmondson (2000).

CHAPTER ELEVEN

Masters and Slaves

Evangelos Karakasis

This chapter examines the function of the main, trickster slave figure of Roman Comedy within Terentian drama, as well as his interaction with his masters, i.e., the *senex* of the household or the young *adulescens* whom the slave helps in his love affairs. Terence's *Adelphoe* will be used as a case study, since the figure of the *servus fallax* in this play is closer to the typical Roman scheming *servus*, as known largely from Plautine comedy. At the same time, the essay will also briefly examine all other slave figures in Terence and discuss their relation to the seminal character-type of the *servus callidus*.

One of the telling differences between the two main representatives of Roman Comedy, i.e., Plautus and Terence, consists in the treatment of the slave's deception as a source of humor. Although this motif is not unknown in Greek New Comedy, it is a feature par excellence of Plautine Roman drama (see esp. Fraenkel 2007: 159–72; Stace 1968: 65; Dingel 1981: 489–504; Spranger 1984: 98; Sharrock 1996: 169–70; cf. also Segal 1987: 99–136 and 2001: xxii; Lefèvre 1988: 32–46; Anderson 1993: 88–106; Halporn 1993: 191–213; Moore 1998a: 40; McCarthy 2000; Leigh 2004: 25, 84). Plautus appears to be influenced in this case by pre-literary Italian farce (see esp. Stärk 1989; Lefèvre, Stärk, and Vogt-Spira 1991; Benz, Stärk, and Vogt-Spira 1995; Lefèvre 1995).

Although farcical humor is not entirely absent from the comic oeuvre of poets such as Diphilus and Philemon, the extant plays of Menander reveal that he is not particularly fond of dramatic situations based on slaves' deceptions, at least, as they are known from Plautine comedy (cf. Goldberg 1980: 38–40; Sharrock 1996: 170 n.62 vs. Harsh 1955: 135–42). It is certainly true that

Menander's *Dis Exapaton* deals with the double fraud set in "dramatic motion" by the slave Syros. However, since only a few lines survive from this comedy, no reliable conclusions can be reached as to the quality, character, or dramatic function of comic deceit in the Menandrian corpus. (For a comparison between the Menandrian model and the Plautine adaptation, cf. especially Handley 1968; Lefèvre 1978b: 518–38; Bain 1979: 17–34; Rizzo 1990: 9–48; and Owens 1994: 381–407; see also Gaiser 1970: 54–87; Damen 1992: 205–31 and 1995: 15–29). Moreover, the slave Daos in Menander's *Aspis* also sets in motion a plan of deception (cf. Wiles 1991: 95–8, who classes the Daos characters in Menander as schemers). In fact, he is the only Menandrian slave who seems to be, from a dramatic point of view, closer to the Plautine *servus callidus*. Nevertheless, his dramatic function is at the same time quite different from that of the Plautine *servus callidus* (cf. Goldberg 1980: 38; Blänsdorf 1982: 137–41). Similarly Terence, the chief representative of the tradition of Greek New Comedy at Rome, is not overfond of the slave's deceit motif.

Some preliminary remarks concerning the features and function of the term "fraud" in the comic theater of Rome are in order. The main agent of a comic fraud or deceit is the slave, and, more specifically, the type of slave referred to as a *servus fallax* or *servus callidus*. The main dramatic role of this slave is to help his young master (*adulescens*) overcome obstacles in his struggle to win the object of his affection. These obstacles include financial hardship, social discrimination, erotic rivals, and stern parents. These *adulescentes in amore* often appeal to the help of brothers, cousins, or friends in general, but, for the most part, rely on slaves, who try to secure them, via fraud, the money required to buy their beloved from a pimp and to unite the two lovers *facetis fabricis et doctis dolis* ("with witty wiles and intelligent inventions," Pl. *Mil.* 147). In addition, a distinct dramatic mission of the *servus callidus* is to prevent the father of the young lover from learning the truth, in order to gain time for the solution of both the erotic and the comic drama. In Plautine comedy, an emphasis on the slave's fraud frequently relegates the erotic motif to the background and dramatic interest focuses on the actions of slaves instead. This type of plotting slave figure has often been read by Plautine scholars as a reference to the presence of the comic playwright himself (see esp. Slater 1985; Muecke 1986: 216–29; Sharrock 2009: 116).

In Terence, the function of the *servus fallax* is different than in Plautus (Norwood 1923: 144–5; Duckworth 1952: 249–53 and *passim*; Amerasinghe 1950: 62–72; McCarthy 2004: 103). The Terentian slave often takes no part in the process of deceit, and is opposed to it, at least in the beginning. A characteristic example is the slave Geta in *Phormio*, who initially refuses to help the two young men, Antipho and Phaedria, thus remaining loyal to the *senes* Demipho and Chremes (*Ph.* 75–6). Although he eventually undertakes a deception, Geta differs greatly from the typical *servus callidus* figure of Plautine

comedy. The character who helps the *adulescentes in amore* the most in *Phormio* is not the slave, as would have been dictated by Plautine convention, but the parasite, who appears to take over the dramatic role of the *servus calidus* (cf. Amerasinghe 1950: 67–8; Frangoulidis 1995, and chapter 15, this volume). Parmeno in *Hecyra* also remains peripheral to the action, and is kept in the dark on purpose as to the denouement of the plot (cf. Sharrock 2009: 156, 191). Likewise the homonymous slave of *Eunuchus* at first tries to deter Chaerea from transvestism and impersonation, that is, he tries to stop the young man from entering the house of Thais dressed up as a eunuch in order to approach his beloved Pamphila. The scheme is initially suggested as a joke by the slave himself, although he subsequently tries to talk Chaerea out of it, without success, thus inverting the dramatic function of the “tricky slave” motif (cf. Barsby 1991: 37; Sharrock 2009: 154–5). Later the supposed *servus fallax* Parmeno falls victim to the ruse of another slave figure, Pythias—a female slave in Thais’ house, who manages to take vengeance on him by fooling him with the prospect of punishment for the rape of Pamphila. Once again the traditional associations are reversed, and Pythias appears to take over as the tricky slave. Hence Parmeno, again contrary to the dramatic habits of the scheming slave, decides to reveal the truth to the *senex* of the comedy and cover up for himself, functioning, to a certain extent, as a bungling slave (*Eu.* 923–40; cf. Barsby 1991: 69 and 71; Sharrock 2009: 93 and 155).

Nor is Davos in *Andria* a typical Plautine *servus fallax* (McCarthy 2004: 104, 111). He expresses doubts about helping Pamphilus with his love affair—in other words about functioning as a typical scheming slave (*An.* 209; cf. Sharrock 2009: 145; see also chapter 12, this volume). Plautine slaves occasionally express scruples about deceiving the *senes*, as is the case of the slave Libanus (*As.* 256–7). But, contrary to the typical Terentian *servus*, the slave in Plautus easily overcomes these scruples and fulfills his generically prescribed part. On the other hand, the scheme Davos proposes to the *adulescens* Pamphilus, i.e., to bluff his father Simo by pretending to accept the marriage proposal, further distances the young lover from his comic objective, namely marriage with his beloved Glycerium. Davos himself acknowledges the failure of his plan (*An.* 601–2), which, contrary to his aims, leads to the erotic frustration of the *adulescens* and the fulfillment of a blocking character’s wishes, in this case, those of the *senex*. The play’s happy end does not come as a result of the slave’s plotting but is brought about by the fortuitous assistance of Crito (*An.* 796–819). Similarly, Charinus’ slave, Byrria, does not help his young master in his love affair, as a smart slave should, but instead tries to persuade him to overcome the feelings he cherishes for Philumena (*An.* 307–8). He is also responsible for misinforming Charinus of Pamphilus’ real intentions concerning his supposed marriage with Philumena (*An.* 412–14), thus proving himself incompetent in keeping everything under control. Although

at some point all of the above slaves adopt generic comic features of the Plautine architect-trickster (*architectus doli*), as a whole their performance significantly differs from the Plautine prototype.

Other less important slave figures in Terentian comic plots include the following categories: (a) the good slave, such as Geta in *Adelphoe*, who looks after the interests of his *matrona*, Sostrata, and her daughter; (b) whip men (*lorarii*) such as Dromo in *Andria*, the thug-slaves Simalio, Donax, and Syrus in *Eunuchus*, and Parmeno in *Adelphoe* (Barsby 1991: 62); (c) female slaves, belonging either to the subtype of the nurse (*nutrix*), who is chiefly an agent of recognition or a figure who supports her mistress (Barsby 1991: 159), like the two Sophronas, in *Eunuchus* and *Phormio*, Canthara in *Adelphoe*, and the un-named *nutrix* in *Heauton Timorumenos*, or to the subtype of the simple maid (*ancilla*), like Mysis in *Andria*, who unwittingly participates in Davos' scheme to deceive Chremes (Duckworth 1952: 255), Phrygia, Bacchis' maid in *Heauton Timorumenos*, or Dorias in *Eunuchus*; (d) various other peripheral figures, such as Dromo in *Adelphoe*, probably a *puer* like Stephanio (cf. *Ad.* 380), who facilitates the eventual disclosure of the truth to Demea, Dromo in *Heauton Timorumenos*, a *stolidus* ("stupid," *Hau.* 545) slave, attached to Menedemus' household, who serves as a foil to the trickster Syrus, Sosia in *Hecyra*, Parmeno's fellow-slave, probably a Terentian addition, who engages in a dialogue with the main slave of the comedy, Parmeno (*Hec.* 415–29), Scirtus in *Hecyra*, the house-porter (Carney 1963: 38), or the protatic Davos in *Phormio*.

Let us look in detail at the slave's use of fraud against the wider background of Terentian imitation of Plautine models. It is a *communis opinio* in Terentian criticism that, following the commercial failure of *Hecyra*, the playwright tried to increase the appeal of his plays by resorting to established Plautine techniques (on the possibility that Terence generally enjoyed great theatrical success, see especially Parker 1996, but cf. Anderson 1993: 140; on *Hecyra*, see chapter 16, this volume). Turning more specifically to the subject of deceit in *Adelphoe*, this chapter will examine scenes where Terence Romanizes his slaves to function according to the conventions of a typical Plautine, Roman deceitful slave. In Terence, these slaves undertake a type of comic action which was particularly agreeable to a Roman audience, as may be deduced from the relatively extensive presence of farcical action in Plautine drama and its relative absence from Greek New Comedy. At the same time, the chapter will also demonstrate the ways in which this thematic assimilation to Plautus and to the aesthetic preferences of Terence's contemporary Roman spectators is also accompanied by stylistic and linguistic effects that strongly echo Plautus himself. Specifically, I am going to investigate how Syrus' comical function and his rather Plautine interaction with other characters on stage, mainly his masters, is reflected on the level of dramatic effects, diction, and style.

The slave Syrus first appears in the second scene of the second Act of *Adelphoe*, where he promises the *adulescens* Aeschinus that he will convince the pimp Sannio to accept his offer to purchase Ctesipho's beloved (for the relatively farcical character of Syrus as a *servus callidus*, see Amerasinghe 1950: 71–2; Duckworth 1952: 174–5 and 175 n.64; Forehand 1973). From the very beginning then the slave seems to perform his dramatic role in accordance with Plautine conventions: he is the *servus callidus* (Barsby 1991: 153), who tries to help his ally, the *adulescens*, in a financial difficulty the latter faces because of his involvement in a love affair. In this case, however, it is not Aeschinus himself who is involved in the affair: following Terence's well-known technique of involving pairs of young people in love, Aeschinus acts here on behalf of his brother Ctesipho. Once again, in accordance with typical comic conventions, Ctesipho turns to the slave Syrus for help (*Ad.* 281–2); assuming again the traditional role of the *servus callidus*, Syrus prompts the *adulescens* to enter Micio's house and embrace his beloved (*bono animo esto. tu cum illa intus te oblecta interim*, “Cheer up! Have fun with your girl inside meanwhile,” 284). Already from his first appearance in the play, the slave underscores the centrality of fraud, which, as noted above, is perceived as part of the traditional role of a slave (cf. *Ad.* 220).

The Plautine character of such scenes is reinforced by the presence of manifestly farcical motifs. In the first scene of the second Act (196–208), the pimp Sannio tells humorously of his beating by young Aeschinus (*ego vapulando, ille verberando, usque ambo defessi sumus*, “We're both totally exhausted, him with beating and me with being beaten,” *Ad.* 213) and in 244–5 (*omnis dentis labefecit mihi, praeterea colaphis tuber est totum caput*, “He's loosened all my teeth, and beside that my whole head's swollen with blows”). This scene does not derive from Menander but from Diphilus' *Synapotheskontes*. With the exception of the “Plautine” *Eunuchus* (both in character delineation and linguistic texture), where Dorus sustains the blows of Phaedria (*Eu.* 716–17), the beating of Sannio in this scene and its humorous report in 211–15 constitute singular cases that illustrate an unusual kind of comic effect in Terentian drama. Plautus, however, often resorts to slapstick comedy (cf. Stace 1968: 68), frequently involving the beating of slaves (*Am.* 347–81, *Cas.* 404–8, *Men.* 1007–17, *Poen.* 381–91). Furthermore, the beating of a pimp, such as Sannio, is not absent from Plautine comedies either (cf. *Per.* 809–14 and *Rud.* 868–71). In Plautine theater, the enemies of the *servus callidus* generally fall victim to beating—the *leno*, the *miles gloriosus* (cf. *Mil.* 1402–25), and the *servus bonus* (known in Plautine bibliography as “blocking characters” (Frye 1957: 163–9) or “agelasts” (Segal 1987: 70; cf. also Parker 1989: 241)). Such treatment of “agelasts” is not the norm in Terence, with the exception of the *leno* Sannio in *Adelphoe*, who receives, according to the Plautine convention of a blocking character, the blows of the *lorarius* Parmeno.

The comical fraud par excellence, however, unfolds itself in the third scene of the third Act of the play, when Syrus fulfills his dramatic mission as *architectus doli* by deceiving the *senex* Demea. The deceit here has a double aim: first, to prevent Demea from suspecting that Ctesipho has misbehaved; and second to remove Demea from the stage, for reasons of dramatic economy, since any accidental entrance by the young Ctesipho, together with his *amica*, from the house of Micio would bring the drama to an abrupt end. Therefore Syrus falsely claims that Ctesipho was present in the scene of Bacchis' "purchase," in order to oppose his brother, not to help him. Finally, the slave claims that Ctesipho has left for the countryside, and so Demea decides to return to his farm. Thus it becomes evident that this particular part of the comedy reveals the basic Plautine pattern of the slave as an agent of comic fraud who tricks the *senex*, who obstructs or threatens the happiness of an *adulescens*. It should also be noted that, as in many similar cases in Plautus, the happy end of Ctesipho's and Bacchis' love affair, brought about by the slave, is not marriage, but a union of a more informal legal status.

The fooling of Demea continues in the second scene of the fourth Act (540–91), where Syrus pretends that he has been beaten by Ctesipho. The scene of the duping of the angry *senex* begins stereotypically, with the slave eavesdropping but remaining unperceived (cf. e.g., *Bac.* 235–8 and 770–1, *Epid.* 184–8, *Ps.* 409–14; Moore 1998a: 35). Syrus manages to deceive Demea, thus strengthening the latter's positive assessment of his pedagogic tactics. Syrus exhibits the traditional self-confidence of *servi fallaces*, with regard to the success of their dramatic mission (cf. *Ps.* 574–93, 759–66). For instance, he claims that he can turn Demea into a sheep: *quom fervit maxume, tam placidum quam ovem redo* ("When he's boiling over, I can make him as gentle as a lamb," *Ad.* 534); Syrus adopts here a conventional method of *servi callidi*, namely, to compare the victims of their fraud to sheep (cf. *Bac.* 241–2, *Epid.* 616, *Per.* 829; Brotherton 1926: 50–1; Moore 1998a: 187). Furthermore, he presents himself as capable of making Demea shed tears like a little child: *homini ilico lacrumae cadunt quasi puero gaudio* ("tears of joy instantly fall from his eyes, like a small boy," 536–7). A similar statement of self-confidence regarding the success of a deceit stratagem is expressed by the *servus callidus* par excellence, Chrysalus, in Plautus' *Bacchides* 224–6 and 770–841. Following the expected behavior of the type to which he belongs, Chrysalus is obviously impertinent towards his master Nicobulus at the beginning of a scene (*Bac.* 244–8; cf. also 673), and the Terentian *servus callidus* Syrus likewise responds to Demea's question with impudence (*Ad.* 556–7): DEM. *quid ais, bone vir? est frater domi?* / SYR. *quid, malum, "bone vir" mihi narras? equidem perii* ("DEM. Answer me, my good man! Is my brother at home? SYR. Why the hell are you calling me a "good man"? I am finished"). Moreover, Syrus manages to remove Demea from the stage yet again, an outcome that had been prevented in the previous Act by the

arrival of Hegio. Satisfied with the results of his deception (cf. e.g., Chrysalus in *Bac.* 349–57, 640–50), once again in accordance with Plautine conventions, Syrus calls attention to his success: *i sane: ego te exercebo hodie, ut dignus es, silicernium* (“Very well, go. I’ll give you some well-deserved exercise today, you old skeleton!” 587; cf. *sepulcrum* in *Ps.* 412). Syrus rewards himself with the pleasure of a drink (589–91), as does Pseudolus (*Ps.* 1051, cf. also *Bac.* 972; Barsby 1991: 128–9, 171).

In addition to the deception per se, Terence’s adoption of Plautine themes in this scene is also demonstrated by the following. In scenes of comic fraud in Plautine drama, the character who is duped is the last one to learn the truth, even though he boasts of being exceptionally smart (cf. Duckworth 1952: 245). Such is the case with Theopropides in *Mostellaria*: the moment when he falls victim to Tranio’s fraud, he responds to his slave’s rhetorical question with ridiculous self-confidence (*Mos.* 925–6): TRA. *quid? tibi umquam quicquam, postquam tuos sum, verborum dedi? THEO. ego enim cavi recte!* (“TRA. What? Have I ever deceived you in anything, since I’ve been in your service?” THEO. I have been precious well on my guard”). Likewise in *Adelphoe*, although Demea claims that he is the first to discover the misfortunes of his family (*primus sentio mala nostra, primus rescisco omnia*, “I’m the first to be aware of our troubles, I’m the first to find them all out,” 546), in fact, according to the testimony of the slave Syrus, he is the furthest from the truth: *rideo hunc. primum ait se scire: is solus nescit omnia* (“He makes me laugh! He says he’s the first to know, but he’s the only one who’s completely in the dark,” 548). It is actually the same *senex* who claims, a few lines earlier (396–7), that he would perceive any deceitful plan of his son’s at least six months in advance!

Syrus next appears in the fifth Act, where, once again in a farcical scene that recalls Plautus, he faces in a drunken state the rage of Demea, who now finally discovers the truth. As noted above, Plautus often resorts to farce by means of beating or threats to that effect, as well as in scenes of heavy wine drinking and drunkenness: for instance, Callidamates, is unable to either stand or walk under the influence of wine (*Mos.* 313–47, cf. *Cur.* 96–109, *Cist.* 120–48, *Ps.* 1246–84; see Duckworth 1952: 326). Terence generally avoids such scenes, with the exception of the intoxication of Chremes in *Eunuchus* (727–38), a comedy with Plautine coloring, and the scene in *Adelphoe* under discussion here. In *Adelphoe* in fact, the drunken slave once again proclaims, according to Plautine convention, the success of his scheme (763–4; cf. *Bac.* 1070–1, *Per.* 753–4), adopting two further dramatic habits of Plautine *servi callidi*: self-address (*edepol, Syrisce, te curasti molliter*, “Well, Syrus my boy, you’ve looked after yourself in style,” 763; cf. *As.* 249–57, *Epid.* 81–4, 161–3, 194–5, *Pseud.* 394–400, 453–4; Moore 1998a: 37–9) and utterances of mainly formulaic nature, which signal the favorable course or result of their undertaking (cf. *Am.* 463, *Per.* 455–6, *Ps.* 574; Christenson 2000: 223).

Syrus, however, does not adhere to his Plautine model in its entirety. For example, there are some Plautine elements which are absent from his speech, such as expressions of deep pessimism and weakness (*Bac.* 358–65), a list of duties of a good slave (*Aul.* 587–607, *Bacch.* 651–62, *Men.* 966–85, *Mos.* 858–79, *Per.* 7–12, *Ps.* 1103–13, *Rud.* 920–3), detailed information addressed to the audience concerning the course of the deception plan, as well as the military imagery characteristic of the *servus fallax* of Plautus (see esp. Dumont 1966: 182–203 and MacCary 1969). One cannot claim with certainty, however, that the slave's role was restricted in Menander and that Terence strengthened the dramatic quality of his role in the direction of Plautine comedy, since the fragmentary status of the Greek playwright does not allow firm conclusions. What can be observed, however, is that for a Roman audience the dramatic operation of the fraud of a *servus callidus* had been associated above all with Plautus. In sum, Syrus of the *Adelphoe* exhibits several fundamental characteristics of the Plautine *servus callidus*. These traits, generally absent from other Terentian slaves, with the exception of Syrus in *Heauton Timorumenos*, include deception in various forms and with various recipients, certainty of the success of the deceit, subsequent satisfaction, rudeness to the master, who, despite his boasts of cleverness, is the first to fall into the trap, and the use of fraud to unite the *adulescentes in amore*. Another important element discussed above is the essentially farcical humor of the deception scenes of comedy (beating and threats of beating, intoxication).

But how is Terence exploiting Plautus on a linguistic and stylistic level? One of the more important differences between the two great Roman comic poets is the frequent presence of Romanisms in Plautine comedy, i.e., references to Roman institutions, buildings, habits, mainly found in the speeches of parasites and *servi fallaces* (e.g., *Asin.* 259–64, *Capt.* 90, 489, *Epid.* 59, 158–9, 182, 188, 343, *Mos.* 828, *Ps.* 125–8, 1051, 1232; see Duckworth 1952: 136, 272, 298–9, 385, 389; Moore 1998a: 61–6). In Terentian dramas such Romanisms are generally avoided (see also chapter 7, this volume) and occur mainly in the “Plautine” *Eunuchus*. For instance, Chaerea mentions the distinctively Roman institution of *clientela* (Martin 1976: 182); a comparable reference to *clientela* appears in *Adelphoe*, when Syrus tries to give the young Ctesipho excuses for the deceit of his father: *tanto nequior. cliens amicus hospes nemo est vobis?* (“So much the worse for you. Don’t you people have clients, friends, guest-friends?” 529). Thus a typically Plautine character, such as the *servus fallax* Syrus, at the moment when he functions, as most Plautine slaves, as a *praeceptor doli*, aiming to deceive the *senex* and to ensure the erotic happiness of the *adulescens*, does not hesitate to adopt a dramatic habit typical of Plautine characters.

In addition to references to Roman institutions, Terence’s overall tendency to “Plautinize,” and more generally to “Romanize,” emerges in the use of sexual innuendo. Overall, like Menander (Hunter 1985: 13; Lape 2004b: 21),

Terence avoids allusion to homosexuality. By contrast, in Plautus there are several such allusions, mainly with regard to so-called *pueri delicati*. A telling example is the answer of Palaestrio to Pyrgopolynices: *nam tu quidem / ad equas fuisti scitus admissarius, / qui consecrare qua maris qua feminas* ("You'd have made a proper stallion for the mares, you who pursue both males and females," *Mil.* 1111–13; cf. *Aul.* 285–6, *Capt.* 867, *Cas.* 449–66, *Cur.* 691, *Mos.* 895, *Ps.* 1189–90, *Truc.* 150; Duckworth 1952: 293). With the exception yet again of his *Eunuchus*, where the stylistic form of aposiopesis, typical of the linguistic self-restraint of Terence, implies the homosexual tendency of Thraso typical of the *miles gloriosus* of Roman comedy, similar references are absent from the Terentian corpus (*ego illum eunuchum, si opus siet, vel sobrius* ... "I know what I'd do to that eunuch, even when sober, if it came to it!," *Eun.* 479). Another exception is found in *Adelphoe*, where, in the context of a farcical scene involving an exchange between Syrus and Sannio with regard to the beating of the latter by the *adulescens*, the slave proposes: *adulescenti morem gestum oportuit* ("You should have let the young man have his way," *Ad.* 214). The expression *morem gerere* can be used either for the marital duties of a Roman *matrona* (Pl. *Men.* 787) or for the erotic services of a *meretrix* (Pl. *Mos.* 189, 200, *Per.* 605, cf. also *morigerari*, "to gratify, to please," Suet. *Tib.* 44.2). Donatus in fact comments (ad *Ad.* 214) on the sexual and Plautine nature of this statement, uttered by the equally Plautine character of the *servus fallax*: *et morem gerere proprie lenonis est et meretricis* ("it is characteristic of a pimp and a prostitute to gratify," Martin 1976: 137).

Roman comedy is also characterized by the use of established formulaic expressions. One such formula that signals the departure of a dramatic character from the stage is *numquid me vis?* ("Do you want anything else from me?"), which may alternatively appear in the forms *numquid vis?*, *numquid aliud?*, or combinations thereof. As a formulaic exit expression, it usually precedes the equally formulaic response, *vale*, *valeas*, *ut valeas*, or *recte*, or certain witty and humorous retorts which signal the end of a dramatic dialogue as well as the removal of a character from the action (Hough 1945: 282–302; Martin 1976: 141). In certain cases, however, some *dramatis personae* do not perceive the formulaic character of the question, which they consider real and, consequently, they give further information about their wishes. This happens mainly in cases of delayed exits, which are abundant in Plautus but are avoided by Terence (Duckworth 1952: 118). One such instance, however, appears in *Adelphoe*, when Syrus addresses the pimp Sannio and utters the exit formula *numquid vis quin abeam?* ("Anything else, or can I go?," *Ad.* 247). The *leno*, as often happens in Plautus, does not treat the question as a typical leave-taking formula, but voices an additional request, namely, that Syrus convince Aeschinus to give to the pimp at least the amount that the latter paid for Ctesipho's girl. The above formula seems to have a similar function only in the

Eunuchus (191, 363), while in all its other occurrences in the Terentian corpus it serves as a simple farewell (e.g., *Ph.* 151–2, 458; *Ad.* 432).

Similarly, in the use of asides, Terence once again differs from Plautus, as he avoids comments that extend to more than one or two verses (cf. *Ad.* 548, 958). In Plautus, however, observations made by dramatic characters may include more than two verses, aiming at further comic effect (e.g., *As.* 598–605, *Capt.* 266–76, *Poen.* 271–83; cf. also Hiatt 1946: 25 n.3, Duckworth 1952: 109–14). Similarly, extended asides occur in *Adelphoe* 228–35 (Barsby 1991: 154), when Sannio, in the course of his exchange with the *servus callidus*, realizes the plan to manipulate him and loudly complains about his financial insecurity. The Plautine action pursued by the *servus callidus* leads the similarly Plautine figure of the pimp to forms of expression known mostly from Plautine plays.

Finally, certain linguistic choices, generally avoided by Terence and later classical Latin, but dear to Plautus, are adopted by Terence only in those scenes that most closely resemble Plautine drama. For example, a typical command in Plautus is articulated by means of the combination *potin ut*, that is, the contracted *potisne est ut*, instead of imperative, prohibition, or command of similar quality (e.g., *Am.* 903, *Bac.* 751, *Cist.* 465, *Epid.* 63, *Men.* 466, 627, *Mer.* 441, 495, 779, 890, *Mil.* 926, *Per.* 175, 287, *Poen.* 916, *Ps.* 263, 393, 940, 942, *Rud.* 424, *Trin.* 628, *Truc.* 897). In Terence this form of command occurs only once, in *Adelphoe* 539 (Martin 1976: 183), when the *servus callidus*, tired of Ctesipho's cries for help, uttered in terror at Demea's approach, says to the young man: *potin ut desinas?* ("Can you stop?"). Another common Plautine form is the pleonastic double-question with *utrum* (the combination *utrum* ... - *ne*, *an*, instead of the simple *utrum* ... *an*, or - *ne* ... *an*; e.g., *Bac.* 500–1, 576, *Capt.* 268, *Mos.* 681, *Ps.* 709, *Rud.* 104, *Trin.* 306–7). In Terence, this type of pleonasm occurs only once, in *Adelphoe* 382 (Martin 1976: 163), in Demea's speech, when he addresses Syrus: *utrum studione id sibi habet an laudi putat* ("Is he doing this on purpose? Does he think it'll be to his credit if he ruins the boy?"). This is a scene where the *servus fallax* deceives the *senex*, parodying at the same time the latter's pedagogic principles and equating them with the techniques, also adopted by Syrus, for educating slaves.

The two comic playwrights also differ with regard to the terms of abuse uttered by their characters onstage. Plautus is fond of the word *mastigia* (thirteen occurrences, *Am.* 1034a, *Capt.* 600, 659, *Cas.* 361, 446, *Curc.* 567, *Mos.* 1, 721a, *Poen.* 381, 390, 390a, *Rud.* 1022, *Trin.* 1021; cf. Martin 1976: 211). This Greek term (μαστιγίας), instead of the Latin *verbero*, is applied by Demea to the *servus callidus* (*Ad.* 781), in a scene of intense farcical and Plautine humor, which is made possible chiefly by Syrus' state of intoxication.

Another notable linguistic choice is the use of verb *abigere* with persons in the sense of *repellere*, *expellere* ("to drive out"). This is a linguistic choice avoided in prose of the classical period, with the exception of two occurrences in Livy (2.37.9, 2.38.5), whose works, however, include both archaisms and poetic expressions. By contrast, the above syntax is quite common in pre-classical and post-classical Latin. It also often features in Plautus (*Am.* 150, 979, *As.* 446, *Capt.* 815, *Curc.* 186, *Men.* 127, *Per.* 297, *Truc.* 252, 620). In Terence, the verb *abigere* occurs only once (*Ad.* 401), in a scene where Demea is again deceived by Syrus, when the latter, trying to remove the former from the stage, makes the following aside: *abigam hunc rus* ("I'll pack him off to the farm"). Donatus comments that the verb applies to animals, not humans (*ut pecudem ... non ut hominem*; Martin 1976: 167).

It is generally accepted that Terence transplants Greek New Comedy into Latin with a greater degree of accuracy than Plautus. He appears to be taking over the tradition of Greek New Comedy from Menander and the Menandrian Apollodorus of Carystus. This can be directly related to the Hellenizing aestheticism of the "Scipionic circle," to which Terence may have belonged (see Comerci 1994 and further chapter 6, this volume). The audience of Terentian theater is under the impression that, although the comic characters onstage use Latin, the action takes place in Athens. By contrast, with Plautus the development of New Comedy seems to be moving in the opposite direction. Plautus "Romanizes" Greek comedy by making his characters refer to Roman topography and institutions. Plautus leaves his distinctive mark on the formulation of the Roman genre, not only by strengthening the role of certain characters, such as the *servus callidus*, as discussed above, but also by making significant changes in terms of themes (farcical humor), language (abuse, sexual innuendos), and dramatic techniques (long asides as a means of increasing the comic effect), thus bringing about a clear Roman comic counterbalance. In the case of Plautine theater, the spectators often have the impression that they are witnessing a Roman dramatic environment, to the extent that sometimes the Greek names of the characters on stage sound awkward within the Roman atmosphere of the plot. This dramatic habit of Plautus seems in some cases to be followed by Terence as well, as we have examined above, in *Eunuchus* and *Adelphoe*. It is not a coincidence that the *servus callidus* of this comedy, i.e., the dramatic character who most concentrates the features of the Plautine *servus fallax* and who is responsible for both the thematic and the linguistic rapprochement of the Terentian play to Plautine comedy, is named Syrus. He does not have a Greek name but is of eastern origin. Terence consciously opts for a comic character with a non-Greek name, so that he will become the agent of this transition from Greek into Plautine, and thus Roman Comedy.

It is also not without significance that another slave possessing several characteristics of the *servus callidus* is also named Syrus. In *Heauton*

Timorumenos, Syrus seems to be yet another dramatic instance of the type of slave we call an *architectus doli* (Sharrock 2009: 150–1), i.e., the Plautine scheming slave in absolute command of the comic plot. Syrus appears always to be in control of any difficulties and, accordingly, comes up with various tricks against both Menedemus and (chiefly) Chremes, in order to ensure his younger master's, Clitipho's, erotic bliss (see further chapter 13, this volume). The *servus callidus* ensures the happiness of the *adulescens in amore* both by securing the presence of his beloved *meretrix* Bacchis and by getting hold of the sum of ten *minae* she requires (Lowe 1998b: 163–71). But the question which here suggests itself, namely, whether or not one comes across a similar movement towards Plautine and Roman comic preferences in the case of the deception scenes in the *Heauton Timorumenos*, calls for separate investigation.

FURTHER READING

Amerasinghe (1950) is a very good introduction for those interested in the dramatic function of the slave character-type within Terentian drama; the relevant remarks in Duckworth (1952), Barsby (1991), McCarthy (2004), Sharrock (2009) are also invaluable. Frangoulidis (1995) offers a very good discussion of Phormio's adoption of the role of the trickster slave in *Phormio*. Lowe (1998b) focuses on Syrus' ruse in *Heauton Timorumenos*, whereas Forehand (1973) analyzes his dramatic function in *Adelphoe*. On masters and slaves in Plautine comedies, see the classic discussion in McCarthy (2000) and the recent work by Stewart (2012).

PART III

THE PLAYS

CHAPTER TWELVE

Andria

Robert Germany

The first line of Terence's first play announces a quiet revolution in the culture of Roman letters: *poeta quom primum animum ad scribendum adpulit* (see chapter 3, this volume, on the Callimachean language of the *Andria* prologue). The word *poeta* comes from a Greek verb meaning "make," and Roman poets of the Augustan age are sometimes cast as "makers" (Wray 2003). More traditionally Roman poets "sing" (Habinek 2005). Plautus uses the verb "write" (*scribere*) for what Greek playwrights do, but what he himself does with these originals is generally just to "twist" them (*vortere*: *As.* 11; *Trin.* 19; in *Cas.* 34 the verb for Plautus is missing and may be supplied from the previous line as *scribere* or from the pattern as *vortere*). There may be a fragmentary earlier testimony of the verb *scribere* applied to poets working in Latin (Cic. *Brut.* 76), but as far as we know Terence was the first Latin poet to describe his own art as "writing," and he does so in the first line of his first play and consistently thereafter (*An.* 5; *Hau.* 7, 15; *Ph.* 3, 5, 6; *Hec.* 6; *Ad.* 1, 16, 25; and for other Latin playwrights: *Hau.* 43; *Eu.* 7, 10, 36; *Hec.* 13, 24, 27, 56). If the playwright is a writer, then the audience must in some sense, by complementary default, be readers, i.e., the audience is cast as consumers not of wrought objects, but of written words. Terence's programmatic self-designation as a writer thus heralds a shift to a more overtly literary aesthetic than scholars usually attribute to Roman Comedy, which they often suppose

to be more closely akin to the hurly-burly taste of unscripted Italian folk theater and only incidentally connected to the world of writing (Benz, Stärk, and Vogt-Spira 1995). But a heightened awareness of the role of improvisational theater in Roman life and its influence on the poetics of Roman Comedy (see also chapter 13, this volume), particularly Plautus, should not come at the expense of our willingness to see the traces of writing in Terence's literary craft or his deep debt to Hellenistic aesthetics more generally. Over the past thirty years scholars have come to appreciate the ironic sophistication of Plautine metatheatricality, and for much of that time Terence has been dismissed as ploddingly realistic and slavishly loyal to his restrained Greek models (Slater 1985: 6). More recently scholars have begun to acknowledge the subtle ways in which Terence's plays also exhibit awareness of their own theatricality, and *Andria* offers a rich vein for such investigation, but I do not wish to make this chapter a survey of metatheatricality in *Andria*, partly because such treatments already exist (Knorr 2007: 168–9; Lefèvre 2008: 138–40) and partly because flirtation with the boundary of theatrical illusion is hardly a Terentian innovation. Instead, I will focus here on *Andria*'s prologue under four headings: (1) its own novelty and peculiar narratological structure, both internally and within Terence's career; (2) its unexpected parallelism with the unforgettable first scene of the play; (3) the ethical dichotomy between Terence's critics and his preferred models, refracted through the rest of the play; and (4) the theme of ethical paradox, suggested in the prologue and developed into a leitmotif of *Andria*, from title to dénouement.

1 First Things

The logic of beginning with the beginning hardly needs special recommendation, but with Terence it is particularly worthwhile to consider the sequential experience of the play as it unfolds. Greek and earlier Roman New Comedy (see chapters 1 and 2, this volume) would usually give a back-story and even plot outline in an expository prologue, often spoken by a god, who was both disinterested and omniscient enough to be believed reliable. By dispensing with this tradition, Terence hurled his audience into the unaccustomed task of piecing together the back-story from plural, fallible, biased characters and catching the plot without warning as it unfolded (Cicu 1996: 53–70). Of course, tragedies did not normally have prologues, but then their stories were already commonly known myth or history, and Plautus sometimes did without a prologue, but in universally discarding this convention, Terence was subtly changing the genre. When subsequent European theater has imitated Roman models, from early modern comedy to today's sitcoms, even at its most Plautine it has usually followed Terence in omitting the expository prologue. In this sense Terence's most significant contribution to the history of

theater may be the invention of dramatic surprise. For this reason, above all, we must bear in mind the first-time viewer's experience of Terence's first play. But was it his first play? Despite the unambiguous testimony of ancient sources drawing on the earlier production notice (*didascalía*) that *Andria* was first produced at the Ludi Megalenses in 166 BCE and that it was the first of Terence's six plays (Suet. *Vita Terenti* 3; Don. ad *An. Praef.* 1.6), some modern scholars have wondered if there were earlier plays. Beginning with Tanaquil Faber (1615–1672), critics have noticed that the prologue seems to cast the playwright not as a tyro now introducing himself for the first time to an unsuspecting public, but as a bitterly embattled poet who has come to the weary conclusion that he must answer his enemies.

poeta quom primum animum ad scribendum adpult,
 id sibi negoti credidit solum dari,
 populo ut placerent quas fecisset fabulas.
 verum aliter evenire multo intellegit.
 nam in prologis scribundis operam abutitur,
 non qui argumentum narret sed qui malevoli
 veteris poetae maledictis respondeat. (*An.* 1–7)

When the poet first put his mind to writing, he believed that his only challenge would be for the plays that he crafted to please the public. But now he realizes that things have turned out very differently. So he wastes his effort in writing prologues, not to explain the plot but to respond to the slanders of a malicious old author.

The plural *prologis*, the implicit claim that the poet has already had an opportunity to be attacked in the past, and the autobiographical narrative structure of his transition from original assumptions (*quom primum*) to a subsequent encounter with harsh reality (*verum aliter evenire*) all point to a playwright who is no rank beginner. One possibility—more appealing to most scholars than insisting that *Andria* is not Terence's first play—has been to suppose that this prologue comes from a later production, and that the original performance in 166 either had a different prologue or no prologue at all (Lefèvre 2008: 73–80).

It is certainly possible, however, to explain *prologis* as a generalizing plural and to assume that there were opportunities for critics to scout the play in a pre-production performance. In fact, the prologue of *Eunuchus* narrates just such a scene: the aediles had purchased the play and Terence's adversary managed to sneak a peek at it and then to be present at a preview performance for the magistrate, where he raised a ruckus, shouting that it was the work of “a thief, not a poet” (*Eu.* 20–4). It is conceivable that the “malevolent old playwright” was present at a similar early rehearsal of *Andria*, and that it was on the basis of what he saw there that he hurled the *maledicta* Terence is now

answering. Or perhaps he encountered the play in some other less formal venue. The Suetonian *Vita* (3) tells a charming story about Caecilius, the leading comic poet of the previous generation, bidding a very young Terence to supply his dinner-time amusement by reciting some verses. Terence was ill-dressed and set to read on a stool apart from the dinner party, but once the young poet had read the opening lines of *Andria*, Caecilius stopped him, invited him to join his couch for dinner, and then listened in admiration to the rest of the play (see Introduction, this volume). Most likely these opening lines that so impressed the senior doyen of Roman Comedy were from the first Act, rather than the prologue, but this story makes it credible that there were opportunities for Terence's adversary to gain enough familiarity with *Andria* to accuse him of poetic malpractice.

There may be an even more satisfactory answer, though, to the charge that the prologue of *Andria* does not fit a playwright making his maiden voyage onto the boards. One of the most striking recent developments in Terence studies has been an increased alertness to the fictionality of the prologues (Gilula 1989a). Their complaints about Terence's difficulties from censorious older poets and distractible theatergoers may be a kind of joke, easily recognizable to the original audience from other examples of this type of humor (Gruen 1992: 210–15), or they may correspond to reality, but the decision to bring such matters into the play, indeed the most prominent place in the play, still constitutes a poetic choice. If Terence did in fact have enemies and they had made such accusations, it would almost certainly have been advisable to ignore them altogether or to address them in some other venue. To open the play itself with an advertisement of its alleged faults is such a bold and counterintuitive move that it invites speculation as to what is really going on here. And the prologues are certainly part of the play: they are in meter, they involve colorful depictions of the prologue speaker, Ambivius Turpio, and the offstage attack faced by the playwright from his enemy, Luscius Lanuvinus, these personalities and issues recur from one prologue to the next with the consistency of comic stock characters and situations, and the prologues may even foreshadow important themes that come up in the course of the plays (Gowers 2004).

It is this last feature of the prologues that most clearly reveals their organic incorporation into the whole, and my principal concern in this chapter is to explore the recurrence of issues raised in the prologue throughout the rest of *Andria*. This correspondence need not, however, be thematic, but may rather be narratological. The poet is not formally introduced to the audience, as one might expect for a first-time playwright. Instead, we enter into what appears to be a story already underway. The audience is pitched *in medias res* into an emotionally heated dispute and must play catch-up, piecing together who the principals are on the fly by gleaning what they can from the biased perspective of the prologue speaker. This is precisely the experience of Terence's audience

more generally because of his innovative excision of the explanatory prologue, and only a few lines later the opening scene of the first Act will neatly recapitulate this dynamic. The irony of this beginning is that Terence complains about not being able to have a “normal” explanatory prologue because of his complex and controversial past, but the way the audience must approach understanding this protest is essentially the same as the way they must grapple with the rest of the play. The prologue thus functions as an emblem for the play, a miniature preview of one aspect of the play in an apparently different medium, and it does so precisely by complaining about not being able to do the thing everyone knows prologues are supposed to do.

This, then, is the prologue’s version of the controversy (9–16):

Menander fecit Andriam et Perinthiam.
 qui utramvis recte norit ambas noverit,
 non ita dissimili sunt argumento et tamen
 dissimili oratione sunt facta ac stilo.
 quae convenere in Andriam ex Perinthia
 fatetur transtulisse atque usum pro suis.
 id isti vituperant factum atque in eo disputant
 contaminari non decere fabulas.

Menander wrote a “Woman of Andros” and a “Woman of Perinthos.” If you know one, you know both, since the plots are not very different, though they are written in a different language and style. Our author confesses that he has transferred anything suitable from the “Woman of Perinthos” to the “Woman of Andros” and made free use of it. His critics abuse him for doing this, arguing that it is not right to contaminate plays in this way.

By understanding, these critics understand nothing (*faciuntne intellegendo ut nil intellegant?* 17), a logical impossibility that connects them to one of the central themes of the play (see Section 4 below). Thus, even if these shadowy slanderers do have some real-life corollary, they function here as a coherent part of the play-world, unseen characters like the woman of Andros herself. They are really accusing Naevius, Plautus, and Ennius (18), for presumably the whole tradition of Roman Comedy is built on this kind of hybridizing adaptation, and Terence would rather model himself on the “carelessness” (*neglegentia*) of the comic greats than his haters’ “cryptic attentiveness” (*obscura diligentia*, 20–1). This antithesis between traditional *neglegentia* and *obscura diligentia* will also prove to be an important theme of the play (see Section 3) but note that the audience is already implicitly drawn into a certain amount of *obscura diligentia*. Behind *Andria* there lurks another *Andria* and this older *Andria*’s near identical twin, *Perinthia*. These plays are enough alike that their fusion should not cause major problems, but different enough

in tone that we ought to be able to detect the sutures. Knowing what it now knows, the audience will find it hard to refuse the implicit invitation to play the game that has, in fact, made up the vast bulk of modern scholarship on *Andria*: trying to figure out which characters, scenes, or plot elements come from which Menandrian original. Of course, the audience is under no obligation to follow Terence's critics in faulting this contamination, but they have been handed the critics' lens for analyzing the play and it is striking that, in the final lines of the prologue, the audience is addressed as arbiters of this play and of Terence's imperiled theatrical future (24–7). The audience will be scanning *Andria* for that which is not *Andria*, but the (literally) foreign *Woman of Perinthos*. Along the way they will discover that there are indeed two women of Andros and, as with the complex double source of the play, one of them is only a suppositious Andria.

2 First Scene

The first Act begins with a bustle. The old man, Simo, and his freedman, Sosia, enter from the forum with a swarm of slaves toting groceries fit for a wedding feast. The porters' parade is a typical feature of Roman Comedy, but it is usually introduced later in the play as a diversionary moment of spectacle and visual humor. By ushering the slaves into the house as soon as they are onstage, however, Terence takes away any element of sight gag in *Andria* (Goldberg 1981–2: 136); by displacing this scene to the beginning of the play, Terence has effectively denatured this comic motif, robbing it of its usual pacing function (for a comparison to the similar beginning of *Heauton Timorumenos*, see chapter 16, this volume). What this parade of slaves does, however, is to use the conventional visual language of Roman Comedy to suggest that the play has already been going on for some time. We have noted above that the prologue begins with an assumed complex back-story and that the audience's encounter with these opening lines neatly foreshadows their experience of the play more generally, deprived of the usual roadmap of an expository prologue. Now the very beginning of the first scene manipulates the codes of the genre to produce the same *in medias res* effect.

If, on this basis, the audience senses that the real beginning of the play was somewhere back in the past, they will not be surprised to discover an unusually dramatic back-story. After funneling the slaves inside, Simo keeps Sosia onstage for a serious conversation. The wedding preparations, he explains, are not real (47). This is a shock to Sosia, as it is to us, for it means that the theatrically coded parade of porters was actually theater within the play, a ruse intended to be seen by some internal spectator and interpreted according to comic convention. Simo explains that his son, Pamphilus, had made an

excellent start in life, finding friends everywhere and maintaining balance in all his habits and relationships, but his future began to look less promising when a certain Andrian woman named Chrysis moved in next door. Sosia interjects a crisply metatheatrical worry that the woman of Andros means trouble (73). At first Chrysis was a good girl but, once a lover had seduced her with money, she began to take other lovers and their gifts and soon found herself plying the trade and hosting all-night parties at her house, which Pamphilus attended with his friends. Simo became sick with worry and began spying on his neighbor more regularly, accosting the slaves of her guests to find out which young men were coming to Chrysis for love and which were just along for the party. After repeated assurances that his son was in the latter category, he was relieved—and more than relieved. After all, a boy who could step into the lion's den without losing his head was even better than one who must keep away for fear of being corrupted.

Pamphilus' remarkable self-control was noticed by others as well, including Simo's friend Chremes, who offered the young stoic his daughter's hand in marriage, and Simo and Chremes settled on today for the wedding. Then Chrysis died and Pamphilus' grief was so palpable that Simo was both touched at the sincerity of his son's heart and encouraged to imagine that some day Pamphilus would grieve thus for him. He went to the funeral to support his son, but it was there that the rug was pulled out from under his feet. A young woman of striking dignity, who turned out to be Chrysis' sister, Glycerium, was so beset with grief that she tried to throw herself onto the burning pyre. Pamphilus rushed to restrain her, but the way he held her and she responded revealed to all the world that they were lovers. The next day Chremes called off the wedding with his daughter, Philumena, saying that Pamphilus was already effectively married to this foreign girl. Simo has not known how to broach the subject with Pamphilus, for he assumes that his son would either deny the affair or insist that, despite his feelings for Glycerium, he will marry whenever and whomever Simo wishes, knowing full well that at least he will not have to marry Philumena today. So Simo has kept up the pretence that the wedding is still on in the hope that he can thus force his son to confess his feelings for Glycerium and accept his punishment. On the outside chance that Pamphilus is willing to do the right thing and dump his Andrian girlfriend, Simo is sure he can talk Chremes back around. Simo thus wins either way. The only real obstacle Simo can foresee is that his tricky slave Davos may find a way to thwart his plans, so he asks Sosia to keep his eyes on Pamphilus and Davos.

This opening scene may be the most memorable in the play. Cicero refers to it no fewer than five times (*Inv.* 1.27, 33; *de Orat.* 2.172, 326–8; *Amic.* 89), and it is no wonder. The complexity of the back-story, the vividness of Simo's description of the funeral, and the quiet intensity of his concern for Pamphilus are all quite unlike anything in Plautus or, as far as we can tell, any earlier Roman

Comedy. As the opening salvo of Terence's career, this scene must have made quite an impression, but modern readers have not always been won over. Critics have generally complained that after being so well drawn in the opening lines of this scene, Sosia simply disappears from the play (Lefèvre 2008: 90–2). Donatus tells us (ad *An.* 14) that in the corresponding scene in Menander's *Andria* the father spoke in soliloquy, while in *Perinthia* it was a dialogue with his wife, and perhaps this matron came back into the story later in connection with the wedding. On this line of criticism, Terence is showing his inexperience by falling between two stools. In trying to spice up the simple monologue of Menander's *Andria* by adding an interlocutor he follows the lead of the *Perinthia*, but he fails to realize that good economy requires this interlocutor to reappear or at least be mentioned later in the play, and so he writes in the lamely protatic Sosia, who serves his obvious function of motivating the narration of the back-story and then vanishes. Furthermore, Sosia's comments never so much as tweak the direction of Simo's narration, as if Terence has simply taken the *Andria*'s monologue and inserted a few irrelevant interjections (Anderson 2004).

Sosia's inability to penetrate Simo's consciousness is interesting, however, because after the beginning of the scene, with Simo's elaborate expressions of respect for Sosia's proven friendship and noble qualities, we might have expected a two-sided conversation. Sosia is made uncomfortable by these initial courtesies (43–4), but Simo clearly imagines himself a man of some interpersonal delicacy and subtlety, as revealed also by his hesitation to talk to his son and his repeated second-guessing what his son might say if not sufficiently manipulated ahead of time. When he talks right past his interlocutor, then, Simo reveals that, despite his pretensions to the contrary, he is ultimately still a specimen of the comic stock type of the pigheaded *senex* (Anderson 2004). Since the play ends without Sosia's return, the audience realizes in hindsight that this character, however suggestively rendered, was sharply limited in scope and function. Looking back, though, the audience may also note that there was another character like this: Crito, who shows up unexpectedly at the end of the play like a *deus ex machina* to reveal Glycerium's true identity as Chremes' long-lost daughter. Crito's name means "decider" and as Donatus says (ad *An.* 796) he is "a character contrived for the dénouement, doing nothing for the plot but resolving it." *Andria* is full of characters and situations that stand at some variance from the rigidity of typical stock norms, but it is bookended by Sosia and Crito, characters who embody the gimmicky instrumentality of comic roles at their most artificial and formulaic. This observation is not meant to refute critics' aesthetic complaints about Sosia, but merely to indicate that the very things they fault in him are also echoed by Crito at the end of the play and thus part of Terence's design.

Apart from this framing effect with the end of the play, the first scene also echoes the scenario of the prologue. The prologue speaker, Ambivius Turpio,

is portrayed as (i) an old man (*Hau.* 39) telling us about (ii) a young man, Terence, who (iii) stands accused of indecency (*contaminari non decere fabulas*) by (iv) another old man (*malevoli veteris poetae*). He offers (v) our sole access to (vi) an emotionally heated back-story, but he is himself (vii) intimately connected with the young man, and so not a reliable impartial observer. He tells us about (viii) *Andria*, or rather (ix) the controversial confusion between *Andria* and a sister play, which now both is and is not *Andria*. And he reveals that the whole play is (x) an extended test for the young man. Every one of these ten features is neatly recapitulated in the first scene: Ambivius Turpio has been replaced by Simo, Terence by Pamphilus, Luscius Lanuvinus by Chremes, one accusation of indecency by another, and the confusingly double identity of *Andria* by the confusingly double women of Andros. Again, this echo does not mean that the prologue's story has no basis in reality, only that it is at least equally part of the theatrical fiction of the play.

3 *obscura diligentia vs negligentia*

Simo must be the hardest working, most fretful *senex* in Roman Comedy. To be sure, other fathers worry about their sons, but Simo has been up at odd hours (83) spying on his neighbor's house in an attempt to figure out what is going on backstage, and now, rather than simply talking with his son as Sosia suggests, he is engaged in manipulating generic conventions to stage an elaborate ruse, behaving more like a *servus callidus* (tricky slave) than a comic father (on these *servi*, see chapter 11, this volume). Lefèvre (2007) has argued that the intense battle of wills between Simo and Davos is more typical of *senex/servus* relations in Roman than Greek New Comedy and thus likely Terentian expansion, so it is interesting that Simo's strategy in this contest is essentially to usurp the tricky slave's bustle and metatheatrical awareness. In Act 3, Simo and Davos are in an uneasy standoff, each thinking he has the other off balance, when Glycerium's handmaid Mysis returns, having just fetched the midwife Lesbia. The women cross the stage praising Pamphilus for his faithfulness and his promise to raise the baby, and they enter the house without noticing Davos and Simo, who are left reeling with fear and rage, respectively. How could they fail to see the men? Only by the absurd conventions of comedy are such things possible, but in a remarkable moment of misplaced theatrical self-consciousness, Simo interprets the women's stagey entrance and conversation as part of a comic intrigue to forestall the wedding by pretending that there is a baby about to be born. No sooner does Simo reach this conclusion than Glycerium cries out in labor pains, which Simo now has to dismiss as overplayed comedy (see chapter 4, this volume):

SIM. hui! tam cito? ridiculum. postquam ante ostium
 me audivit stare, approperat. non sat commode
 divisa sunt temporibus tibi, Dave, haec. DAV. mihin?
 SIM. num inmemores discipuli? (*An.* 474-7)

SIM. Wow! So soon? It's ridiculous. As soon as she heard I was standing in front of the door, she speeded it up. There's something wrong with your timing here, Davos. DAV. Mine? SIM. Have your actors forgotten their cues?

Lesbia comes out and, from the street, calls her parting instructions back into the house. Again, this contrivance could hardly be more typical of comedy (Johnston 1933: 147) but Simo thinks it is a transparent attempt to trick him. Davos decides to encourage Simo's delusion and to get on the right side of it by praising Simo's interpretive gift and insisting that, yes, there is a baby ruse, but it is all the women's doing and he and Pamphilus have no part in it. In fact, Pamphilus and Glycerium have had a falling out and the women are doing whatever they can to get him back, so any minute now they will be putting a suppositious baby on the doorstep to entrap the poor lad, another old trope from comedy (*Truc.* 391–411, *Eu.* 39). The metatheatrical irony here is subtly different from anything in Plautus. Simo is theatrically minded enough to sub-author an intrigue, and because of this bent he thinks he can recognize the difference between play and reality, but the artificiality of the action he sees is not due to an intrigue, but rather to the fictionality of his own "real" world, where such things happen as a matter of course.

Immediately after this scene Chremes arrives. We have been hearing about this other father since the first scene of the play, but only in the third scene of Act 3 do we finally meet him and find him to be Simo's foil. Simo immediately launches into a campaign to persuade Chremes to give his daughter to Pamphilus today after all, since (according to Davos) Pamphilus and his girlfriend have had a fight and now is the time to act. Chremes is reluctant to agree but he listens and allows Simo to direct the conversation. He finally submits under the onslaught of Simo's certainty that they can adequately read and manipulate the youngsters' affairs. In *Heauton Timorumenos* and *Adelphoe*, Terence will develop the theme of two fathers of diametrically opposed character, one strict and the other lenient. By the end of *Andria*, this dichotomy will also prove applicable to Simo and Chremes, but they are opposite in another sense as well. Simo is active and interventive from the very beginning, constantly plotting behind the scenes, whereas Chremes, when he finally shows up halfway through the play, is passive and hands-off. That is, the two fathers are a perfect embodiment of the prologue's dichotomy between *obscura diligentia* and *neglegentia*. Based on what we have seen by Act 3, Simo looks set to be thwarted by his overestimation of his own theatrical

prowess, and we may suspect that his cryptic machinations will prove no more effective in the end than Chremes' laissez faire approach. If we remember how the prologue esteemed *neglegentia* over *obscura diligentia*, we will not be surprised to see this fault line mapped onto juxtaposed characters of *Andria*.

The contrast between the two fathers becomes even more pointed in the final Act, when Simo realizes that he has been tricked. His bitter disappointment and rage against his son is unrestrained. Chremes is horrified at the extremity of his friend's reaction and, when Crito shows up to solve everyone's problems, he is appropriately delighted. Simo, however, greets this improbable windfall with the same misplaced theatrical self-consciousness as before, insinuating that Crito has been prepped for this routine (909) and that the timing of his arrival is too improbable to be believed (916–17). When Crito begins to narrate Glycerium's missing back-story, the form is exactly like a typical comic prologue narration: "some time ago an Athenian was shipwrecked ..." Simo immediately dismisses Crito's tale as "the beginning of a story/play" (*fabulam inceptat*, 925), using the same word the prologue had used twice (3, 16) to refer to plays. We have heard the same story before, in the same mock prologue form, from Davos, who also dismissed it as *fabulae* (224). Whether or not these narrations of Glycerium's back-story are a survival from the Greek original's divine prologue (Oppermann 1934: 268), they are certainly, as Donatus recognizes (ad *An.* 221 and 923), displaced *argumentum*. Transposed from its proper prologue context to the end of the play, this material functions as an index of Simo's overactive skepticism, contrasted with Chremes' easygoing credulity.

This same fault line extends to the two lover/slave duos: Pamphilus/Davos and Charinus/Byrria. From the beginning Pamphilus is caught in a whirlwind of inscrutable activity, both onstage and off. His professions of bottomless passion and his descriptions of intense offstage encounters have won him many modern admirers (e.g., Norwood 1923: 23–6) but, despite all his sweaty promises never to abandon Glycerium (276, 298, 380, 694–7), beaten down by his father's intransigent rage in Act 5, he is finally willing to submit (898). Pamphilus' ceaseless flurry of useless activity cannot be separated from his partnership with Davos, who at least comes by the *servus callidus* role honestly. It is not surprising that Davos usually gets the better of his old master in trickiness; more remarkable is how closely matched they are, and how often Davos' understanding and management of affairs is illusory. In the second scene of the first Act, Simo showers Davos with threats, in case he tries to get clever and stop the wedding. Davos plays it innocent and insists he has no idea what Simo means. "I'm Davos, not Oedipus!" (194), a comic slave, not a tragic mastermind (on tragedy, see chapter 3, this volume). An infuriated Simo promises to throw Davos in the mill, whence he will escape only if Simo takes his place, thus combining the typical threat for tricky slaves with the

intimation that Simo sees himself as the ultimate trickster. Davos keeps his cool and Simo storms offstage without indicating where he is going. As Büchner notes (1974: 46) the scene looks like a typical victory of the *servus callidus* over the stolid *senex*, but in fact Simo knows what is going on and Davos is in the dark. It does not take Davos long to figure things out, however, and when he returns in Act 2 he brings good news: he has been spying on Chremes' house, monitoring all traffic, and there is no sign of wedding preparations (362–9). He not only figures out that the threatened wedding is a sham, he also correctly deduces what Simo hopes to gain by this pretense. Simo had spied on the house next door and come to the conclusion that Pamphilus was not in love with the woman from Andros, and now Davos through the same kind of surveillance has figured out that Pamphilus is not marrying Chremes' daughter today. Both men are right and both are wrong.

Davos advises Pamphilus to agree to everything Simo wants, thus calling Simo's bluff and forcing him to admit that Philumena is off the table and they must wait for another bride and another day. Simo shows up as if on cue and Davos continues his run of metatheatrically charged demonstrations of his prowess, asserting that Simo has been off somewhere quiet practicing his next monologue (406–7) and then coaching Pamphilus through the tricky scene by giving him stage directions (417–18). Finally Simo and Davos are alone onstage and Simo expresses his doubts over Pamphilus' lackluster performance in the role of willing groom. Davos feigns hesitation at revealing the young man's heart, and then pretends that Pamphilus is just embarrassed at his father's evident stinginess in spending so little on the wedding. This is a brilliant move, simultaneously explaining away Pamphilus' unenthusiastic acting and refocusing the conversation on Simo's failure. The lack of credible wedding preparations shows that he is either an ungenerous father or a careless architect of an intrigue. Davos' mind-bending play even recalls the first line of the prologue. To be sure, Pamphilus has had his fun with Glycerium, but he understands that now it is time to marry and he has "turned his mind to a wife" (*animum ad uxorem adpulit*, 446, in the same metrical position as the first line's *animum ad scribendum adpulit*). Is this just a signal that Davos has been watching the play from the beginning, or does it suggest that the prologue's version of the beginning of Terence's career is as fictional as Pamphilus' resolve to marry? Davos would emerge from the second Act as the consummate *servus callidus* and arch-manipulator of theatrical illusion, but we remember from the beginning of the play that, if Pamphilus is willing to marry, Simo expects to talk Chremes back around (166–7). So, for all his cleverness, Davos is really playing straight into Simo's Plan B.

By the end of Act 3 it is clear that Davos' plan has backfired and the wedding is on again. Everyone is furious with Davos but he insists he can come up with another plan to save the day. He eventually lights on a scheme, but there

is no time to explain it, so he shoos the boys offstage and pops into Glycerium's house just long enough to fetch the baby, hand it over to an astonished Mysis, and ask her to put it on Simo's doorstep. She hesitates to put the baby directly on the ground, so he suggests taking some boughs from the onstage altar. The altar was a regular feature of the Roman stage (Duckworth 1952: 83–4), but it is almost never mentioned or brought into the action (see also chapter 8, this volume). The fact that Davos not only notices this normally “invisible” stylized fixture of the comic stage, but also creatively redeploys it (for an intrigue, no less!) exemplifies the *servus callidus*' mastery of improvisational technique. But why, Mysis wonders, does he not just put the baby there himself? Because if he should need to swear on oath to Simo that he did not put it there, he must be able to do so “sincerely” (*liquido*, 729). Mysis takes the baby, muttering that such scruples (*religio*) are a new thing for Davos, but we are in a position to recognize that his motivation has nothing to do with *religio*. Davos has just painfully stumbled over a lie that went wrong, whereas the best weapon against Simo up to this point has been the truth. Like a good Stanislavskian, Davos wants to enhance his performance by making it similar to unfeigned sincerity.

Just then Chremes arrives unexpectedly and Davos declares that he is dropping his former plan and adopting a new one. Mysis is no less confused than the audience as to the substance of either plan (734). Critics have pointed out that the former plan (technically already Davos' second plan) was never explained and had no point in the plot, and such extravagant uselessness has generally been attributed to Terence's clumsy adaptation of his Greek original (Lefèvre 2008: 64–8). To be sure, it does fit Roman taste to emphasize the tricky slave's ability to adapt on the fly, even at the expense of logical coherence, but there is more to Davos' obscurity than that. By creating a plan so complex that it must be enacted rather than explained and then discarding it before it is even played and departing with yet another plan up his sleeve, Davos leaves Mysis and the audience in the same puzzled position as Simo has occupied throughout, trying to interpret a shifting intrigue on the basis of mere hints and offstage events. Davos designs the action and he alone knows what is about to happen, which puts him virtually in the playwright's position, but unfortunately his cramped dramaturgical technique may prove closer to *obscura diligentia* than *neglegentia*, and thus at odds with *Andria*'s stated poetics. Chremes is arriving from house right, the direction of his home and the forum (361), so to avoid him Davos must leave by house left, but he explains to Mysis only that he will pretend to be arriving from the right (*ab dextera*, 734) and she should play along following his lead. It is remarkable that he describes the stage from the audience's directional perspective, and more remarkable still that he ducks out and loops behind the *scaenae frons* to pop out seven lines later from house right, claiming to be coming from the

forum. Presumably he could never move this fast through real streets and alleys, but the tricky slave can step out of the theatrical illusion enough to take advantage of the lack of barriers backstage and literally run circles around the other characters. Davos pretends that he is just discovering Mysis exposing the baby to entrap Pamphilus in a comic sham (*fabula*, 747). She sputters at his accusations in genuinely confused indignation, while Davos pretends he does not see Chremes watching them. Chremes thinks he has overheard a private exchange and is relieved to have discovered the messiness of Pamphilus' love life before it was too late, and he rushes into Simo's house to retract his daughter, again. Mysis is furious with Davos for keeping her in the dark and then accusing her of doing what he had only just told her to do, but Davos returns to his principles of Method acting. Does she really think it makes no difference whether her performance is heartfelt (*ex animo*) and natural (*ut fert natura*), rather than premeditated (*de industria*, 795)?

Despite Davos' coup here and his laborious manipulation of knowledge and ignorance throughout, in the end he does fail, and his failure is among the most disastrous in all comedy. In Simo's fury, he has Davos dragged from the stage and "hog-tied" (*quadrupedem constringito*, 865), a type of punishment frequently threatened for slaves, but almost never realized. To be sure, all will end well for Davos, just as it will for Pamphilus, but no thanks to their *obscura diligentia*. They will be saved by the same dumb luck that saves everyone in the play: Crito's revelation. Meanwhile, Pamphilus and Davos have a perfect foil in the negligent duo, Charinus and Byrria, who were onstage very little and mostly sit home waiting for things to turn out well (714). Like Chremes, they have no active part in the tangle of twisted subplots their painstaking counterparts are weaving, and if they are almost entirely extraneous to the action of *Andria*, they are also blessedly free of the unruly mess Lefèvre has dubbed an *Intrigentohuwabohu* (Lefèvre 2008: 63). In contrast to Davos' assurance that he can work things out to Pamphilus' advantage, Byrria's strikingly supine advice to Charinus is, "since you can't have what you want, want what you can have" (305–6). Pamphilus asks whether Charinus has not perhaps already seduced Philumena (325), which would have given him an exit strategy, and is disappointed to find that Charinus has been less lively than himself (for a different evaluation of this character contrast, see McGarrity 1978: 112). Pamphilus tries to get both of them stirred up: "Do whatever you can, you and Byrria here, plot, scheme, contrive to have her given to you. I'll do the same to have her not given to me" (333–5). In response to Pamphilus' frenetic *facite, fingite, invenite, effcitate*, Charinus replies placidly, "I'm happy with that" (*sat habeo*), and when Byrria urges him to go canvassing Chremes' friends for support with his suit, he answers, "Good advice. I'll go, though, god knows, my hopes have often been dashed before. Goodbye!" (373–4).

Donatus informs us (ad *An.* 301 and 977) that Terence “added” Charinus and Byrria, i.e., they were not in his Greek model, but this will come as no surprise to an alert spectator, who has noticed how superficially they sit in the play, or more particularly that in the fifth scene of Act 2, Byrria stands on the edge of the stage overhearing the conversation of Simo, Davos, and Pamphilus. Greek New Comedy retained the conventional three-actor rule, so Byrria’s very presence in this scene, to say nothing of his cynical “outsider” comments, reveal him as Terentian addition. The extension of the happy ending to Charinus in the final twenty-five lines of the play is so straightforward and perfunctory that readers have often felt short-changed. Some of the manuscripts contain an alternative ending, rejected by ancient and modern scholars as spurious (Skutsch 1957), that fills out the resolution of Charinus’ *amor*. Similarly, Richard Steele’s delightful English version, *The Conscious Lovers* (1722), develops the secondary love story (Myrtle/Lucinda) a good deal more than *Andria* develops Charinus/Philumena. Terence was obviously drawn to the *duplex comoedia*, and across his career all his plays but *Hecyra* have a secondary pair of lovers, but in these later plays the *alter adulescens* is better drawn and more tightly integrated into the plot than Charinus. Because of Terence’s later success with the *duplex comoedia* format and Donatus’ testimony that Charinus and Byrria are interpolated characters, most critics have chalked up the oddly prosthetic resolution of Charinus’ story to Terence’s inexperience at adapting Greek comedy (Lefèvre 2008: 129–32). Without disputing the modern critical consensus that the integration of Charinus and Byrria is an artistic failure, we may well ask whether anything is accomplished by keeping them, as Terence does, at the surface of the play, i.e., how their truancy may be a feature, rather than a flaw. It is here that their function as lackadaisical foils for Pamphilus and Davos is most relevant, for their absence from the *Andria*’s maelstrom of action is due precisely to their felicitous *neglegentia*. Terence’s critics tried to peer behind the surface of his comedies to detect the hidden fault lines of his tampering, whereas his easygoing comic forebears did not worry so much about abstruse things and just wrote successful comedies. The absurdly straightforward and traditional happy ending enjoyed by Charinus, Byrria, and Chremes is virtually a slap in the face to Pamphilus, Davos, and Simo, whose happy ending is tempered by the memory of the emotional and literal tortures of Act 5 and not because of their diligence throughout.

4 Ethical Paradox

The traditional English translation of the title of Terence’s first play is *The Woman of Andros*. Andros is an island in the south Aegean, but it is also the genitive form of ἀνήρ, the Greek word for “man,” (not “human being”). The

title of the play thus presents an oxymoron hard to capture in English: a woman from man-land. Perhaps a felicitous, if liberal, rendering would be *The Minx from the Isle of Man*. The oxymoron implicit in *Andria's* title is programmatic for an ethical paradox that runs throughout the play: characters and situations range from surprisingly atypical to logically preposterous within comic norms. Instabilities of gender and genre are thus neatly paired in *Andria's* impossible title and its ongoing flirtation with the boundary of what is possible in comedy.

The prologue introduces the first paradoxical characters in the play, namely Terence's critics: "by understanding, they understand nothing" (17), technically impossible but perfectly in keeping for this motif. As we have seen above, the critics' *obscura diligentia* is not confined to the prologue, but spans across the whole play, so it will not be surprising that the logical contradiction of their character is just as extensive. Already in the first scene Sosia is introduced as a character with a past and a personality, but his function turns out to be entirely protatic. Like Crito, his counterpart at the end, his role in the play is formally minimal and mechanical, but his character seems somehow to exceed these conventional boundaries. It is remarkable, then, that he is described as having "slaved like a free man" (*servibas liberaliter*, 38). Simo brought Sosia's estate into conformity with his nature by freeing him, and this trajectory should serve as a hint of what will happen with Glycerium, who despite her foreign status and her likely future as a prostitute, is described in the same scene in similar terms (*honesta ac liberali*, 123). The irony, of course, is that she is not really Andrian and poor but Athenian and rich, so the paradox is only apparent. There is another character, though, whose behavior is just as out of step with his stock role, but whose station may not be so easily amended. Simo's pretense that the wedding is still on is intended to trick his son into giving him what he wants, and his scheme goes so far as to include, as comic intrigue, the parade of porters and other faux preparations requiring the collusion of Sosia. All this is much more like the stock character of the tricky slave than a typical comic father; in fact, Simo's scheme to trick his son makes him unique in the genre (Scafuro 1997: 354). Other *senes* in Roman comedy recognize the *servus callidus* as their nemesis, and we are not surprised to hear Simo describing the threat posed by Davos' *mala mens, malus animus* ("evil mind, evil heart," 164), standard terms for the comic slave's trickiness. But Simo is a trickster himself, a kind of *senex callidus*, and his worry is not that Davos will cheat him out of money, but that Davos will thwart his intrigue. Before we ever meet him, then, Davos is cast as a blocking figure, a function more typical of the comic father (Frye 1957: 163–7).

In the fourth scene of the first Act, when Mysis goes to fetch Lesbia, she complains that the midwife is bibulous and worries that she will be so drunk she will botch the delivery. And she worries with good reason, since old

women in Roman Comedy are routinely inebriated (Duckworth 1952: 326), and as Donatus tells us (ad *An.* 226) the name Lesbia implies drunkenness, because of the famously sweet wine from Lesbos. It has seemed strange to critics that, after this emphatic expression of concern, both times we see Lesbia she appears to be perfectly sober, and as usual this has been cited as evidence of Terence's clumsy contamination (Lefèvre 2008: 68–9). But a surprisingly sober midwife is no stranger than any of the other generically anomalous characters in *Andria*. Perhaps the most striking illustration of this phenomenon is the *alter adulescens*, Charinus, who is also in some sense Pamphilus' rival. In Terence's four other double comedies, the boys are clearly chasing different girls and, if there is a comic rival, as in *Eunuchus*, it is the more traditional braggart soldier. The careful partitioning of the two *adulescentes* in a Terentian *duplex comoedia* is even formally marked by assigning the lads different primary meters, as if to signal that they are playing in different fields. This is true in all of Terence's double comedies except *Andria* (Moore 2007: 96), where there is also uncomfortably little differentiation. The fathers have expected Pamphilus to marry Philumena, and Charinus and Byrrria repeatedly assume that this is Pamphilus' goal as well. The fathers' hopes and the interpolated characters' suspicions notwithstanding, Pamphilus has no desire to marry Philumena, so Charinus cannot actually be vying with him, but a non-competitive rival is only a perfect illustration of what I take to be the central preoccupation of *Andria*.

Beyond individual characters, however, the ethos of *Andria* as a whole is not exactly comic. This is most apparent in the third scene of Act 5, where Simo denounces his son with astounding ferocity and grandeur. Donatus remarks at one point (ad *An.* 891) that “the feeling is elevated with remarkable seriousness (*mira gravitate sensus elatus est*); and this is not from Menander, but peculiar to Terence,” and various critics have noted that the penultimate moment of this play is more like tragedy than comedy (Lefèvre 2008: 145–7). Other examples of un-comic pathos are Simo's unforgettable description of Chrysis' funeral in the first scene and Pamphilus' narration of her dying moments, revealing that his love is an earnest devotion unlike anything in Plautus. The opening line of the play had drawn attention to writing, and this emphasis may be recalled by Pamphilus' remark that Chrysis' dying words are written (*scripta*, 283) in his mind. The portrait of Chrysis that emerges from this memory—sincere, loyal, and irresistible—will live on in the *bonae meretrices* of *Hecyra* and *Eunuchus*, and also in the intensely appealing heroine of Thornton Wilder's *The Woman of Andros* (see chapter 23, this volume), and it hardly seems a coincidence that Wilder would render this story not as a comedy, but a tragedy.

Andria flirts with the boundary not only of comedy, but even of theater. When Davos drafts the unwitting Mysis into his ruse, he keeps her ignorant

on purpose, in order to get the most realistic performance possible out of his “actress.” The play-within-a-play is thus not exactly a play, at least from Mysis’ perspective, and its intended audience, Chremes, correctly judges that she is not acting. Simo tries to tell him that what he saw was a bit of theater, but he is quite sure that Mysis and Davos never spotted him, and their faces showed the truth (*vero vultu*, 839). We recognize that he is half right and that, thanks to Davos’ willingness to trick Mysis into non-acting, her expression really did tell the truth. But it was a performance nonetheless; in fact, both characters were played by actors wearing masks, not, as Chremes thinks, “true faces.” From the non-dramatic prologue on, *Andria* both is and is not comic performance. The critics who understand by not understanding—Sosia the erstwhile liberal slave, Lesbia the sober midwife, Glycerium the Athenian Andrian, Simo the *senex callidus*, and finally Charinus the non-rival rival—together constitute an expansion of the ethical paradox implicit in the title’s oxymoron and announce a profound interest in ethical surprise, a theme that will unite all Terence’s plays and be one of his greatest contributions to Latin letters.

FURTHER READING

There is relatively little scholarship in English specifically on *Andria*, but several of the essays in *Ramus* 33 (2004) touch on it, particularly Anderson’s and Penwill’s, and all are worth reading. Gowers’ contribution to that volume is the boldest attempt yet to integrate Terentian prologues with their plays and is, in some measure, the inspiration behind this chapter’s approach. Other interesting work includes McGarrity (1978), Goldberg (1981–2) and (1986: 126–35), Scafuro (1997: 354–77), and Richardson (1997). Anderson (2003–4) is good on the subsequent Roman reception of Act 1, scene 1. For readers with German, Lefèvre (2008) will be the standard reference on *Andria* for some time to come, especially for questions related to Terence’s adaptation of the Menandrian originals, but also for bibliography on the play more generally. The relevant chapter of Büchner (1974) is, as always, irreplaceable. Students who read Italian should not miss Cicu (1996), which anticipates some of what I say here on Terence’s manipulation of the audience’s experience of the passage from ignorance to understanding, while also situating this innovation within Roman literary and cultural history more broadly. The most accessible edition of *Andria* for Anglophone students will be Shipp (1960), but readers with some Italian will want to consult Posani (1990).

CHAPTER THIRTEEN

Heauton Timorumenos

Eckard Lefèvre

Heauton Timorumenos, Terence's third comedy was produced at the *Ludi Megalenses* of 163 BCE. The hiatus of one year, 164 BCE, may perhaps be attributed to the young poet's shock at the failure of *Hecyra* the previous year (see chapter 16, this volume). Like its two predecessors, *Heauton Timorumenos* has a Greek title ("Self-Tormentor"), which was only comprehensible to experts. And once again Terence chose a demanding model: Menander's comedy of the same name.

The stage features two houses inhabited by two elderly middle-class men, Menedemus and Chremes, who have brought up their respective sons, Clinia and Clitipho, in very different ways. Each son has a beloved: Clinia loves the poor girl Antiphila and Clitipho the courtesan Bacchis. Menedemus regrets having driven Clinia away because of his love for Antiphila. He punishes himself by hard work in the fields and renounces life's comforts. Chremes gives Menedemus sympathetic advice, as he returns from the fields at the beginning of the play (53–174). In conversation with his son Clitipho, however, Chremes, turns out to be an arrogant know-it-all (175–212). He does not suspect that the boy is in love with Bacchis and needs money (213–29). Clinia, who has returned home unexpectedly, initially stays with Clitipho in order to avoid meeting his father (230–41). Chremes' self-confident slave Syrus brings Antiphila and Bacchis into the house of his master in order to procure money for Clitipho with the help of the courtesan. Bacchis is presented as Clinia's girlfriend (242–409). Chremes informs Menedemus that his son has returned and warns him against being too kind and generous towards Clinia: better that he let himself be duped by the young people (410–511). In a private conversation with Syrus, Chremes suggests coming up with an intrigue against Menedemus (512–613).

Antiphila, however, is recognized by Chremes' wife Sostrata as their long-lost daughter, by means of a ring (614–67). Clinia's problems thus come to an end. With the allegation that Antiphila owes Bacchis money, Syrus swindles money from Chremes to pay the courtesan for Clitipho (668–873). When Chremes discovers from Menedemus that he has been duped, he threatens to disinherit Clitipho (874–1003). He gets into a heated argument over this with Sostrata (1004–23), who alleviates Clitipho's suspicion that he is not their real son (1024–44). Finally, Clitipho surprisingly is ready to marry a girl who had not been mentioned up to this point. The plotting slave Syrus escapes without punishment (1045–67).

"All's well that ends well," one might say. Is this really the case though? For a long time, critics considered the Roman version a verbatim translation of the Greek original. Only in the last few decades have efforts been made to determine Terence's share in the composition. Let us look at the specifics in more detail, starting with the young men in the play.

1 The Clinia/Antiphila Plot

On the surface, the plot centered around Clinia and Antiphila ends well. Antiphila's recognition as Chremes' lost daughter is a happy turn of events. This is a standard plot element in Greek New Comedy, whereby "good fortune" (ἀγαθὴ τύχη) comes to the aid of a girl who has been brought up in unfortunate circumstances. Her father Chremes, as well, who has behaved so humanely towards his neighbor Menedemus and his son Clinia, deserves the happy outcome. On the other hand, however, there is a discordant note in Terence's execution of the plot. Antiphila does not appear again in the latter part of the play, nor do we hear about her. Clinia does appear (IV 3), but his joy is lost in the commotion of Chremes' and Syrus' plots against Menedemus. The Clinia and Antiphila plot, which provided the background events that triggered the play's conflict, noticeably disappears. The playwright has something else in mind: ridiculing Chremes. Plot construction and world view are only loosely connected.

2 The Clitipho/Bacchis Plot

The plot concerning Clitipho and Bacchis ends with a surprise. Throughout the play, Clitipho strives to procure money for his beloved courtesan Bacchis. With the help of Syrus' intrigues, he finally succeeds. But just when his goal appears within reach, his success is stolen from him. Instead of living with Bacchis, he is forced to marry a citizen, the neighbor's daughter, who had in fact not been mentioned up to this point. All the schemes come to

naught. In this case, it has to be said that plot construction and world view do not agree at all. If one asks which poet is responsible for this, it must be acknowledged that a sequence often found in Menander, whereby a person who actively works towards a goal actually reaches it (Gaiser 1973: 123–4), is not followed in the Clitipho/Bacchis plot. “A great effort, o dear, for nothing” one might want to say in the words of Goethe’s Mephistopheles (*Faust*). What is more, Clitipho’s forced marriage at the end comes about quite abruptly. When Chremes demands that Clitipho take a wife, the son first reacts with the aposiopesis *pater ...!* (“father ...!,” 1055) and then, a little later, with the despairing aside *perii* (“damnation!,” 1057). At this point Sostrata suggests a neighbor’s daughter whom Clitipho describes as the epitome of ugliness (a *deformis puella*, Melanchthon). When Sostrata comes up with a second candidate (1063), Clitipho finally admits that, as he has to marry anyway, he wants to marry a third neighbor’s daughter (1064–5). The decision plays out as if it were a lottery. Sostrata is satisfied; Chremes says nothing. Anyone who expects a minimum of plot consistency would have to concede that the outcome of the Clitipho plot is tacked on against all probability. And it is not only the play’s dramatic composition that is on the line, but also the ethos. Menander’s comedies were famous precisely for their ethical foundation. It is therefore plausible that Terence did not reproduce the original ending verbatim with respect to both the Clinia/Antiphila and the Clitipho/Bacchis plots (Büchner 1974: 228; Auhagen 2009: 248). Del Corno observes: “The new microcosm is imperfect, incomplete. The circle is not completed, or rather the play closes in a way which only the artificial convention of a happy ending can reconfigure in an acceptable manner. Clitipho will not have his Bacchis, tacitly sent back to the bitter realities of her profession; he must marry and accept a condition for which he was not prepared; as a small consolation, he will be allowed to express a choice as to his future bride. At the finale, a degree of dissatisfaction remains and, as in the final festivities in *Adelphoe*, there is a suspicion of disturbing ambiguity. But Aristophanes is already very far away. Comedy has ceased to be a utopia; it has become a bittersweet image of reality” (Del Corno 1990: 8).

We must remember that for the enlightened Hellenistic society which Menander portrayed on stage, the cohabitation of a citizen with a courtesan was not uncommon. One need only think of Perikles and Aspasia. Accordingly, the old Demeas lives with the young courtesan Chrysis in *Samia* and likewise, of the two young men in *Eunuchus* and in *Adelphoe*, one is in love with a citizen girl and the other with a courtesan. The same set up can be observed in Apollodorus of Carystus (who has been called an *epigonos* of Menander) in *Epidikazomenos*, the model for *Phormio*. It was not, therefore, offensive. The reason why Clitipho cannot continue his relationship with Bacchis, but must marry immediately, remains to be investigated.

3 The Menedemus/Clinia Plot

Let us now turn our attention to the elder generation. Here too shortcomings can be observed. Before the play began, Menedemus had made the mistake of offering too little sympathy to his enamored son, and now he makes every effort to repair this mistake. According to the conventions of New Comedy, the final outcome is positive, as he and his son are reconciled, and the son marries the rediscovered daughter of the neighbor Chremes, whom Menedemus respects. On closer inspection, however, one notices that by the beginning of the third Act the plot centered around the pair Menedemus/Clinia has already been resolved. As Del Corno observes, “after this turn of events, the two characters involved in it play little more than secondary roles with respect to the intrigue centered on Clitipho and Chremes, to which the recognition of Antiphila is also subordinated” (Del Corno 1990: 12). The title of the play could refer only to the opening scene, as is the case with Menander’s *Synaristosai* but it is still striking that Menedemus disappears from the stage for a considerable part of the plot. There is no meeting between father and son; “the development of this one plot thread seems somewhat overhasty” (Benfey 1837: 363). Both ethos and dramaturgy leave much to be desired. The plot slips into superficiality. Menander fashioned Menedemus as a rather reserved character, who prefers to hide his grief inside, rather than confiding in other people or asking for help. It is therefore surprising that the same man who is passive at the beginning of the comedy and accepts advice from Chremes should ridicule him at the end:

MEN. ego me non tam astutum neque ita perspicacem esse id scio.
sed hic adiutor meus et monitor et praemonstrator Chremes
hoc mihi praestat. in me quidvis harum rerum convenit
quae sunt dicta in stulto: caudex, stipes, asinus, plumbeus.
in illum nil potest: exsuperat eius stultitia haec omnia. (*Han.* 874–8)

MEN. (*to himself*) I know that I am not a particularly clever or perceptive person. But this helper of mine and counselor and guide, Chremes, is worse. You could apply to me any of the names that are applied to the stupid: blockhead, numskull, ass, nincompoop. But not to him: he’s too stupid for any of them.

Of course, people like the Terentian Menedemus exist in real life, but the question remains whether this portrait fits the ethos of a Menandrian comedy. The development seems to be more akin to (Roman) satire, as the drastic language also suggests.

4 The Chremes/Clitipho Plot

In comparison with Menedemus, Chremes undergoes the opposite development. In the first scene of the comedy, he is portrayed as the superior adviser of his desperate neighbor, to whom he offers help selflessly. In particular, the discussion concerns a parenting problem: the way a father should treat his adolescent son. Chremes' speech is characterized by humane understanding. He claims that Menedemus and Clinia had not known each other well enough and offers the explanation: *hoc qui fit? ubi non vere vivitur* ("And how does this arise? When there's a lack of truthfulness in the way people live," 154). Within this dialogue lies much Greek wisdom, which Terence reproduces. In some respects the scene is similar to the beginning of *Adelphoe*, where Terence also reproduces Greek ideas on the upbringing of sons (Rieth 1964: 16–25). Already in antiquity, the opening scene of *Heauton Timorumenos*, featuring the two elderly men with different characters, was highly regarded, as many quotations attest. Most famous is Chremes' maxim *homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto* (77), which is generally understood as a version of the Menandrian idea of φιλανθρωπία. According to the German poet Christoph Martin Wieland, "it is, in all its unadorned simplicity, the best verse that humanity has ever inspired in a poet." In relation to this passage critics have rightly spoken of "Menander's fundamental statement of humanity" (Bickel 1942: 186–191) and suspected Peripatetic influence (Gaiser 1967: 32). The connection with the succeeding lines is also worth noting:

CHR. homo sum; humani nil a me alienum puto.
vel me monere hoc vel percontari puta.
rectumst, ego ut faciam; non est, te ut deterream. (*Ham.* 77–9)

CHR. I'm human, and I regard no human business as other people's. Take it as advice or, if you like, as a question. If your behavior's right, I'll follow your example; if not, I'll try to dissuade you.

Undoubtedly the opening scene is a masterpiece when taken by itself. It is, therefore, all the more surprising that Chremes, who knows how to give such good advice to Menedemus concerning Clinia, should be fooled by his own son, Clitipho, in the course of the action. In the end, Chremes stands defeated, his upbringing techniques having failed miserably, and earned him ridicule, as lines 874–8 (quoted above) show. In retrospect, the audience realizes that Chremes inquired into Menedemus' situation in the beginning not out of greater humanity, but out of curiosity, and that his advice is

therefore hollow. Chremes is furious at his son's behavior and Menedemus rightly wonders at this:

tene istuc loqui!
 nonne id flagitiumst te aliis consilium dare,
 foris sapere, tibi non posse te auxiliarier? (*Hau.* 921–3)

Fancy you saying that! Isn't it a disgrace that you should give advice to others, be so wise to outsiders, and be unable to help yourself?

Again one could say that people like Chremes exist in real life, but the question arises whether this fits the ethos of Menandrian comedy. This development also seems more akin to (Roman) satire.

Moreover, one is reminded here of *Adelphoe*, where at the end the superior Micio is defeated by Demea, who had appeared to be the narrow-minded one up to the point, and is mocked by his family and friends. This ending can provide hints on how to assess the development of the characters of the two old men, Menedemus and Chremes, in *Heauton Timorumenos*. In *Adelphoe* Terence seems to have intervened and changed the plot massively: "The play runs as pure comedy for four-fifths of its length, and then suddenly changes from comedy to satire; the change is too abrupt and unnatural to be acceptable. There is some evidence that the last scenes of the play were not in the original comedy of Menander, but were invented by Terence himself" (Dorey 1962: 38; see also chapter 17, this volume). Clearly, the Roman poet is less interested in the serious reevaluation of Demea than in the comic devaluation of Micio. The first is a precondition for the second (Lefèvre 1978a: 35). From line 855 onwards, it has been said that Terence creates "an episode of Saturnalian farce excellent in itself but aimed at showing that we have all been hoodwinked by what went before. This is ... worlds away from the New Comedy of Menander" (Gratwick 1999: 44). Only one small correction needs to be made: Demea first announces in line 877 the experiment (*experiamur*) by which he will expose Micio. Hence his monologue up to 876 goes back to Menander (Lefèvre 1978c: 25).

Chremes in *Heauton Timorumenos* is a forerunner of Micio. There is no model in Menander. For the development of either character Smikrines at the end of *Epitrepontes* and Cnemon at the end of *Dyskolos* are addressed with funny words in a gentle way. But Chremes and Micio are struck in the very heart of their being: they are proved wrong in their whole way of life. Menander's fine irony is something quite different.

5 The Chremes/Syrus Plot

It is evident that the plot concerning Chremes has displaced both the Menedemus/Clinia and the Clinia/Antiphila plots and given the comedy an

unbalanced structure. Chremes' aide is his slave Syrus. What makes this relationship so uncommon is that both characters fulfill a double function. Syrus supports Chremes with one hand and betrays him with the other. Chremes is both an initiator and a victim of the schemes, whereas normally old men are only victims. This combination explains why the schemes take up such a major part in the play. Their implementation creates difficulties: they are initiated, cancelled or sent in a different direction, making it difficult for the spectator to keep track of the larger picture during each phase of the plot.

Multiple intrigues are interwoven in this comedy. Clinia has no need of money; nowhere does he express such a wish. Therefore neither a specific reason nor a specific sum is ever mentioned. In the first scene of the third Act, however, Chremes presumes that Syrus is planning a fraud for Clinia's sake (473–4). He even claims that Clinia fled Athens because of lack of money (540), even though Menedemus had said nothing about this in the opening of the play. But because Menedemus would like to be financially generous towards Clinia, Chremes advises him to allow himself to be tricked. Should he provide the money voluntarily, it would encourage Clinia's tendency to be idle (481). This is a peculiar kind of psychology. In III 2, Chremes orders Syrus to invent a scheme. In III 3, Syrus shares the following plan with him: an old woman from Corinth (Antiphila's foster mother) borrowed 1,000 drachmas from Bacchis and left Antiphila as security for the loan. Clinia, whom Menedemus and Chremes believe to be Bacchis' lover, should procure this money and use it to obtain Antiphila; he could tell Menedemus that it involves a noble war captive from Caria (*captam ex Caria / ditem et nobilem*, 608–9), who will bring great profit, should he purchase her. Chremes rejects the plan. Indeed, Sostrata informs him in IV 1 that Antiphila is their own exposed daughter. Syrus' plan can accordingly no longer be implemented. Chremes' initiative has born no fruit but it has become clear to the audience that he is a busybody (*πολυπράγμων*), an old man who recommends cheating another old man. Here we find the normal comic motif of slaves deceiving old men on behalf of their young masters (see chapter 11, this volume), reversed in Saturnalian fashion. Syrus rightly asks Chremes in disbelief: *eho, quaesio, laudas qui eros fallunt?* ("Hey tell me, do you approve of slaves who deceive their masters?"), and Chremes answers: *in loco / ego vero laudo* ("In the right circumstances, yes, I do," 537–8). This is a noteworthy reversal of convention. Then in the fifth scene of the fourth Act, Syrus suggests a second intrigue against Menedemus to Chremes, who still insists Clinia should pretend to be engaged to Antiphila, so that Menedemus will offer money for the anticipated celebration. Since Syrus correctly assumes that Clinia will soon be engaged to Antiphila anyway, he realizes that Clinia will shortly acquire the money legally. He is only pretending, to indulge Chremes. Again Chremes rejects the plan. Observant spectators will notice that the issue is not to get Clinia the money

but to make the πολυπράγμων (busybody) look like a fool. Spectators who at first may have considered Chremes a humane character, must now recognize his shallowness. In his efforts to trick Menedemus by means of Syrus' devices, Chremes has run aground and exposed his own weaknesses. If this character had been devised by Menander, the comedy could have been called ὁ ἐαυτὸν γέλοιον ποιῶν.

While Syrus cannot persuade Chremes with his schemes against Menedemus, he does carry out a successful intrigue against Chremes. Clitipho really does need money to satisfy Bacchis' expensive tastes. After Antiphila is recognized as Chremes' daughter, Syrus explains to him that he must, as her father, pay the money she owes to Bacchis (749–804; cf. III 3). The plan originally conceived against Menedemus is suddenly turned against Chremes. Chremes indeed fetches the money, which Clitipho immediately gives to Bacchis (829–41). We see Chremes enter the house where Antiphila is, but he does not ask her whether the money is justly demanded by the *hetaira*, though Syrus described Bacchis as *pessuma meretrix* (“a wicked woman,” 599) and she behaved impertinently towards him at the night party, as he himself tells his neighbor (457–61). Chremes behaves, in Kuiper's apt phrase “as an idiot” (Kuiper 1936: 254). And this is what matters to Terence: Chremes is meant to appear as a complete fool.

As we have seen, the aim of all three intrigues is to expose Chremes. Already in III 1 Chremes came up with the idea that Menedemus should allow himself to be deceived. Chremes' disgrace is staged in the second half of the play, while the plot concerning Menedemus retreats to the background; as Del Corno observes, “it is especially surprising that Menedemus' drama, which should provide the essential nucleus of the plot, appears already resolved at the beginning of the third act” (Del Corno 1990: 12). In the first two intrigues Chremes is simply sketched as a dubious character, but in the third he is actually duped because in Terence the debt of Antiphila is entirely fictitious (Brothers 1988: 202; cf. Lowe 1998b: 166). Del Corno has correctly noted that “we recognize the changes made by Terence to the original in particular in the deception devised by Syrus to cheat Chremes and therefore to promote Clitipho's love affair” (Del Corno 1990: 13). This is connected with the interpretation of the controversial line 6 of the prologue: *duplex* [sc. *comoedia*] *quae ex argumento facta est simplici* (“a play which has been made double out of a single plot”). Critics have gone back and forth on this line and read their own interpretations of the play into it (Dunsch 1999: 97–131). The view offered here is that Terence means he changed the plot of the original to add a second intrigue against Chremes, for the benefit of Clitipho and Bacchis, to one against Menedemus, for the benefit of Clinia and Antiphila (Lefèvre 1973a: 456 and 1994: 135; Del Corno 1990: 12). The scheme against Chremes serves not only to obtain

funds for Clitipho and Bacchis, but also introduces the motif, popular in Rome from the time of Plautus, of the defeat of the duped *senex*.

No other Roman comedy has such complicated intrigues. This may explain the striking fact that, despite its highbrow subject matter, this comedy has hardly had any imitators in European drama (on Terence's influence, see chapter 22, this volume). The external plot was apparently not obvious enough for early modern poets. A glance back at Menander, on the other hand, reveals that his plots were in no way comparable. Even though the Athenian public was much more intellectual than the Roman crowd, Menander still offered easily comprehensible plots. As far as we can tell from what we know, his intrigues were straightforward. For instance, Daos' plan in *Aspis* to make Smikrines believe that Chairestratos has died is fairly simple, as is Chrysis' scheme in *Samia*, to make Demeas believe that he is the father of the newborn *puer*. In contrast to *Heauton Timorumenos*, these intrigues are devised by the younger characters, in collaboration with their slaves, not by one of the old men. This also invites the conclusion that Terence made major changes to the intrigues.

The intrigues in *Heauton Timorumenos* are certainly sophisticated: Terence is clearly a skillful artist. But those who detect a "unity of design" and conclude that it "surely" stems from Menander (Lowe 1998b: 170), are mistaken. Terence can also construct plots and schemes, albeit in a Roman fashion.

6 The Bacchis Plot

The courtesan Bacchis, Clitipho's girlfriend, emerges as a central figure in the exposure of Chremes, over the course of the play, as a know-it-all who actually knows nothing. Her character combines different traits. In her first appearance (381–409) she seems like the "good courtesan" (ἐταῖρα χρηστή), a stereotypical figure of Greek New Comedy (see chapter 9, this volume). On the other hand, in other people's descriptions and in her second appearance (723–48), she seems like a "bad prostitute" (*mala meretrix*), impudent and greedy. It is hardly possible that the whole figure derives from Menander, whose characters are typically consistent. This has been noted many times. From it, the most diverse conclusions have been drawn: Bacchis' first appearance either (i) stems from a second model (Herrmanowski 1892: 26) or (ii) has been devised by Terence (Bianco 1962: 127); (iii) the description of Bacchis' impudence in her second appearance is Terence's innovation (Lefèvre 1973a: 455 and 1994: 156; Auhagen 2009: 246–9); (iv) Bacchis was a mute character in Menander (Brothers 1980: 108–12); and (v), she did not appear on stage at all in Menander (Richardson 2006: 19). There is also a not very persuasive compromise which foregoes any distinction between

Menander and Terence: “Terence has portrayed Bacchis neither as *bona* nor as *mala meretrix*” (Knorr 1995: 233).

Since one cannot deny that Bacchis’ character fluctuates (Auhagen 2009: 249), one ought to look into the reason. Apparently Terence aims at transforming the noble courtesan of the original, according to Roman views, into a wily opponent of Chremes. Through her entry into his house, accompanied by a crowd of maids (*ancillarum grex*, 245), Terence constructs a plot thread around the figure of the impudent courtesan who plays fast and loose with the old man. Thus the *senex*, who had had the upper hand up to this point, loses his dignity. His ultimate defeat is already being prepared. It goes without saying that a “good courtesan” could not have fulfilled this role. The reinterpretation of Terence’s Chremes from a *homo humanus* to a *homo curiosus* requires the transformation of the figure of Bacchis from a good *hetaira* to a *mala meretrix*. Here is a telling sample:

satis pol proterve me Syri promissa huc induxerunt,
decem minas quas mihi dare pollicitust. quodsi nunc me
deceperit saepe obsecrans me ut veniam frustra veniet.
aut quom venturam dixero et constituero, quom is certe
renuntiarit, Clitipho quom in spe pendebit animi,
decipiam ac non veniam, Syrus mihi tergo poenas pendet. (*Hau.* 723–8)

Heaven knows it was pretty brash of Syrus to entice me here with his assurances, promising to give me the ten minas. But if he lets me down now, he can beg me to come as often as he likes in the future, and he’ll be wasting his time. Or else I’ll say I’ll come and fix a time, and he’s bound to report back, and Clitipho will be on tenterhooks of anticipation; and then I’ll let him down and not come, Syrus will get a thrashing, and I’ll get my revenge.

Now it is clear that the portion of the plot in which Bacchis moves into Chremes’ house, along with her retinue, cannot come directly from Menander. “The idea of introducing a *hetaira* into an Athenian household where there was a legitimate wife on any pretext is simply out of the question. [...] In Menander’s Athens it would have been simply unacceptable” (Richardson 2006: 17–18). But if in Menander Bacchis never came to Chremes’ house, her appearance at the evening/night party, which serves the purpose of humiliating the citizen Chremes, falls by the wayside (see Section 9).

The assumption that Terence is responsible for Bacchis’ second appearance (and therefore for the concept of the impudent courtesan), finds significant support in Suetonius (*Vita Terenti* 4; see also the Introduction to this volume): Suetonius records the notice of Nepos that Gaius Laelius composed verses that were incorporated into *Heauton Timorumenos*. Only verse 723 is cited, but the plural *versus* suggests that the speech at 723–8 is meant. Naturally, many

anecdotes are fabricated, but a few have a kernel of truth. This might be a hint of the Roman origin of the speech of a typical *mala meretrix*—whether he is the author or, rather more plausibly, Laelius discussed this passage with Terence.

At this point an answer can be given to the question of why Terence's Clitipho may not live with Bacchis in the future, after all difficulties have been overcome. Because Terence transformed the respectable Athenian courtesan into a disreputable Roman prostitute, who plays dirty tricks, the old man cannot tolerate any further contact between his son and Bacchis. Instead Terence resorts to marrying Clitipho off hastily to another girl (Auhagen 2009: 248).

In Terence, Syrus and the young men exploit Bacchis as a tool; in Menander she was apparently a likable presence, like Chrysis in *Samia*, Habrotonon in *Epitrepontes* or Chrysis/Thais in *Eunuchos*.

7 Plautus' Influence

If it is true that Menander is not responsible for the humiliation of the characters of Chremes and Micio, we have to ask where Terence got the idea for the changes. The Roman spectator would undoubtedly be reminded of Plautine comedy, in which one encounters a series of forerunners for such *senes*. Plautus loved exposing fathers right at the end of a play (e.g., Simo in *Pseudolus*, Lysimachus in *Casina*, Demipho in *Mercator*, or Nicobulus and Philoxenus in *Bacchides*). These are the figures who stand behind Chremes and Micio. Plautus was even more radical than Terence. He showed in *Bacchides* (a play based on Menander's *Dis exapaton*) how a strict father, Nicobulus, and a more liberal one, Philoxenus, strive not to let their sons, Mnesilochus and Pistoclerus, fall into the hands of two courtesans, only to end up in the courtesans' brothel themselves at the end. In all these cases, the authority of the Roman *senex*, who held great dignity in Roman society, is undercut, just as it was at the feast of the Saturnalia each December. Hearty humor and sheer mockery triumph at the end. The plot changes from bourgeois comedy to farce. The motto is: the sillier the better. There is no concern for realistic motivations. Donatus correctly observed that Terence strives to fill the end of *Adelphoe* with fun and joy (*Terentius quaerens finem fabulae complere laetitia*, Don. ad *Ad.* 984). The playwright pursues exactly the same aim in *Heauton Timorumenos*. Plautus showed him the way. As Del Corno says, in the slave's deception of the *senex* Chremes one can recognize "a rather Plautine tendency" (Del Corno 1990: 13).

Thus Syrus is metamorphosed by Terence into a Plautine slave. He is the one who forges the plans and behaves with corresponding braggadocio. This becomes obvious when he advises Clinia to tell his father Menedemus openly that he loves Antiphila and that Clitipho loves Bacchis; if Menedemus

mentions it to Chremes, the latter will actually not believe it. Syrus counts on the blind stupidity of the old man:

huic equidem consilio palmam do. hic me magnifice effero,
qui vim tantam in me et potestatem habeam tantae astutiae
vera dicendo ut eos ambos fallam; ut quom narret senex
voster nostro istam esse amicam gnati, non credat tamen. (*Hau.* 709-12)

I award my plan the first prize. I congratulate myself with great pride on possessing so much power and being capable of so much cunning that I can deceive both of them by telling the truth. When your old man tells ours that Bacchis is his son's mistress, he still won't believe it.

The self-glorification of the slave is a characteristic feature of Plautine comedy (Fraenkel 2007: 165–6). The triumph over the old men points in the same direction. That there are two of them recalls *Mostellaria* 778. Finally the method of *fallere vera dicendo* (“to deceive by telling the truth”) is not attested in Menander, but is in Plautus and Terence (*Ps.* 508–9, 517–18, 526–9; *Bac.* 734–47; *An.* 459–513). Although the models for the last two plays come from Menander, it is a mistake to assume a Menandrian origin of *Hau.* 709–12 (so Lowe 1998b: 170) on the basis of these typically Roman passages. Syrus' lines are only relevant to this particular scene, since when Menedemus tells Chremes that Bacchis is Clitipho's beloved (V 1), Chremes immediately believes it. Terence has indulged in a real Plautine scene of a slave as *triumphator*, which, however, fulfills no further function in the larger framework of the comedy.

8 Influence of Improvisation

The next question is what inspired Plautus' practice. Over the last few decades, critics have recognized the influence of Roman improvisational genres (Atellan farce, mime, Fescennine verse): “Roman comedy is a creative fusion of two traditions, the literary tradition of Greek comedy on the one hand and the non-literary dramatic traditions of Italy on the other. The time has perhaps come when we should pay more attention to the Italian side; by doing so, we shall certainly understand Roman comedy better, and we may even come to recognize the Italian influence as a source not of imperfections but of enrichment. This is not to say that we should abandon the analytic approach from the Greek side, which will continue to be a fruitful one, but there may be something to learn from a complementary approach which takes proper account of the Italian background” (Barsby 1995: 56). This influence can also be seen in the ridicule of old men (Sherberg 1995: 178–9).

Simo at the end of *Pseudolus* can serve as an example, since he loses money to one of his slaves on a bet. “But instead of just accepting the proffered purse of money, Pseudolus insists that Simo loads it on his shoulder and then proceeds to make it difficult to do so by turning away; and this causes Simo, reasonably enough, to complain of being humiliated by his slave (*et argentum aufert et me inridet*, 1316)” (Barsby 1995: 69). Barsby compares this to other passages in Plautus and concludes: “So we seem to have here, if only in a very minor way, signs of a repeatable piece of comic stage action, which one might imagine to be at home in non-literary farce.”

Similarly, in the complicated schemes of *Heauton Timorumenos*, which do not rely on a straightforward and consistent strategy but rather unfold in installments, one can see a tradition that stems from improvisational theater. Scheming belonged to Atellan farce: “cheating and trickery and general tomfoolery played a large part” (Duckworth 1952: 11). Varro speaks of *tricae Atellanae* (*Men.* 198 Astbury). *Tricae* are “schemes.” It is a reasonable conjecture that the scheming in *Heauton Timorumenos*—as in other Roman comedies—was ultimately influenced by Italic *fabulae Atellanae*.

Another legacy of improvisational theater, via Plautus on Terence, is the portrayal of Chremes’ wife Sostrata. Plautus depicted *matronae* as domineering over their husbands, but also as victims of their mockery. He went far beyond the methods of Greek New Comedy and, as critics have observed, followed practices of Roman improvisational plays, especially Atellan farce (Stärk 2005: 27–8). Both Plautine components, the contrariness and the comic victimization, can be found in the portrayal of Sostrata. For instance, in V 3 Chremes first characterizes Sostrata and then responds ironically to her defense that Clitipho is obviously her son (a point on which Clitipho had expressed doubt):

oh pergin mulier esse? nullamne ego rem umquam in vita mea
volui quin tu in ea re mi fueris advorsatrix, Sostrata?
at si rogem iam quid est quod peccem aut quam ob rem hoc faciam,
nescias;
in qua re nunc tam confidenter restas, stulta. (*Hau.* 1006–9)
...
convincens facile ex te natum; nam tui similest probe.
nam illi nil vitist relictum quin siet itidem tibi.
tum praeterea talem nisi tu nulla pareret filium. (1020–2)

Oh! Do you have to keep behaving like a woman? Is there nothing that I have ever wanted in my life on which you haven’t contradicted me, Sostrata? If I ask you now what I am doing wrong or why I am doing this, you wouldn’t have any idea, and yet you oppose me so confidently, you fool.

...

You'll easily be able to prove that he's your son; he's exactly similar to you. He has every single one of your vices. And besides, no woman could bear such a son but you.

One looks in vain for similar pronouncements in Menander. Further, in *Heauton Timorumenos* there is no apparent reason why Clitipho would suspect that he is not the real son of his parents. Since from the end of the first scene of the last Act onwards Terence is completely in charge of the plot (Büchner 1974: 228), and, moreover since the whole fifth Act betrays a strong Plautine influence in language and style (Maltby 1983: 27–41), the characterization of Sostrata again seems to display the direct or indirect influence of the Italic improvisational tradition.

One should note, therefore, that Terence moves directly into Plautine, not Menandrian, territory with his portrayal of Chremes, while he is also indirectly indebted to Italic improvisational drama. If one looks at the reasons for this choice, it is likely that the failure of the sentimental *Hecyra* in 165 BCE made Terence introduce some of the effective methods of Plautine comic dramaturgy into his plays (Del Corno 1990: 13). Perhaps already his first play, *Andria*, was a failure (Leo 1912: 100 and n.2). At any rate, Terence follows Plautus also in his *Eunuchus* of 161 BCE, a play generally considered as his most “Plautine” piece (see chapter 14, this volume). Yet it is also true that Terence is more subtle and subdued than Plautus, while modifying and reducing the latter's rather “loud” comic scenes. Still, Terence does not write in Menandrian style; this difference is often overlooked.

9 Structure

Some “defects of structure” in *Heauton Timorumenos* that are attributed to Terence (Del Corno 1990: 12) have already been discussed. The most conspicuous structural oddity of the play lies in the distribution of the plot over the course of two days. There are no exact parallels in Menander, even though there is some controversy over *Epitrepontes* (Arnott 1987–8) and some conclusions have been drawn on the basis of a complex hypothesis of a comedy that cannot be surely identified (*Demiourgos*, Test. IV K-A), or a fragment of Menander (Blume in Handley 1992: 57). It is therefore more likely that it was Terence who introduced this two-day plot. Why is the plot of *Heauton Timorumenos* spread over two days? In this manner, Terence can present an evening party at Chremes' house lasting into the small hours, during which a large amount of wine flows and above all Bacchis can behave impertinently towards the old man. He describes it as follows:

CHR. sensi. nam unam ei cenam atque eius comitibus
 dedi. quod si iterum mihi sit danda, actum siet.
 nam ut alia omittam, pytissando modo mihi
 quid vini absumpsit “sic hoc” dicens; “asperum,
 pater, hoc est. aliud lenius sodes vide.”
 relevi dolia omnia, omnis serias.
 omnis sollicitos habui—atque haec una nox. (*Hau.* 455–61)

CHR. I'll say she is! I've provided one dinner for her and her retinue; if I had to do it again, I'd be bankrupt. To say nothing of the rest, how much wine she wasted just by spitting it out! “This is so-so, this is rough, father,” she says. “See if you’ve a smoother one, if you don’t mind.” I opened all my casks and jars; I had all my slaves running around. And this was just one night!

Therefore, the two-day division and the introduction of the evening/night motif help the deconstruction of Chremes' character portrayal. But if in Menander, as one can assume, Chremes was not ridiculed, then such a party did not take place, and the plot could be completed in one day, according to common practice. Rightly then the two-day split has been thought to be Terence's invention (Benfey 1837: 356–7; Nencini 1891: 74; Dziatzko 1892: 1460; Leo 1913: 242 n.1; Körte 1931: 748; Haffter 1953 and 1967: 27–8; Bianco 1962: 128–30 and 1993: 14; Marti 1963: 47; Thierfelder 1981: 147–8; Lefèvre 1973a: 457 and 1994: 130–2). Moreover, it could be pointed out that after 170–2 an evening *cena* with friends will take place at Chremes' house (on occasion of the festival in honor of Dionysus): this begs the question of whether the Bacchis *cena* will take place in a separate room or together with the invited citizens. As Richardson notes, this is an “unexplained duplication of dinner parties on the same evening” (Richardson 2006: 22), invented by Terence.

A further structural problem is associated with Terence's transformation of Chremes: Syrus directs Bacchis and her retinue (*ancillas secum adduxit plus decem / oneratas veste atque auro*, “she's brought more than ten maids with her, all loaded with fine clothing and jewels,” 451–2) first to Chremes' house and later to the house of the compliant Menedemus, where her presence is required, so that it can be revealed that she is actually Clitipho's beloved. These unusual movements back and forth do not need to be staged, if the night party in Chremes' house never took place. Perhaps not in Athens, but surely in Rome people were delighted to see such theater pageant. “Terence has embellished the visual picture by including an entourage of servants. It was an opportunity for costuming and dumb show, the pompa with which every Roman ceremony and show began, and nothing more” (Richardson 2006: 23).

10 Intrigue in Menander

Intrigue in Menander was apparently straightforward, if we can judge from the surviving comedies. One can assume that, in this play, it was constructed as follows: Bacchis lent money to Antiphila's foster mother, a poor lady from Corinth (*anus Corinthia*), who was in need and required money for her foster child. Now Bacchis needed the money back, for she had received money from a soldier, who from the day of the play, the Country Dionysia (Brothers 1988: 174), was entitled to make a claim on her (in 733 a certain *miles* is mentioned). Therefore she needed the money to buy herself out of it (Lefèvre 1994: 89; Richardson 2006: 25). She disclosed the situation to her lover Clitipho, who promised to find the money, with a twofold purpose: first to keep Bacchis for himself and second to help Antiphila for the sake of his friend Clinia. The situation is characterized by humane (Clitipho's love for Bacchis) and ethical reasons (Clitipho's help for Antiphila and Clinia). Then Syrus came up with a plan: because Menedemus was prepared to support his son in every possible way in contrast to his earlier strict behavior, the young men decided to offer Bacchis to him for purchase, with Bacchis presented as a war captive from Caria (*capta ex Caria*) whom Clinia had brought with him. Menedemus agreed, and thus the problems of Clitipho and Bacchis were solved, but not those of Clinia and Antiphila, whose background was still unclear. Ἀγαθὴ τύχη, however, came to their assistance and caused the recognition of Antiphila as Chremes' daughter. In his happiness, he took over paying the sum of money, which the *anus Corinthia* had spent on Antiphila. Chremes was obliged to do so as a father, but he was also happy to oblige. This sum was given to Bacchis, who thereby was able to pay back the money to the soldier. The reconstruction requires that Antiphila (or the *anus Corinthia*) was indeed indebted to Bacchis (Herrmanowski 1892: 26; Kuiper 1936: 254; Lefèvre 1973a: 453; Victor 1998: 56). The intrigue against Menedemus was easily understandable and meaningful, while there was no scheme against Chremes.

Thus the plot was clear too. Bacchis came (as an alleged *capta ex Caria*) only to Menedemus' house. There her presence was required so that Menedemus could discover that in reality she was not a girl that Clinia had brought, but rather Clitipho's beloved. In this manner Chremes was temporarily cheated. Antiphila came only to Chremes' house, where her presence was needed in order to be recognized as the daughter.

11 Ethos in Menander

Clitipho's readiness to help Clinia and his girlfriend Antiphila has already been discussed. One may suppose, however, that in Menander Menedemus

and Chremes were the main protagonists. Both characters were to be assessed according to moral criteria. There was no suggestion of irony, or even of scorn for each other.

Menedemus was apparently presented from a Peripatetic point of view, as his behavior lacked the right middle (μέσον), that is, the middle point between too much (ὑπερβολή) and too little (ἔλλειψις). Accordingly, Chremes advises him in the following way, when upon his son's return Menedemus becomes too soft:

vehemens in utramque partem, Menedeme, es nimis,
aut largitate nimia aut parsimonia.
in eandem fraudem ex hac re atque ex illa incidēs. (*Hau.* 440–2)

You go to extremes in one direction or the other, Menedemus, either too much generosity or too much meanness. You'll fall into the same pitfall one way or the other.

It can be assumed that in the end Menedemus did not mock Chremes, but, on the contrary, was led by him to realize his inappropriate behavior. Above all, he would have admitted this to his son Clinia in a face-to-face conversation, just as in *Samia* 694–712 Demeas confesses to his stepson Moschion his wrong actions. Demeas' speech is an example of a touching effort for understanding and forgiveness. In Menander, in this respect, the young generation was not portrayed as inferior to the older one, as Charisios' moving monologue in *Epitrepontes* (908–18) shows, in which he realizes that he has behaved like a barbarian towards his decent wife Pamphile.

Chremes apparently was an example of the Menandrian φιλάνθρωπία. Obviously, this is not the same as Roman *humanitas* (so rightly Del Corno 1990: 13–14), but the interest in fellow human beings, which Chremes expresses in the first scene in theory and practice, is covered by both concepts. While Menedemus admits that earlier he had not behaved towards his son Clinia *humanitus* (“humanely,” 99), Chremes here behaves *humanitus* towards Menedemus, as it were. Chremes' demand for *vere vivere* (“truthfulness in the way people live,” 154) also belongs to this context.

It is not true that in the cases of Menedemus and Chremes Menander was following philosophical school doctrines. This is rather the moral outlook of an enlightened society, whose views were miles apart from the notions that prevailed in Rome in 163 BCE. Stoic ideas came to Rome with Panaetius of Rhodes only in around 144 BCE. The ethical framework, which forms the basis for Menander's comedies in general and presumably for *Heauton Timorumenos* in particular, is first encountered in Rome in Cicero, who likes to associate it with the so-called “Scipionic circle” (see chapter 6, this volume). But this is a much later period. *De republica* is set in 129 BCE, shortly before the murder of the younger Scipio. There Laelius has a different outlook from the Laelius

of 163 BCE, who allegedly composed verses for *Heauton Timorumenos*. The question of whether or not Terence and his friends understood Menander's ethical concept, is difficult to answer.

12 Conflicts in Menander

Menandrian characters were in no way people without problems and dangers; otherwise their destiny would be abstract and far from reality. Chremes too got into trouble in Menander. When the young men wanted to sell Bacchis to Menedemus as a *capta ex Caria* and he discovered that in fact she was a courtesan and Clitipho's beloved, Chremes, who had been superior up to this point, now appeared to be defeated: he may be able to give advice to Menedemus regarding his difficulties with his son Clinia, but he does not realize that his own son Clitipho, with the help of the slave Syrus, deceives him. Both old men, however, do not see that this scheme does not arise out of selfish motives, but because of Clitipho's aim to help his friend Clinia, whose girlfriend Antiphila owes money to Bacchis. When it is later revealed that Clitipho had acted out of generosity, Chremes is clearly vindicated. The upbringing of his son has born fruit: the son undertakes a seemingly evil deed to aid his friend and his girlfriend, who is in need.

Both aspects remind us of the Menandrian plot in *Adelphoe*. Here too the humane father is exposed temporarily, because his foster son Aeschinus is suspected of having openly abducted a courtesan, whereas he did it for the sake of his brother Ctesipho (the pimp Sannio would have otherwise left with the girl). Here too the decent son is temporarily seen in bad light, but, like Clitipho, he proves himself to be a worthy man; and just as Chremes' method of upbringing pays back, so does Micio's.

One does not need to assume that in Menander both fathers paid money. On the one hand, the young men wanted to obtain money from Menedemus with the help of the alleged *capta ex Caria* (Bacchis), so that Antiphila could pay back the debt; on the other hand, however, as a result of the lucky coincidence of the *anagnorisis*, Chremes took over paying the sum, since the *anus Corinthia* had used the money to raise Antiphila. Bacchis on her part needed the money that she had lent to the old woman for the soldier; as for the relationship with Clitipho, she did not ask for any money. That a "good courtesan" may live with a young citizen temporarily is shown by the relationship between Thais and Phaedria in *Eunuchus*, where there is no mention of money. In Menander it was simply a single sum of money, which Chremes happily paid for the sake of his newly found daughter, according to the conventions of Hellenistic comedy.

13 Conclusion

The investigation of a comedy's structure constitutes the safest point of departure for an analysis of its sources. Menander's plays typically display a carefully shaped construction (οικονομία), whereas the *palliatae* are often loosely stitched together. As always, in assessing *Heauton Timorumenos*, the point of view is decisive: if one compares this play to Menander, one is bound to find "structural defects" (Del Corno 1990: 12); but if one approaches the play from the point of view of other *palliatae*, one will find "a unity of design" in the intrigues (Lowe 1998b: 170). The same is true for its characters: someone who has Menander in mind is going to find faults in Chremes and Bacchis (Lefèvre 1973a: 450); if one disregards Menander, one will be able to say: "this is a comedy, not real life" (Lowe 1998b: 169). This is exactly true for the *palliata*. For Menander, however, the much-quoted statement of Aristophanes of Byzantium is valid: ὦ Μένανδρε καὶ βίε, πότερος δ' ἄρα πότερον ἀπεμιμήσατο; ("o Menander and you, life, which of you has imitated the other?").

FURTHER READING

The best introductions for readers who have little familiarity with Terence are the solid discussions by Duckworth (1952), Haffter (1953, 1967), and Büchner (1974). There is a good commentary on *Heauton Timorumenos* by Brothers (1988). Three excellent studies attempt to clarify the relation of Terence's play to the Greek model, a (lost) comedy of the same title by Menander: Brothers (1980), Del Corno (1990), and Richardson (2006). On the monograph by Lefèvre (1994), see also the review by Victor (1998).

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Eunuchus

David M. Christenson

According to Suetonius (*Vita Terenti* 3), *Eunuchus* was Terence's most successful play and garnered unprecedented revenues (see Gilula 1989b) when it debuted in 161 BCE. *Eunuchus* is said to have enjoyed an encore performance that year at the festival of the Magna Mater on the Palatine. The "Great Mother" or Cybele was an eastern goddess who was incorporated into Roman worship in 204 BCE. Her temple on the Palatine had been dedicated thirty years before the debut of *Eunuchus*, on which occasion Plautus' *Pseudolus* was performed before it. Then, as in Terence's heyday, a performance within the sacred precinct was limited to perhaps as few as ca. 1,500 spectators (Goldberg 1998: 13–16), and the intimate confines encouraged close interaction between actors and audience.

A play featuring a eunuch—both a real and a suppositious one—among its characters was obviously appropriate to the festival context. Cybele's priests were required to castrate themselves, and, once initiated into her eunuch priesthood, they wore women's clothing. The eunuch priests were a visually distinct fixture in Roman cult, and it is possible that some of them were present at the performance of Terence's play. Chaerea (the faux eunuch) draws attention to this connection between the play's plot and the occasion of its performance when, immediately after raping Pamphila and still wearing the eunuch's costume, he exclaims: *o festus dies!* ("O festival day!" *Eu.* 560). The audience probably was much drawn to the "flashy outfit" (683) Chaerea

dons to impersonate the eunuch, as the costume represented a locus of sexual possibilities: so costumed, Chaerea is said to be attractive to both males and females (472–9, 686–7). What, in addition to the alluring spectacle of “eunuch theater,” made this play so popular?

1 The Rape

Near the middle of the play (549), Chaerea, an eighteen-year-old Athenian soldier/citizen-in-training or ephebe, emerges from the house of Thais, a prostitute and independent brothel owner living next door to Chaerea’s family. When the audience last saw Chaerea (390), he was wearing a soldier’s cloak (*chlamys*), and was equipped with a sword (*machaera*) and a hat (*petasus*, which also marks him as a soldier in the dress code of Greek and Roman New Comedy). He now wears the flamboyant costume he took from Dorus, an elderly eunuch intended as a gift to Thais from Chaerea’s brother Phaedria. With his family’s slave Parmeno, Chaerea devised a plan (365–90) to impersonate Dorus and thereby infiltrate Thais’ apparently all-female household and gain access to Pamphila, a beautiful sixteen year old whom Thraso, Thais’ other suitor, had just presented to her. It was at this point that Chaerea had spotted Pamphila for the very first time and decided that he must possess her sexually (*potiar*, 362; cf. 320 and *OLD* s.v. *potior* 2c). As he exits from Thais’ house, Chaerea—his name suggests “joy” in Greek—is obviously triumphant. The audience and Chaerea’s friend and fellow ephebe Antipho, who initially is eavesdropping, soon learn that he is celebrating his very recent rape of Pamphila. Donatus reports that Terence added Antipho to his Menandrian source play and thereby converted a long monologue to a dialogue here. Barsby (1999a: 185) suggests that “Antipho’s ready acceptance of the morality of Chaerea’s exploit may serve to incline the audience in the same direction,” but one alternatively could argue that Chaerea’s eagerness to boast of his “exploit” to his friend and Antipho’s shared indifference to the rape and its victim might have had the opposite effect for some audience members, as Sharon James point out in chapter 9, this volume; see also chapter 25.

Chaerea in effect delivers a “messenger’s speech,” a set-piece in ancient drama to describe unstageable events, that details the rape:

CHAE. She [i.e. Thais] told me not to leave her side and to make sure no man
got near her,
And the two of us were ordered to stay alone together in the women’s quarters.
I nodded yes and stared sheepishly at the ground. ANT. *Poor* Chaerea! CHAE.
“I’m off to dinner,”
She says, and takes some maids with her. Just a few of the newer ones
Were left behind to tend to the girl. They start the preparations for her bath.

himself as simultaneously gazing up at the painting, and from it mustering the resolve to carry out his violent urge. He is especially excited at the prospect of pulling off a “trick” (*ludum*, 587, a word which also denotes a “performance”; see Section 2) on a par with that of the sexually omnipotent Jupiter. In Chaerea’s mind at least, the traditional golden shower also somehow assumes anthropomorphic form (588), as happens in later wall paintings, in order to complete the rape. He regards Jupiter’s voluntary surrender of his divine status to enjoy his mortal victim (cf. the emphatic 589 *mulieri*) as a positive model for his own degrading transformation from male to eunuch. Chaerea’s emotional excitement at this point leads to an outburst about the god’s power in the form of an allusion to Ennius and possibly Naevius (590; see chapter 3, this volume). In perhaps the same vein that Chaerea had earlier characterized himself as a connoisseur of feminine beauty (565–6), so now he shows himself to be a devotee of lofty tragic poetry, which he invokes to rationalize his own desires. The contrast between Chaerea’s jubilant and rationalizing aestheticism here and the primitivism of the violent act he describes himself as committing “gladly” (*lubens*, 591) is disturbingly dissonant.

The rape itself is described with stark brevity and casualness. Elements in Chaerea’s narrative such as the placement of Pamphila upon the bed and the bolting of the bedroom door parody wedding ritual. Philippides (1995: 279) unconvincingly argues that these nuptial motifs “mimimize to a considerable degree the violation as well as the detestable feelings about it, since the rape takes place within the marriage frame.” Instead, the reminder of marriage ritual at this moment emphasizes that Chaerea is describing a rape, not a wedding, a distinction that New Comedy itself typically obscures in other plays (cf. James 1998b: 40 n. 37). Pamphila is laid out on her bed by her attendants, one of whom instructs Chaerea to fan her while they go off to bathe themselves (593–6). Chaerea glowers (596) at this last charge; Antipho helps the audience imagine the scene more vividly by interrupting Chaerea’s narrative to comment on the incongruity of a buff ephebe (cf. 477) manipulating a small hand-fan (*flabellulum*, 598). It is from behind this tiny fan that the faux eunuch then coyly peeks—thereby striking what presumably was regarded as an effeminate pose—to confirm that Pamphila has fallen asleep before he bolts the door (601–3). The slow-witted Antipho again interrupts Chaerea to inquire about what he did next, and Chaerea ends his rape narrative by abruptly replying:

an ego occasionem

mi ostentam, tantam, tam breuem, tam optatam, tam insperatam
amitterem? tum pol ego is essem vero qui simulabar. (*Eu.* 604–6)

An opportunity

Like that handed to me, brief and unexpected as it was, but so longed for!
Do you think I was going to pass it up? Then I would have been a eunuch for real!

Chaerea could not express his sexual attitude more bluntly: only someone less opportunistic and aggressive than a “real man,” e.g., a eunuch, would have passed up the chance to violate Pamphila. In his testimony to his fellow ephebe, Chaerea displays “a fully developed sense of masculine sexual privilege for Roman citizen men,” as James says in chapter 9, this volume. Modern audiences mostly cringe at the equation of “true” masculinity and rape here, but was at least part of Terence’s audience likely to have felt something like our repugnance? Given the lack of evidence in the matter, modern scholarship mostly has asserted that, while some females in the audience might have identified with Pamphila’s trauma, male empathy for a female rape victim is a relatively recent modern phenomenon (e.g. Pierce 1997: 178). But it appears that Terence, through the play’s unprecedented emphasis on the immediacy of Pamphila’s rape, is provoking audience members, both male and female, to look at it from a fundamentally humane point of view.

Chaerea’s account of the rape thus ends with this assertion that he is only a pretend eunuch, and the two friends quickly turn to finalizing arrangements for a party they have planned with some fellow ephebes. Chaerea shows no shame for his behavior, but he is now much ashamed to be costumed as a eunuch, and fears being seen by the males of his family (610–12). They decide it is best for him to change clothes at Antipho’s. The scene ends with the ephebes pledging to find a way for Chaerea to “have” her again (*potiri* at 614, the climax to the emphatic and striking alliterative sequence *quo pacto porro possim* at 613).

Despite Chaerea and Antipho’s complete indifference to Pamphila’s treatment, Terence makes sure that his audience learns how traumatizing the rape has been for her. Two brief scenes follow the ephebes’ departure, in which Thais’ slave Dorias brings us up to date on recent events at Thraso’s house and Phaedria announces his return from the country (615–42). Pythias, a female slave of Thais, with great animation and anger then rushes from her mistress’ house to reveal what she has just learned there:

PYTH. Oh me oh my! Where can I find that contemptible bum? Where do I look?

To think that he’d even dare such a thing! PHAE. (*aside*) Oh no, I’m afraid of what this means!

PYTH. The scumbag! It just wasn’t enough for him to have his way with her! He had to rip up the poor girl’s clothes and tear her hair out on top of it all!

PHAE. (*aside*) What? PYTH. Just give me the chance right now,

And I’d swoop down on that criminal and scratch out his eyeballs!

PHAE. (*aside*) Clearly there’s been some sort of disturbance in there while I was gone. I’ll go see.

What’s the matter, Pythias? What’s the big hurry about? Who’re you looking for?

PYTH. If it isn't Phaedria, and wondering who I'm looking for!
 You and those lovely gifts of yours can go straight to hell! PHAE. What's the matter?
 PYTH. What's the matter! That eunuch you gave us has created complete mayhem inside!
 He's raped the girl the soldier gave to Thais as a present! PHAE. What are you saying?
 PYTH. I'm done for! PHAE. You're drunk! PYTH. If this is being drunk, I'd wish that only upon my worst enemies!
 DORI. Oh, Pythias, how can something so monstrous as this have happened?
 PHAE. You're crazy! How could a eunuch possibly have done that?
 PYTH. Whatever he was, all the evidence clearly shows he did what he did!
 The girl's all in tears, and can't even say what happened when you ask her.
 (Eu. 643–59)

Thais herself later attests that Pamphila's clothing is torn and she is weeping, and she "won't say a word" (820). While one could argue that Thais is concerned about the rape primarily out of self-interest (see Section 3), Pythias' outrage and sympathy for Pamphila here is powerful. Whether she is Terence's or Menander's creation, and despite her gender and low status, Pythias' reaction indisputably is to show "that from the victim's perspective rape is a terrible thing" (Rosivach 1998: 49).

Since rape in New Comedy usually belongs to the play's prehistory, Terence's focus on the victim's trauma in the moment is striking. Habrotonon, a prostitute in Menander's *Epitrepontes*, similarly describes a (pre-play) rape victim as sobbing and in tattered clothes (487–90), but there the aim is to demonstrate that this was not a case of seduction (Pierce 1997: 166). At this point in *Eunuchus*, however, Pamphila has not yet been revealed to be a free citizen, no potentially dishonored male guardian must be satisfied that she has not acted as a seductress, and Chaerea's detailed description of his own act has left no possible doubt on that point anyway. Terence has gone out of his way to foreground Pamphila's trauma to his audience. And because the rape takes place within the time frame of the play, pregnancy—and so legitimization of the rape through marriage and children—is not at issue either. Rather than following the New Comedy tendency to elide (pre-play) rape and (post-play) marriage, Terence has subordinated all to a disturbingly vivid presentation of rape at the center of the play. While the typical New Comic rape followed by marriage between rapist and victim, may ultimately be about "the young's man's transition from youth to adulthood and his reintegration into society as a full member" (Rosivach (1998: 49; see also chapter 9, this volume), Pamphila is more than just an instrument in that process. And in light of Terence's treatment of the rape, it seems dogmatic to conclude that "neither in drama, nor in our fragmentary evidence concerning real life, is any interest shown in

the psychological trauma of a rape on a woman or girl" (Pierce 1997: 178); for another counter-example to this claim, cf. Euripides' presentation of Creusa's anguish in *Ion* 859–965).

We have already noted that rape in comedy typically finds its resolution in marriage, provided the victim is a free person and so eligible for marriage with a male citizen. The situation remains complicated in *Eunuchus* until Pamphila's free status is revealed and Chaerea drops the pretense of being Dorus the eunuch (and so a slave). When Chaerea, still dressed in his eunuch's costume owing to Antipho's parents being at home (840–2), faces Thais for the first time after the rape, he shows little concern as to the repercussions. After characterizing his actions to Thais as "nothing much" (856), Pythias blurts out that he has in fact raped a virginal Athenian citizen (*uirginem / uitiare ciuem*, 856–7). Chaerea, still pretending to be the eunuch, replies that he believed he was only raping a "fellow slave" (*conseruam*, 858). Thais at this point reveals that she knows his real identity, and asserts that his behavior was inappropriate (864–5), and would be so even if he were avenging some personal mistreatment at her hands (865–6)—which he was not. If audience members agree with the magnanimous Thais here, Chaerea's initial justification for the deception and assault on Thais' household, i.e., exacting vengeance on *all* prostitutes (382–5), will now seem specious and hollow. But while Thais could take Chaerea's assault on Pamphila as a personal offense against herself (as a male guardian or slave owner might), she quickly turns to more pressing, pragmatic matters:

My goodness, now I don't have a clue as to what I should do about this girl!
You've completely messed up all my plans,
And I don't think I can return her to her family.
That would have been the right thing to do and was what I wanted,
So that I'd get some long-term advantage for myself, Chaerea. (*Eu.* 867–71)

The play at long last now reorients itself toward a more typical New Comic treatment of rape. Regarding the rape and its aftermath, when Chaerea suggests that "maybe this whole thing was the will of some god" (875), spectators (and readers) may see his words as sincerely "suggesting a higher divine purpose for the course of events" (Barsby 1999a: 249) or as cynically referencing the role of Jupiter in the rape scene. Thais at any rate decides to be conciliatory in accepting Chaerea's claim that he acted out of love or passion (*causa ... amoris*, 878) rather than arrogance (*contumeliae*, 877) toward her. And when he pledges to marry Pamphila (pending his father's consent) once she is proven to be a citizen (888–90), we find ourselves in familiar New Comic territory.

But even when the formal engagement is announced by Chaerea (1036), it is presumptuous to assume that all discomfort surrounding the foregrounded rape in *Eunuchus* instantly dissipates in the cloud of a conventionally happy ending, and that no one left the theater on the Palatine wondering about the prospects for a marriage whose foundation is a violent sexual assault such as Chaerea's (cf. Smith 1994: 31). Stripped as we are of the spectacle of performance, it is useful to remind ourselves that Chaerea is probably still dressed as a eunuch (cf. 1015–16) when he makes this announcement. The eunuch's costume, at which Chaerea feels so much shame (840–7), has become a visual emblem of the rape and Chaerea's deception, and now even functions as an open signifier into which a viewer can read what (s)he wants regarding sexual insecurities, ambiguities, and gender roles. After Thais and Chaerea reconcile, Thais invites him to wait for Chremes inside her house (894–5). Pythias objects on the grounds that he is likely to instigate more sexual violence there (896–904). Chremes is then spotted approaching and Chaerea begs Thais not to let Chremes see him in public "in these clothes" (907). To this Thais wryly quips that he does have some shame (*pudet*, 907) after all, and Pythias adds, "He's a true virgin" (*uirgo uero*, 908), and so sardonically identifies him with his victim. Again, the question of what constitutes true masculinity is put forth for the audience to ponder. James (1998b: 45) goes so far as to argue that Terence "is presenting his own critique, in the female voices, of adult Roman masculine sexuality and its method of acquiring wives" (see also chapter 9, this volume).

2 Metatheater or Playing Eunuch

The notion of metatheater, generally used to describe a play's theatrical reflexiveness (or competing, internal modes of theatricalization), has drawn much attention in recent studies of Roman Comedy, especially in the case of Plautus, whose characters frequently broadcast their deceptive roles in terms of playmaking (see further Slater 1985: *passim* and Moore 1998a: 8–90; see also chapters 4 and 12, this volume). While the notion of metatheater itself has fallen under some critical scrutiny (for objections to its overextension as a fixed concept "that does not do justice to the fluidity and liminality which are inherent in the theatrical experience," see Thumiger 2009: 53 and *passim*), it is still a productive lens through which to interpret Roman Comedy. It is hoped that my restricted use of the concept of theatrical self-reflexiveness here within the context(s) of Terence's play will be evident, and I do not mean to make broader claims for metatheater as a phenomenon divorced from the particulars of this performance (see further Christenson (forthcoming)).

Though Terence's prologues are clearly metatheatrical in that they are so focused on the criticism of his plays by his rival(s) and their reception by his audience (see chapters 1, 2, 3, and 12, this volume), the plays themselves are subtle and restrained—again, Plautus is the implied point of comparison—in their exploitation of comic convention, the occasion and circumstances of performance, the role of spectators, etc., for humorous (or other) effects. *Eunuchus*, however, appears to be exceptional among the six extant plays in this regard (cf. Frangoulidis 1994).

Chaerea's impersonation of Dorus the eunuch is articulated in explicitly theatrical terms. Parmeno, whom Phaedria entrusts with delivering Dorus to Thais, first conceives of the plan to substitute Chaerea for the aging eunuch:

PAR. What'd you say if I said you could be that lucky guy? CHAE. How, Parmeno?
 Tell me! PAR. You could take his clothes. CHAE. His clothes? Then what?
 PAR. I could hand you over to them instead of him. CHAE. I'm listening.
 PAR. And say you were him. CHAE. Yes!
 PAR. And you could enjoy all the perks you were just saying he would:
 Sharing meals together, spending time with her, touching her, fooling
 around together,
 Sleeping close to each other. None of these women knows you or even
 knows who you are.
 Besides, you've got the youthful looks to pass for a eunuch. (*Eu.* 369–75)

Parmeno's repeated emphasis on costuming here is striking: in this plot, clothes will make the eunuch. Chaerea quickly assents, and tells Parmeno to take him offstage and "dress him up" (*orna*, 377, a technical theatrical term). But before they exit, Parmeno, fearful of possible repercussions for his role in this plot, hesitates and claims he was only joking (378–81). Chaerea counters that their planned deception would constitute revenge against all prostitutes on behalf of their customers, and he frames this rivalry between greedy prostitutes and lovesick young men in terms of immediately recognizable comic stereotypes (382–3). But, as Barsby (1999a: 155) notes, "in regarding Thais as a typical evil *meretrix*, Chaerea is reinforcing the tension between the stereotype and the actual character of Thais as presented in T[erence]." Continuing in this theatricalizing vein, Chaerea quips: *an potius haec patri aequomst fieri ut a me ludatur dolis* ("Or do you think the thing to do is pull off some scheme at my father's expense?" 386). Chaerea here refers to what is probably the most common plot in New Comedy, whereby an *adulescens* schemes to fleece his father (*senex*) out of funds to finance his affair with a prostitute (*meretrix*). According to Chaerea, the latter scheme would redound to his discredit, whereas taking revenge against prostitutes would only be seen

as poetic justice (387). Chaerea's assertion that he is taking the moral high road here, we shall see, is fallacious and misguided. And in directly deceiving Thais rather than his father to obtain Pamphila, he highlights that he (unlike the audience) is entirely ignorant of the fact that the *meretrix* is actually working in his long-term best interests in seeking to establish Pamphila's free status. Chaerea thus from the start is exposed as a bumbling composer of comic scripts.

Chaerea's eagerness to be cast as Dorus, and so to assume the role and costume of a eunuch, would have had special resonance with Terence's audience. In the Roman moral tradition, actors were branded with *infamia*, which carried with it formal public disgrace and forfeiture of certain citizen's rights as penalty for their willingness to display themselves onstage:

Acting was seen as the inversion of fighting, its antithesis. Actors accomplished nothing ... Actors were dissemblers, people who pretended to be what they were not. They were praised precisely for their ability to deceive. These were not the qualities desirable in a Roman soldier ... Actors were neither soldiers nor full citizens. Acting was essentially "unRoman," essentially "other."
(Edwards 1993: 102)

Participating in a deceptive assault such as that planned by Parmeno and Chaerea against Thais and her household is hardly the task of the aspiring citizen-soldier. In Roman Comedy, trickery of this type is almost always carried out by slaves, not citizens of high status (Duckworth 1952: 160–75; see chapter 11, this volume). To conservative males in the audience especially, Chaerea would seem far too ready to trade in his soldier's costume for the eunuch's colorful, and probably effeminizing and orientalizing garb.

From Chaerea's perspective, the play-within-the-play (cf. Phaedria's characterization of Chaerea's impersonation of Dorus as a "play," *fabula* at 689) is an enormous success, at least initially. We have already seen his elaborate self-congratulations upon successfully infiltrating Thais' household as Dorus and committing the rape. Parmeno similarly congratulates himself for his direction of the plot, and goes so far as to (erroneously) ascribe a moral lesson to the internal play:

I'm back to see how Chaerea's managing things.
If he's handled his affairs expertly, by the almighty gods,
Parmeno is in for some much deserved glory!
To downplay the fact that without any fuss or financial
Outlay I made possible what's usually
A very difficult and expensive affair
(seeing as the girl belongs to a greedy prostitute)—

There is this additional achievement I think I especially deserve a prize for:
 I found a way for a young man to learn
 All about the character and customs of prostitutes at an early age,
 So that this newfound knowledge might inspire his eternal hatred of them!
 (Eu. 923–33)

Parmeno's brash assumption that he deserves a prize (*id uerost quod ego mi puto palmarium*, 930) specifically recalls the *palma* of victory awarded in Roman dramatic contests (so Barsby 1999a: 258; Manuwald 2011: 88). Parmeno had initially appeared to be assuming the stock New Comedy role of "clever slave" in aiding and directing Chaerea's ruse, and bombastic self-celebration such as his is characteristic of the *seruus callidus*. But it is now clear to a seasoned audience of Roman Comedy that he lacks the perspicuity of a controlling playwright/director figure such as Plautus' Pseudolus: the situation regarding Pamphila is far more complicated than Parmeno assumes; Thais is not a typically greedy comic prostitute, and, far from hating her, Chaerea has just declared his affection for her (882) and in his exuberance even deemed her *his* "patron" (887); and Chaerea's father will soon express his disapproval that his son knows anything at all about prostitutes at his young age (986)!

The self-deceived Parmeno not surprisingly will get his comeuppance for his mismanagement of the show. Just before Parmeno enters in self-celebratory mode here, Pythias informs the audience of her intent to exact vengeance on him:

Oh, look! Our fine friend Parmeno is approaching.
 Just look at him strutting about! So help me gods and goddesses,
 I believe I've got just the thing to torture him to my satisfaction!
 I'll go in and make sure about her identity,
 And then I'll return to scare that lowlife to death! (Eu. 918–22)

Pythias' revenge plot takes the form of another comic set-piece: a fictive messenger's speech delivered by a distraught female who describes violent and tragic events as going on inside one of the stage houses in order to deceive an antagonist (943–70; cf. Pl. *Cas.* 621–719). In her account she successfully convinces Parmeno that the young man he passed off as a eunuch (949) is facing physical torture in Thais' house for his sexual transgression against a free citizen of a distinguished Athenian family. She pretends not to know that the young man is Chaerea, in order to force Parmeno to give up his young master—a violation of the clever slave's code—first to herself (962) and then to Chaerea's father, who eventually learns of the entire plot from Parmeno (982–96). At complete odds with the ever-bold and defiant ethos of the clever slave, Parmeno even insists to Chaerea's father that he was not the instigator of the plot (988; cf. Pl. *Mos.* 916). Parmeno attempts to puff himself up again

by asserting that Chaerea's father (now rushing into the house) will seize the opportunity to punish Thais and her household because they are prostitutes (998–1001), but nothing of the sort happens. Pythias returns to report that Chaerea has suffered the indignity of being seen in the eunuch's costume by his father (1015–16), and that Parmeno has been made a laughing stock inside. As she pointedly summarizes, *at etiam primo callidum et disertum credidi hominem* ("I actually used to think you were a very clever fellow," 1011), where *callidus* emphasizes Parmeno's utter failure to win the day as the clever slave in charge of an internal play. Pythias' thorough humiliation of Parmeno here—and the audience's presumed enjoyment of it—also implies some identification with her condemnation of the rape as an act worthy of punishment.

The play appropriately closes with a subtle metatheatrical flourish. Working on Thraso's behalf, Gnatho strikes a compromise (1083) with Phaedria and Chaerea that will allow the soldier to continue to enjoy Thais' company. Gnatho then makes one final query: *unum etiam hoc uos oro, ut in uostrum gregem / recipiatis* ("I have one additional request: let me join your clique," 1084–5). On one register of speech, Gnatho is asking that he be included in the group of characters whose post-dramatic existence is to be centered around Thais and her house. But the word *grex* is also the technical term for a troupe of actors, and so Gnatho is also subtly marking the tendency of comedy to include—and the inclusion of Thraso and Gnatho is quite jarring here—rather than exclude members of its cast in the final comic society projected at the play's end, a point made by Aristotle: "... [in comedy] the most bitter enemies in the plot, such as Orestes and Aegisthus, walk off as friends in the end and nobody is killed by anyone" (*Poetics* 1453a). Such arbitrarily harmonious endings may signal formal closure, but they do not necessarily prevent theatergoers from having dissonant thoughts at the end of a challenging comedy such as *Eunuchus*. All the blatant (meta)theatricalization surrounding the central rape plot again raises questions that apply to everyday life (all the world's a stage) as well as to the theater, e.g., "what is masculinity?". Is the latter merely a role a young male assumes by adopting a prescribed mode of dress or set of cultural attitudes, or is there something more fundamentally human(e) at stake?

3 The Hooker with a Heart (and a House Full) of Gold

The central character of *Eunuchus* is Thais. In marked contrast to the male characters around her, Thais is in full control of her emotions and has carefully conceived goals that she achieves by the play's end. She is a twenty-something (527) foreigner living independently in Athens and supporting herself and her household through prostitution. She thus is not eligible for marriage with an

Athenian citizen, and, lacking a male guardian, finds herself in a socially and legally vulnerable position (see also chapter 10, this volume). Terence's earlier presentation of the prostitute Bacchis in *Heauton Timorumenos* (163 BCE) had offered a sympathetic glimpse of the social realities of prostitution (esp. *Hau.* 381–95), though her character was not as fully developed as Thais' in *Eunuchus* (on Bacchis, see chapter 13, this volume).

The opening scene of *Eunuchus* (46–80) might well have (mis)led Terence's audience to assume that Thais is a conventional comic hooker: avaricious, manipulative, unencumbered by human feelings such as love, free of social values such as loyalty, and forever on the prowl for a potential customer with deep pockets. There Phaedria, true to the stereotype of the lovesick *adulescens*, laments what he sees as Thais' hot and cold attitude toward him and the fact that, despite his awareness of his paralyzing situation, he nonetheless feels compelled to pursue her. His trusty slave Parmeno is present to provide a sympathetic ear and perhaps a plan, if necessary. Thais emerges from her house, and the cause of Phaedria's most recent protestations is revealed: she had shut Phaedria out from her house the previous day (83) and he now assumes the worst. In what substitutes for an expository prologue (99–143), Thais proceeds to explain her motivation in excluding Phaedria, as Parmeno, at this point confidently playing comic interloper and aspiring clever slave, casts doubt (101–6, 121–3, 129) on what she says: namely that Phaedria's rival Thraso has obtained a girl (Pamphila) who was raised by Thais' mother as if she were her own daughter and whom Thais regards as a sister; that, as an infant, Pamphila, actually the daughter of an Athenian citizen, had been abducted by pirates and purchased by a merchant who gave her to Thais' mother; and that after Thais' mother died, her brother sold Pamphila back into slavery. Though Thraso has made known his intention to give the girl to Thais as a gift, he is currently withholding her, ostensibly out of fear that Thais will dump him for Phaedria once she receives her gift (140–1). Thais then reveals to Phaedria her plan regarding Pamphila:

Now I have many reasons, my dear Phaedria,
For wanting to take the girl away from him.
First of all, she's virtually my sister. Second, I might be able
To reunite her with her family. I'm alone here,
And I don't have any friends or relatives, Phaedria,
And that's why I want to win some allies by doing a favor like that.
Please help me here! It'd make it so much easier
If you'd let the soldier be my leading man here
For the next several days. No response? (*Eu.* 144–52)

Thais' motives are complex, arising as they do out of both affection for her quasi-sister and pragmatic self-interest. The further revelation that she needs

Phaedria to absent himself from her house so that she can resolve matters with Thraso sends Phaedria back into fits (152–71). But by the scene's end, Thais gently persuades him to follow her plan, and he departs with a profound demonstration of romantic love that recalls later Roman love-elegy (for the emotional and intertextual import of Phaedria's expression of love here, see Konstan 1986 and Sharrock 2009: 226–32):

Do I want anything else?
 Yes! That when you're with the soldier your heart is elsewhere.
 And that you love me and want me day and night,
 Dream about me, long for me, think about me,
 Hope for me, have pleasant thoughts about me—and be completely mine!
 Be my soul just as I am yours! (*Eu.* 191–6)

At this point, given the mercenary stereotype of the comic courtesan, the audience may suspect that they have only witnessed a masterful manipulation of Phaedria by Thais. But after Phaedria and Parmeno exit, Thais remains on stage and muses:

Oh dear! Maybe he doesn't put much faith in me
 And gauges me by the character of the other women here.
 I can say with absolute certainty and honesty
 That I haven't lied to Phaedria
 And no man is closer to my heart than he is.
 Everything I've done here I've done for this girl.
 I really think I've just about found her brother now,
 And he's a quite distinguished young man.
 He's arranged to come see me at home today.
 I'll go inside and wait for him to arrive here. (*Eu.* 197–206)

As characters in ancient drama do not seem to deliberately deceive audiences in monologues, Thais reveals herself to be a hooker with a heart of gold (a type familiar from film and literature, and found in many genres and cultures), in so far as she has genuine feelings of affection for Phaedria, is truthful with him, and wants to help Pamphila for the not entirely selfish reasons she has revealed. Thais thus defies the comic stereotype—referenced in her monologue by “the character of the other women here” (198)—whereby *only* mercenary motivations are construed as valid for the *meretrix mala* (cf. 37). Thais' plot to allow Thraso to temporarily play “leading man” (*priores partis*, 151) at her house and to isolate Phaedria interestingly never develops, as the latter's resolve to stay in the country is short-lived (629–42). Her inability to seize control of the play in the manner of a clever slave further distinguishes her from more conventional comic prostitutes, such as Phronesium in Plautus' *Truculentus*.

The play's plot is instead driven by the competitive gift-giving of Phaedria and Thraso, with both of whom Thais maintains longstanding relationships, though these differ greatly. With the clueless, braggart soldier Thraso, we see Thais behaving more in the manner of the stereotypical prostitute: as she deems necessary, she flirts with him (454–5), tolerates his bluster (741–2) and cowardice (785), or ignores him altogether (810). But we never witness Thais engaged in sustained manipulation or exploitation of Thraso (unsympathetic as he is) onstage, as her main interest in him lies in securing and liberating Pamphila. Furthermore, the final arrangement whereby Thraso is to avoid expulsion from Thais' life by financing her relationship with Phaedria, while consistent with the ethos of the stereotypical *meretrix*, is arranged by the male characters apart from Thais.

Male characters almost universally assume that Thais is predatory and untrustworthy, as Parmeno and Phaedria do in the two first scenes. Pamphila's brother Chremes completely misconstrues Thais' inquiries about his family, and supposes that she might be launching some (metatheatrical) plot to assume Pamphila's identity: "Why would she keep asking these things unless she plans to impersonate / My lost little sister? How shameless is that?" (524–5). As we have seen above, Parmeno foolishly persists in believing that Thais is the standard *meretrix mala* of comedy and that he has taught Chaerea a valuable lesson about prostitutes. All these presumptions about Thais' character only increase the audience's sympathy for her, as they understand the true situation regarding both Phaedria and Pamphila. They thus will probably agree with Thais' own assessment of her character to Chaerea: "You didn't imagine I was so without human feelings / Or so naïve that I don't appreciate the power of love" (880–1).

Though the rape of Pamphila had temporarily threatened her plan, Thais ultimately achieves (or exceeds) all her aims: Pamphila's free status is proven, she is to be reunited with her family, and she will marry an Athenian of high status. Thais receives the protections she hoped to gain (1038–9) and will be able to continue her relationship with Phaedria, for whom she holds genuine affection. Though Thais (along, perhaps, with Pythias) rises above her male counterparts in the cast as the play's strongest and most ethically compelling character, she is absent from the stage for the play's last seven scenes (910–1094) and does not participate in the final deliberations among Gnatho, Chaerea, and Phaedria about Thraso. Critics have been troubled by the compromise, which most benefits Phaedria (1073–80) and presumes that Thais will continue her relationship with Thraso without her express consent. And the proposed triangulated relationship with Phaedria and Thraso, based partly on affection and partly on financial expedience, cannot easily be reconciled with any modern notion of romantic love. But for all its discomfitures, the ending of *Eunuchus* is realistic. Marriage between Thais

and Phaedria is impossible; Thais will continue to earn her living as a prostitute; and social realities dictate that her life will (still) be controlled by men of higher status:

The agreement disposing of Thais without consulting her may not be fair to her from our point of view, but Terence's audience probably felt a sense of closure in it, that the proper order of society had been in the end restored. (Rosivach 1998: 122)

This ending does not of course diminish Thais' status as a compellingly complex character or Terence's accomplishment in investing an old comic stereotype with new life. Nor does it preclude the possibility that some audience members left the theater questioning "the proper order of society" in this instance (see also chapter 25, this volume).

4 The (Out)cast(s) of Characters: Soldier and Parasite

In the prologue, Terence asserts that, while his main source play is Menander's *Eunouchos*, he has taken the roles of the parasite and the soldier from Menander's *Kolax*, "The Flatterer" (30–4). He thus specifically denies his rival's charge that the characters have been "stolen" from previous Roman comedies by Naevius and Plautus (23–6). It is unclear exactly what is at stake in these polemics, and why Terence is willing to admit that he has "contaminated" two Greek plays but flatly denies borrowing from his Latin predecessors. Perhaps as a result of Terence's assertions about the source of these characters' roles, much critical energy has been spent on determining the function of Thraso and Gnatho in *Eunuchus*. How exactly does this farcical pair figure in *Eunuchus* and "what [it] has to say" (45)?

The appearance of one or both of these buffoonish characters in no less than seven scenes could seem to some extent "inorganic," and primarily intended to provide comic relief (and to effectively make the play more Plautine) in what is mostly a serious drama. But this seems largely untenable in that so much of the play's conflict is built around the competition for Thais between Thraso and Phaedria, and what this reveals about her character. Thraso is instrumental to the plot in his fortuitous purchase of Pamphila and his even more fortuitous decision to give her as a gift to Thais (New Comedy abounds in such improbable coincidences). Gnatho is essential in that he skillfully manipulates Thraso into pursuing Thais, though it is obvious that she dislikes him. Gnatho is also the consummate actor—always flattering, deceiving, and manipulating Thraso, and improvising as necessary. He even

manages to convince the terminally gullible Thraso that Thais' reception of his gifts is proof of her love for him when he urges the soldier to use Pamphila to make her jealous:

THR. That would be the right strategy, Gnatho—if she actually loved me.
 GNA. Seeing as she's quite eager for your gifts and loves them,
 She's been in love with you for quite a while, and for some time now you've
 Been able to yank her chain without much effort. She's afraid you'll get mad
 at her and transfer the bounty she now receives elsewhere.
 THR. So true. I hadn't thought of that myself.
 GNA. Nonsense! You just hadn't applied your gifted intellect to it.
 If you had, you would have put it so much better yourself, Thraso!
 (*Eu.* 446–53)

Gnatho thus deprives Thraso of what could have been for him a rare moment of insight. And when Thais, preoccupied with discovering Pamphila's true identity, has had her fill of Thraso, Gnatho skillfully obfuscates the situation to placate him:

THR. What now? GNA. Oh, let's go home. She'll come back to you soon
 enough on her own,
 and begging. THR. Think so? GNA. I'm absolutely sure of it. I'm an expert
 on how women think.
 When you want them, they reject you; but when you reject them, they want
 you. THR. Right. (*Eu.* 811–13)

And Gnatho, as we have seen, is the pivotal figure in the negotiations with which the play concludes.

Some critics (e.g., Goldberg 1986: 120–2) have argued that the unifying theme of *Eunuchus* is in fact self-interest, and that all the main characters are striving, often at cross-purposes, to achieve their own selfish ends. No character better illustrates this dedication to the service of his own ends than the opportunistic parasite Gnatho. In his opening monologue, Gnatho claims that he has raised the art of flattery to unprecedented levels of success (247–53). Parmeno is eavesdropping on Gnatho here, and so largely undermines his claims to novelty in his asides (254, 265), but the fact remains that Gnatho survives by successfully manipulating Thraso. As Gnatho initiates the play's final compromise, he openly proclaims his creed and encourages Chaerea and Phaedria to follow suit:

Stand a little ways over there, Thraso. (*to Phaedria and Chaerea*)
 First of all, I'd really like the both of you to understand
 That whatever I propose to do here is proposed primarily out of self-interest.
 But if it benefits you as well, you'd be stupid not to do it. (*Eu.* 1068–71)

The brothers are convinced of the utility of Gnatho's plan to allow Thraso to bankroll Phaedria's affair with Thais, and that Thraso will provide them with "bounteous laughter" as he is served up as comic fodder (1087). Gnatho has already secured a grant of free meals for life at Thraso's house (1058–60) in exchange for his role in seeing that the soldier is included at Thais'. It is hard to imagine a more cynical and self-interested closing comic banquet than this one (cf. Pepe 1972: 142).

5 Conclusion

In the figure of the eunuch, variously seen by audience members as disgusting, decadent, ambiguous, or alluring, Terence found fertile ground to reevaluate norms of sexuality and gender. While state officials closely monitored exotic cults such as Cybele's and carefully controlled the theater itself, the temporary stages of early Roman theater could still serve as open, interrogative, and even transgressive spaces. Though we must always be vigilant about not eliding differences between ancient and modern sexual ideologies, much of the appeal of *Eunuchus* in Rome of 161 BCE was no doubt owed to Terence's provocative challenge to widely held cultural assumptions about sexual morality. In addition to exploring such issues as transvestitism, transgendering, and sexual dominance, *Eunuchus* challenges comic convention and features surprising and nuanced characterization. It perhaps comes as little surprise that the play was so popular in 161 BCE, and continues to captivate readers today.

FURTHER READING

Barsby's excellent edition and commentary on *Eunuchus* (1999a) provides a starting point for any investigation into the play. The fullest treatments of the play and its central issues, including sexuality and gender, are Konstan (1986), Smith (1994), Dessen (1995), James (1998b), and Rosivach (1998: 46–9, 117–22). Packman (1993) examines the traditional reluctance of scholarship on Roman Comedy to deal directly with rape; Kraemer (1928) and Rand (1932) typify the tendency of older scholarship to brush off Chaerea's rape as a youthful indiscretion. Pernerstorfer (2009) is the most recent contribution towards establishing the precise relationship between Terence's play and his lost Menandrian original. Saylor (1975) argues that the opposition between calculation and planlessness is highlighted in the play, and that the latter, in contrast to the norms of New Comedy, prevails in *Eunuchus*.

Fantham (1975) provides an overview of the depiction of women in New Comedy against what we know about Athenian women's social roles in everyday (Hellenistic era) life. Brown (1993) surveys issues pertaining to love and marriage in New Comedy;

Harris (1990) debates Athenian legal issues associated with rape, seduction, and adultery. Scafuro's important study (1997) examines how legalistic disputes are settled in Graeco-Roman New Comedy, including those related to rape. Lape (2001) identifies the influence of Athenian democratic ideology on the shaping of rape plots in Menandrian New Comedy (and so in Roman adaptations such as *Eunuchus*). On modern performances of the play, see Gamel's discussion, chapter 25, this volume.

CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Phormio

Stavros Frangoulidis

Disease, in both its metaphorical and literal sense, is a recurrent motif in Terence's *Phormio*. Antipho pines for Phanium, and, even when married, he is sick with fear that his father Demipho will annul the marriage upon returning home. Antipho's young cousin Phaedria is similarly lovesick because he is unable to obtain the music-girl he loves. Even the elderly Chremes is in decline on account of advanced age. He appears as a counterpart to the *adulescentes* of the comedy since, in his dual identity as both Chremes and Stilpo, he is simultaneously involved with both a wife and a mistress: as Chremes he is married to Nausistrata, an *uxor dotata* ("wife with dowry"), but as Stilpo he is involved in an extra-marital affair with a mistress on Lemnos.

To treat the sicknesses of these characters, Phormio the parasite assumes the role of the poet himself and devises several plots, which he performs as embedded plays in a manner distantly reminiscent of works by Terence himself (for metatheater in Roman Comedy, see Slater 1985; Moore 1998a; Sharrock 2009; and chapter 4, this volume). In devising and directing these schemes, Phormio takes on the additional function of a doctor: he saves both young men from death by curing their *morbus amoris* ("love sickness") and steers their affairs to success. Having rescued the youths, he proceeds to administer yet another form of medicine, laying bare Chremes' secret life on Lemnos and ultimately forcing him to live a life of reduced status in his own *domus*. From a metapoetic perspective, then, the scheme functions as a medical prescription, whereas the performance of the plot is to be seen as a drug. The paradox whereby Phormio as doctor secures erotic bliss for the young cousins, but

“death” for Chremes’ alter ego, can be accounted for in two ways: first, Chremes is the exact opposite of the young men and thus receives the reverse treatment. The play does not end with the happy resolution of the young boys’ affairs, as in most other comic plays, but with Chremes’ figurative death, as the restrictions on his future life (804–1055) are clearly spelled out. Secondly, the play focuses on a double plot, involving the parallel affairs of both the *adulescentes* and old Chremes, which recalls the dramatic technique of *contaminatio*, whereby plot strands from different plays are woven into one, unified whole (for the duality method in Terence, see Norwood 1923: 52; Duckworth 1952: 187; McGarrity 1977: 96; Forehand 1985: 84; and chapter 1, this volume).

Cynthia Damon discusses Phormio’s role as a sycophant and parasite who provides services to several characters, all of whom credit him with the status of *amicus* on account of his skill at play-acting (1997: 89–98). On the other hand, Elaine Fantham (1972: 169–206) and Robert Maltby (2007: 154–5) have documented the theme of sickness and cure in several lines of the play, but without discussing the development of this imagery in detail. Building on previous work (Frangoulidis 1996), my aim in this essay is to show the various schemes Phormio devises as internal poet and produces as embedded performances in order to cure the distinct *morbus amoris* of each young man and punish the old man for his promiscuity. I shall also look at the effects of his actions on the resolution of the plot. The contrasting cures that Phormio administers in the form of inset performances to the youngsters and old Chremes, respectively, can be accounted for by the fact that the youngsters behave in a manner entirely permissible for their age, whereas the old man acts in a totally reprehensible way, as is common in Greek and Roman New Comedy.

Though clearly metaphorical, vocabulary borrowed from the field of medicine appears at several junctures in the play and can be seen as determining the characters’ behavior; it is with this that our analysis will begin. When Demipho and Chremes go abroad, they entrust the care of their sons Antipho and Phaedria to a slave named Geta. First, in good comic fashion, Phaedria falls for a music-girl owned by a pimp, but does not have the money to buy her freedom (80–4). He is forced to restrict himself to feasting his eyes on the girl as she heads from the pimp’s house to school, while his companions Geta and Antipho spend their time in a nearby barber’s shop (88–90). One day, while Geta, Antipho, and Phaedria are waiting for the girl to finish her lessons, a young man comes into the barber’s and tells them the sad tale of a beautiful girl across the street, who is lamenting the death of her mother. On visiting the place, Antipho is immediately struck by the girl’s beauty. Phaedria transmits, so to speak, his *morbus amoris* to Antipho by being in the same locale with him, i.e., in the nearby barber’s shop. As becomes clear later, the

deceased is a woman Chremes had raped long before the beginning of the plot. Indeed, she came to Athens to track him down because he had been absent from Lemnos for so long and had neglected his daughter Phanium, now of marriageable age.

The following day, Antipho asks the girl's nurse for permission to see her, offering money, but is refused (see Rosivach 1998: 71–2). The nurse points out that the girl is an Athenian citizen; if Antipho wishes to see her, he must take her as his lawful wife. This marks the introduction of a legal theme that pervades the entire play. Antipho wishes to marry the girl but is afraid his father will not approve of a dowerless girl of unknown parentage. Phormio the parasite now appears in the role of an internal poet composing fiction: he offers a *consilium* to sue Antipho as Phanium's closest relative, so that he can wed the girl in her capacity as a poor orphan, as per the law of *epidikasia* ("a procedure under which an orphan girl is assigned in marriage to her nearest eligible male relative"; Lowe 2007: 128 and chapter 7, this volume). Thus Antipho catches, so to speak, the "virus" of lovesickness from his cousin by being in the same *locus* as him, and the legal adventure both begins and ends before the opening of the play.

The connection between the lawsuit and theatrical performance is reinforced by the fact that Antipho plays the role of Phanium's closest relative (which entails not refuting Phormio's allegations). Phormio himself assumes the role of a close friend of the girl's father and sues Antipho as her closest relative. In doing so he employs the term *ad simulabo* ("I'll pretend," 128), which further points to the assumption of a role. With these performances, Phormio wins his case and gives Antipho in marriage to Phanium. The staged lawsuit belongs to the dramatic events that have significantly taken place before the play commences, as if to indicate that the case cannot be reopened.

Phormio thus effectively cures Antipho's *morbis amoris* by bringing about his marriage. However, when the play begins Antipho "relapses," because he fears that his father will end the marriage upon his return home. The use of metaphorical disease language offers insight into the characters' state of mind at this juncture: Antipho feels that had he not been wedded to Phanium, he would have felt pain for a mere few days: *aegre aliquot dies* ("I'd have been upset for a few days," 159), but would have avoided the torture of constant distress: *non cotidiana cura haec angeret animum* ("I wouldn't have this anxiety tormenting my mind day after day," 160). Although the terms *aegre* and *angere* may not refer to an actual *morbis*, they allude to an agitated state of mind (here, due to passionate love) and in this sense point to a mental disorder, further characterizing Antipho as lovesick. For Antipho, then, Phormio's victory in court and his own marriage to the girl marks not the end but the beginning of his troubles: *principiumst mali* ("the beginning of my troubles," 158).

On the other hand, his cousin Phaedria views him as exceedingly lucky—he has succeeded in marrying a freeborn girl of respectable origins without having to pay money to anyone, whereas Phaedria himself feels pain (*aegrest*, 162), because he cannot afford to free the girl he desires from the pimp.

Antipho's worst fears materialize when Geta the slave rushes on stage with the news that Demipho is returning earlier than anticipated. In trying to control the situation, he assumes the role of an internal poet and deliberates about a *consilium* to serve as *remedium* for Demipho's wrath: *remedium ... iracundiae* ("cure for his anger," 185). Antipho believes he is as good as dead (*occidi*, 198), and seeks a *remedium* for his misfortune (199). Thus the lovesickness which was cured through wedlock reappears: Antipho does not wish to continue living if his father dissolves his marriage (201–2). As an internal poet, Geta encourages him to be brave: *fortis fortuna adiuvat* ("Fortune favors the brave," 203). The exhortation may be read in two ways, either as in-character consolation from a slave to a despondent young man, or metapoetically, given Geta's efforts to encourage Antipho to assume the role of a brave character and Antipho's response that "he is unable to change himself" (*non possum immutarier*, 206).

Antipho's reaction reveals the connection between participating in play-acting and effecting a cure. Yielding to some tough love by Geta and, to some extent, by Phaedria, Antipho makes an effort to assume a proper posture (210–11): *vultum contemplantini: em / satine sic est? ... quid si sic?* ("Look at my expression. There you are, is this all right? ... How about this?"); Geta even assigns him his part, advising him to say that it was the court's decision that forced him to marry and to answer word for word (212–14). The metapoetic dimension of Antipho's attempt to regain some control emerges in his employment of the term *adsimulo* ("I pretend," 210), which points to the language of theater as it implies pretence, and therefore the assumption of a role. But Antipho is aware of his guilt and thus runs away when he sees his father approaching, leaving his defense and Phanium's well-being in the hands of Geta and Phaedria. Antipho's inability to assume a metapoetic role as actor in the presence of his father and to defend his marriage markedly contrasts his stance in Phormio's lawsuit against him as Phanium's close relative. There he actually played the role of a silent character, saying almost nothing in court and allowing Phormio an easy victory. But the role Antipho is now called to play before his father is a more demanding one. He therefore confesses his inability to carry it out and departs. In so doing, he conforms to the stock role of young lovers in New Comedy, who are so incapable of handling matters of love that they depend entirely on trickster slaves. (For the role of young lovers in New Comedy, see Duckworth 1952: 237–42.) In the present circumstances, Geta advises Phaedria to engage in play-acting and to defend Antipho's marriage by laying the blame squarely on Phormio and the judges.

The encounter with Demipho takes place in the second Act (231–314). First, Phaedria comes on stage to meet his uncle. The old man appears outraged that his son has married without his consent (232). In response, Phaedria claims that Phormio set a courtroom trap and that Antipho, in his confusion and shame, could not refute the allegations made against him. This is of course far from being true: Antipho actually played the role of the silent extra and said nothing during the trial. Such deliberate misrepresentation can only mean that Phaedria is acting a part here. Indeed, as director and onstage audience, Geta makes two asides about the young man's skills: at 259 he characterizes Phaedria as good actor: *artificem probum!* ("What a fine actor!"); and at 278 he observes that, if he did not know the actual events, he would believe Phaedria's allegations: *ni nossem causam, crederem vera hunc loqui* ("If I didn't know the case, I'd believe he was speaking the truth!").

Geta speaks after Phaedria. The slave counters Demipho's accusation that he is partly to blame, since as a slave he could not testify in court. The fact that he too is performing a role becomes clear when he responds to Demipho's suggestion that he should have borrowed money from money-lenders to marry the girl to someone else, in accordance with the law of *epidikasia*. In truth, there was never any reason to explore other avenues, since the whole case was trumped up to permit an otherwise forbidden marriage. Demipho vows not to let the marriage last a single day longer. He seeks a meeting with Phormio but decides first to go to the market and consult with his legal advisers. Despite assuming metapoetic roles, neither Phaedria nor Geta manage to assuage Demipho's wrath or prevent his efforts to dissolve Antipho's marriage, but at least they succeed in re-directing his anger away from his son and toward Phormio.

This complication motivates Phormio to assume control of the action and lends new impetus to the plot, as Geta approaches Phormio, informs him of the situation, and urges him to take charge. Phormio tries to come up with yet another plan as a self-conscious inventor of fiction, as he did with the staged lawsuit prior to the play's opening. In that particular instance, Phormio assumed the role of the *servus fallax* (or treacherous slave) that would typically have been assigned to Geta, according to the conventions of New Comedy (see Forehand 1985: 89 and chapter 11, this volume). Yet the substitution is understandable, given that Geta is a slave and cannot initiate a lawsuit (see the relevant discussion in Brown 2006: 205). His scheme to turn the old man's wrath from his son toward Phormio and thus prevent his ending the marriage provides the *remedium* Antipho was seeking in line 200—a *remedium* to save his marriage and avoid suicide: *nam quod ego huic nunc subito exitio remedium inveniam miser?* ("Oh dear, how am I going to find a solution for this crisis at short notice?"). Geta warns Phormio of the dangers, but Phormio explains that he is immune to punishment because of his social status (for his immunity as sycophant parasite, see Damon 1997: 95–6). His

awareness here is a further indication that he has assumed the role of an internal poet in order to defend the metapoetic device that engineered Antipho's marriage and cured his lovesickness. In his metapoetic and metatheatrical roles, both as a composer of fiction and as an actor, Phormio seeks to confront Demipho and redirect his wrath from Antipho to himself (323).

The encounter between Phormio and Demipho re-enacts the trial which enabled Antipho to marry Phanium, but with one major difference: Demipho is determined to refute Phormio's allegations, whereas his son just played the role of a silent extra. In the beginning, Phormio pretends that Demipho and his legal advisers cannot hear him, and loudly accuses the old man of *avaritia* for refusing to recognize the girl because she is poor. To support this allegation, he even relates the story of Demipho's relative Stilpo, who used to complain that Demipho systematically ignored him. Phormio's identification of Stilpo as Demipho's *sobrinus* ("cousin"), establishes a parallel with the adolescents, Antipho and Phaedria, who are also cousins. Demipho, who is unaware of any such relative, asks for his name. A difficult moment in the performance occurs when Phormio temporarily forgets Stilpo's name (on this scene, see chapter 4, this volume). This introduces a minor inconsistency with the reading of line 356 (*nec Stilponem ... scire*, "he denies knowledge of Stilpo"), which assumed that Demea was eavesdropping, and therefore would have heard the name of his alleged cousin. Sander Goldberg (1986: 85) and Dwora Gilula (1991b: 440–1) correctly read Phormio's amnesia as a device designed to imprint the name on the audience's memory, so that it can be immediately recognized when it reappears later on. Geta intervenes, taking Phormio aside to give him the name. Demipho naturally does not know Stilpo—a false name assumed by Chremes in his affair with his Lemnian mistress—and therefore denies that he is a relative. It emerges that Chremes has put Demipho in a very difficult position by keeping his false identity hidden from him. When Phormio informs Demipho that the lawsuit was directed against his son, Demipho offers him five minae to marry the girl, exactly as the law of *epidikasia* demands. Phormio, however, refuses the offer on the grounds that an Athenian citizen cannot be treated as a *meretrix*. He even warns Demipho not to reopen the case, as he is too old to marry, and threatens him with another suit if he throws the girl out of his house, thus foreshadowing the grand "lawsuit" in Nausistrata's "court" at the play's end. In this situation, Demipho turns to his legal advisers, but their nonsensical responses force him to wait for advice from Chremes. With the performance of his plot, Phormio manages to throw Demipho into confusion and calm the situation: *adhuc tranquilla res est* ("things are quiet at the moment," 479). In so doing, he administers the proper *remedium* for the old man's *iracundia* (185), something both Geta and Phaedria were unable to achieve earlier in their own performances before Demipho (II.1).

Whereas the problem of Antipho's marriage has been temporarily solved, Phaedria's troubles begin afresh: Dorio the pimp has decided to sell his beloved to a soldier because Phaedria is unable to find the thirty minae to buy her (534–66). Such perfidy devastates the young man, rendering him even more desperate than before, when he simply followed the girl around from the pimp's house to the school. This development lends new impetus to the Phaedria plot while paralleling Antipho's earlier relapse into his *morbus amoris*, after he learned of Demipho's return (179–230). Antipho now steps in to defend his cousin and pleads with Dorio not to separate him from his beloved, in what is essentially a parallel to the scene when Phaedria defended Antipho in Demipho's presence (II.1). Dorio eventually agrees to give the girl to Phaedria if he can obtain the thirty minae from his friends within the same day (532–3). Antipho proposes that Geta obtain the money from his father, who has just returned from a trip. When Geta expresses his fear that this might provoke Demipho's wrath, a desperate Phaedria announces his determination either to follow Pamphila wherever she goes or to kill himself: *quoquo hinc asportabitur terrarum, certumst persequi / aut perire* ("Wherever in the world she's taken, I am resolved to follow her or die," 551–2). On Antipho's insistence, Geta finally agrees to help but seeks Phormio's intervention.

At this point, halfway through the play, Chremes returns from Lemnos. He had gone there to fetch his illegitimate daughter, whom he hoped to marry to his nephew Antipho but was unable to find her on the island, since she and her mother had already left for Athens. Old age, which he defines as sickness (*senectus ipsast morbus*, "old age is an illness in itself," 575), delayed his return to Athens. In the play's economy, the delayed return makes the marriage of Antipho to Phanium possible. Moreover, Chremes is married to Nausistrata, an *uxor dotata*, who has assigned him the duty of running her property on Lemnos. Chremes fears that if his illegitimate daughter is married to a stranger, rather than to Antipho, his wife will find out about his secret double life on Lemnos, and he will be forced to leave his house: *quod si fit, ut me excutiam atque egrediar domo / id restat* ("If that happens, I've no option but to clear out and leave home", 586–7). As David Konstan argues (1983: 120), the above revelations make it clear that the motive for Demipho's fierce opposition to Antipho's marriage is not his *avaritia* but his desire to marry his son to his niece, so as to help his brother keep his extra-marital affair secret from his wife.

Following a meeting with Phormio to plan further action (606–81), Geta appears onstage, sees Demipho and Chremes, and decides to act out the scheme involving the thirty minae for Phaedria. The plot has often been credited entirely to Geta, perhaps because he carries it out alone onstage (McGarrity 1977: 108; Goldberg 1986: 80; and Scafuro 1997: 171–2). However, in at least two ways the intrigue may be credited to Phormio's inspiration: (i) Geta

had a prior meeting with him; and (ii) Phormio is in a position of authority and thus cannot be involved as an actor in his own plot. Geta is able to implement this particular scheme because no lawsuit is involved. Phormio pretends that he wishes to settle the problem arising from Antipho's marriage to Phanium through a private, out-of-court settlement. His goal is to obtain the money needed to buy Phaedria's girl from the pimp and thus cure his *morbus amoris*. In his encounter with the old men, Geta claims to have found a *remedium* for Antipho's wedding to Phanium by marrying her to Phormio (616–17). In reality this trick is a *remedium* for Phaedria's lovesickness.

There are several features of the exchange between Geta and the old men that characterize the deception as an inset play. First, Geta mentions that he happened upon Phormio and tried to persuade him to marry Phanium himself, whereas in truth he took the initiative to meet Phormio and seek his advice in order to get the money needed for Phaedria. Second, Phormio is now willing to marry Phanium, whereas before he turned down the offer of thirty minae and the girl on the grounds that he would not treat a female citizen as a *meretrix*. In his effort to assist Phaedria by obtaining the money, Phormio agrees to annul his staged lawsuit or put it up for sale, so to speak. Third, Antipho rebukes Geta for proposing Phanium's marriage to Phormio to the old men, defining his sickness with the medical image of touching an *ulcus* (*ulcus tangere*, "to touch that sore spot," 690), referring to lovesickness. Demipho's efforts to annul the marriage, though unsuccessful, have wounded Antipho. But, as Geta informs Antipho, the proposal is no more than a scheme and Phormio will postpone his planned marriage indefinitely on the grounds that the omens are not favorable (for discussion of the *monstra*, see McCartney 1936–7: 557–60). It is ironic that Antipho, who originally proposed the idea of obtaining the money from his father, is unable to perceive the theatrical dimension of the intrigue, thus revealing himself as the typical helpless lover of New Comedy. Demipho views the proposed sum as excessive, but Chremes is eager to pay it from the rent of his wife's property on Lemnos. Since Phanium will eventually be identified as his daughter, the money he is so eager to give may be read as a dowry for her marriage. With this scheme, Phormio earns the thirty minae he needs and liberates the girl from the pimp (829–40). This development happily resolves Phaedria's love affair, in tune with the demands of New Comedy plots.

In the meantime, Chremes sees Sophrona, Phanium's nurse, coming out of Demipho's house (728–65). The encounter between Sophrona and Chremes is important in two ways. First, the nurse recognizes Chremes, whom she greets as Stilpo (but Chremes warns her not to use that name for fear that his wife Nausistrata will find out about his affair). Second, in the same scene Chremes learns that his mistress died upon her arrival in Athens, in despair over his long absence and her own inability to find him when their daughter

came of age. Chremes' assumption of a false identity explains why she could not find him: no one could identify him as Stilpo. Chremes also finds out from Sophrona that she has arranged Antipho's marriage to Phanium. The old woman admits that the marriage was weak because of the lack of parental consent, as the girl's father could not be found. However, she was forced to consent, possibly hoping that her father, when found, would give his approval also: *egestas me inpulit, quom scirem infirmas nuptias / hasce esse, ut id consulerem, interea vita ut in tuto foret* ("It was poverty that drove me to it. I knew this wasn't a secure marriage, but I had to do something to protect her in the meantime," 733–4). In Roman society, as Evans Grubbs points out (2002: 89), an absent father might not be aware of a marriage until presented with a *fait accompli*. In this case, however, his lack of objection is taken as tacit consent. The bigamous Chremes momentarily thinks that Antipho has two wives, his own daughter and his purported relative, but Sophrona informs him that they are one and the same (755).

In his double identity as Chremes and Stilpo, the old man is thematically linked to both Phaedria and Antipho: in his identity as Chremes, wedded to Nausistrata, he calls to mind Antipho, who is married to Phanium; as Stilpo, he is involved with a mistress and thus thematically connected to Phaedria, who is in love with a music-girl. Chremes' illegitimate daughter knits together the distinct stories of Chremes, Antipho, and Phaedria. This parallelism between Chremes and the young cousins explains Phormio's identification of Stilpo as Demipho's *sobrinus*, although this does not constitute a major obstacle, since Stilpo is still Demipho's relative. However, the connection underlines a contrast between the old man and the young cousins: unlike Antipho, who is in love with his wife and views divorce as equivalent to death (201–2), Chremes does not love his wife, as he is involved with a mistress on Lemnos. Unlike Phaedria, who loves the girl and is determined to follow her wherever she goes or else die (551–2), Stilpo becomes morally responsible for the death of his Lemnian mistress upon her arrival in Athens. Chremes' affair may comically evoke a distant parallel with the mythic affair of Jason, who stopped at Lemnos on his way to Colchis, became involved with Hypsipyle and impregnated her, but then broke his vows of eternal love and left the island. On learning that Antipho is married to his illegitimate daughter, Chremes is delighted. He always saw the marriage as a way of keeping his affair secret from his wife. Chremes alleviates Sophrona's anxiety that Antipho's father, who is vehemently opposed to his son's marriage, will persist, thus prefiguring Demipho's change of heart. This unexpected plot turn validates Sophrona's handling of the marriage, as Chremes offers his consent.

When Antipho hears of the positive outcome of Phaedria's love affair, he expresses his delight with a medical term: *mederi* ("to be cured," 822). And yet he also talks about his own misfortune in similar language: *ego nullo possum*

remedio me evolvere ex his turbis ("I have no way of extricating myself from my troubles," 824). The cure for Antipho's *morbus amoris* comes about when the slave Geta assumes the metatheatrical role of the *servus currens* and rushes on stage to inform Phormio and Antipho of a secret conversation he has overheard between Demipho and Chremes (841–83). This conversation takes place after Nausistrata goes out and Demipho comes in to talk Phanium into marrying Phormio. Chremes informs his brother that she is none other than his illegitimate daughter, and both men now give their approval to Antipho's marriage. Nausistrata grants her consent as well, expressing her pleasure over the decision not to marry Phanium to Phormio. She was taken with the girl at first sight: *perliberalis visast* ("I thought her a very ladylike girl," 815). This is the final validation of Antipho's marriage to Chremes' illegitimate daughter: all interested parties, Nausistrata included, offer their retroactive approval of his consummated marriage. The marriage is no longer at risk. By a fortunate twist of the plot, Phormio's allegations in the trial are revealed to be identical with the play's course, and Antipho's *morbus amoris* is completely cured.

Geta attributes this fortunate twist of the plot to the help of the deities Fortuna and Fors Fortuna, who have loaded Antipho with happiness and cleared his friends of all blame for arranging the marriage without parental consent: *o Fortuna, o Fors Fortuna* ("O Fortune, O Lucky Fortune," 841; see chapter 7, this volume). These deities are worshipped at Rome as distinct divinities (Lazarus 1985: 365–6). The reference to both deities retrospectively suggests divine approval for the allegations in court through which Phormio brought about the marriage. By a coincidence of the plot then, Phormio's lawsuit is revealed as the perfect *remedium* to cure Antipho's lovesickness, even though all characters, including Phormio, were ignorant of this at the time.

By devising plots and then performing them as inset plays, Phormio administers various *remedia* to cure both *adulescentes* of lovesickness. He cures Antipho first, with his staged trial; then, with another scheme, he prevents Demipho from dissolving the marriage and thus saves the young man from death; he eventually brings the young man bliss by securing parental approval for his marriage. Phormio also offers a *remedium* for Phaedria's love for the slave-girl, through the performance of a scheme to secure the thirty minae he needs to buy the girl's freedom. The divergent *remedia*, administered by Phormio, are tailored to the respective sicknesses of the two *adulescentes*: *amor* for a freeborn orphan girl, and *amor* for a *meretrix*.

After Phanium is identified as Chremes' daughter, the two brothers decide to recover the money they had given to Phormio to marry Phanium, since they now approve of Antipho's marriage. Phormio acts for the last time as an internal poet, when he finds out that Phanium has been identified as Chremes' illegitimate daughter. With this final scheme, Phormio plans to free Phaedria from having to borrow money from his friends for Pamphila's purchase.

The confrontation between Phormio and the old men takes place in the last scenes of the play (894–1055). Demipho takes the role of Chremes' *advocatus*, while Chremes for the most part remains silent. In the role of prospective groom, Phormio asks the old men to bring Phanium. However, Demipho, gives two reasons for not producing the girl: (i) his concern about rumors that he has kicked the girl out (911–13); and (ii) Antipho's love for her (919–20). He even advises his brother to drag Phormio off to court and get their money back. In response, Phormio asks the men either to bring him the girl or allow him to keep the money, as he has allegedly cancelled another marriage and spent the money to pay off his creditors. The conflict leads to an impasse. Phormio identifies himself as a *patronus* not only of the dowerless woman, meaning Phanium, but also dowered ones, meaning Nausistrata. He then discloses his knowledge of Chremes' *peccatum* on Lemnos and threatens to inform Chremes' wife.

On hearing this, Chremes admits that he is good as dead: *nullus sum* ("I'm done for!" 942) and *sepultus sum* ("I am dead and buried!" 943). This "death" is the direct aftermath of the revelations about his double life on Lemnos. It recalls Antipho's declaration in line 198 that he was "dead," after Geta rushed on stage and informed him of his father's return from his trip. Chremes begs Phormio not to disclose anything to his wife and to keep the money in return. The parasite agrees, but accuses the old men of *puerili sententia* ("a puerile attitude") for constantly changing their minds (949). Demipho realizes that Chremes' *peccatum* has been disclosed and accordingly advises his brother to tell Nausistrata, beg for forgiveness and try to recover the money by dragging Phormio into court. In their efforts, the old men even resort to violence against a freeborn citizen, but Phormio skillfully "rewrites" their plan by treating Nausistrata's house as if it were a court of law. He summons Nausistrata to come out (for the legal proceedings, see Scafuro 1997: 173).

In this scene, Phormio informs Nausistrata of her husband's secret life on Lemnos, his involvement with a mistress and his illegitimate daughter. The link between the exposure of Chremes' secret life and his "death" becomes clear as Phormio pronounces the loss of both his senses and his "life," building on his medical self-portrait: he comically presents Chremes as stupefied (*obstupuisti*, "struck dumb," 991); as having lost his senses (*ubi sit nescit*, "he doesn't even know where he is!" 993), and as completely frozen (*totus friget*, "he is stone cold all over," 994). Nausistrata characterizes her husband's conduct as shameful and disgusting (*indignius*, "more outrageous," 1009). She realizes at last the reasons behind her husband's frequent visits to Lemnos and the limited rental income (1012–13).

In his role as *advocatus*, Demipho intervenes and begs Nausistrata to forgive her husband because he has not been sexually involved with his mistress since the rape—to say nothing of the fact that the woman is dead (1016–19).

Rosivach also points out that Chremes did not abandon her completely (1998: 25–6). There are several facts, however, that undermine his attempt at exoneration: Chremes visited the island regularly, knew how old his daughter was, and was well acquainted with her nurse. Furthermore, his mistress never remarried. Phormio accordingly describes Demipho's defense as a eulogy (implying that it presents events in a glowing light): *verba fiunt mortuo* ("They're talking about a dead man," 1015). Nausistrata responds that she has no hope Chremes will ever change in the future, as he was already an old man when he started the affair: *aetate porro minus peccaturum putem? / iam tum erat senex, senectus si verecundos facit* ("Should I suppose that he'll stray any less in the future, with advancing years? He was already an old man *then*—if old age makes men more virtuous," 1022–3). Following the delivery of this "funeral oration," Phormio invites people to attend Chremes' funeral, thus taking the imagery of Chremes' death to its logical conclusion: *exsequias Chremeti quibus est commodum ire, em tempus est* ("Anyone who is intending to go to Chremes' funeral, now's the time," 1026). Chremes' "death" can be construed as an expected outcome: he had already been portrayed as sick, due to his old age (575). His figurative death suggests in symbolic terms the death of his former self. His metaphorical death at the play's end completes the circle begun with the death of his Lemnian mistress at the play's opening.

There were two alternatives for Chremes after the exposure of his bigamy: either to divorce Nausistrata or to stay married to her. After conspicuously punishing Chremes, Phormio decides to forgive him on the grounds that Nausistrata will have something to nag him about for the rest of his life: *supplici satis est mihi. / habet haec ei quod, dum vivat, usque ad aurem ogganniat* ("He's been punished enough for me. She's got something to whine about in his ear for the rest of his life," 1029–30). This comic substitute precludes the possibility that he will be turned out of the *domus*, something he clearly fears in lines 586–7.

And yet Chremes' figurative death constitutes a pivotal element in the play's plot. His symbolic passing away is a poetic means of implying that the old man loses all rights in his *domus*. Furthermore, at this juncture the dramatic interactions between the various characters undergo significant change. Phaedria is eventually allowed to become involved with his mistress, when Phormio realizes that Nausistrata is about to forgive her husband and exploits Chremes' weak position in order to take care of Phaedria. He informs Nausistrata of how he obtained the thirty minae, so Phaedria does not have to borrow the money from his friends (on his role in Phaedria's affair, see Lowe 2007: 128). When Chremes hears of his son's affair, he expresses surprise ("What? What are you saying?" 1040). Nausistrata, however, violently rebukes him for questioning Phaedria's affair, given that he had two wives. By placing Chremes in a vulnerable position, Phormio ensures that his past life will work against him and in favor of his son, as he predicted only a few lines earlier (1030).

Nausistrata refuses to forgive her husband and decides that Phaedria will render the decision about his father. At the play's end, she assumes the role of a true *uxor dotata* and redistributes power within her *domus*: she removes Chremes' rights as *pater* and elevates Phaedria to a position of authority (namely to decide about his father), thus putting the *pater* in the position of his son. This is understandable: Phaedria is the only son in the family. Thus Nausistrata establishes a mechanism for controlling her husband, because sons normally side with their mothers. Phaedria's decision does not form part of the plot but belongs to the extra-dramatic events. It thus creates a ring with Phormio's suit against Antipho, which also took place prior to the play's opening.

Finally, after ensuring that Phaedria does not have to return the money to his father, Phormio tries to secure a dinner invitation to Nausistrata's house in order to annoy Chremes. She agrees and accepts him as an official guest to her house, in recognition of the exceptional services he has offered her family. Phormio's request marks the formal abandonment of his metapoetic role and signals his return to his formal role as parasite. The fact that Nausistrata honors his request offers additional evidence of her desire to control Chremes. In light of the earlier description of Chremes' metaphorical death and burial, the scolding and significant restrictions imposed on him by his wife may even be seen as comically analogous to the Underworld punishments of mythological and historical figures, such as, for instance, Tityos, Ixion, and Sisyphus, for their sinful lives (cf. Virg. *Aen.* 6.580–627).

Phormio's treatment of the young men in the play is the exact opposite of Chremes' "cure." The young cousins experience complications in their love-life and consequently express a wish to die: Antipho threatens suicide if his father dissolves his marriage to Phanium (202; cf. also 199), and Phaedria expresses a wish either to follow the girl everywhere she goes or lose his life (551–2). By devising schemes and performing them as inset plays, Phormio cures the *morbus amoris* of the comic youngsters and secures for them the happiness prescribed by the comic genre. At the same time, Phormio forces Chremes to "pass away" figuratively, when he informs Nausistrata of the old man's bigamy on Lemnos, thus relegating him to a life of reduced status in his family. Of course, what accounts for this divergent treatment is the fact that the young cousins follow a course of life socially acceptable for their age, whereas Chremes defies the status quo and therefore incurs social condemnation.

This function of Phormio, as elaborated above, has a twofold explanation: (i) Chremes is the "exact opposite" of the young cousins and therefore suffers the reverse treatment; and (ii) the play does not end with the happy resolution of the young men's love affairs, but with Chremes' symbolic death and concomitant restrictions upon his future life. Thus the play's two major themes are linked into one, unified whole. Through his embedded performances, Phormio manages to cure the *morbus amoris* of the young men and punish the

old man for his illicit behavior. This remedial aspect of his inset plots points to the therapeutic dimension of their performance, and by extension of the performance of the play that contains them.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

I am grateful to Eleni Manolaraki and Yannis Tzifopoulos for their comments on earlier drafts of this paper and to Antony Augoustakis and Ariana Traill for their editorial suggestions throughout.

FURTHER READING

Moore (2001) reads Phormio as an unusual kind of parasite: one who gives more than he receives. In conjunction with other ironies concerning the exchange of favors, this oddity makes the play a fine commentary on giving and taking in human relationships. On the other hand, Smith (2004) views Phormio's motivations not as related to amicable exchange, but as a substitute for appetite. At times contradictory, these two studies may be neatly read as a pair. Konstan (1983) offers an illuminating discussion of the play from a social perspective, showing how the theme of love affects social relationships and the *oikos*, while Damon (1997) provides an excellent assessment of the play from the perspective of the parasite as an *amicus*. Segal and Moulton (1978) view Phormio as "cunning barrister." The legal issues in the play have also been examined in detail by Focardi (1990) and Scafuro (1997). Forehand (1985) assesses the role of Phormio as a clever slave. As composer of fiction, the parasite has also been read along the lines of the Plautine trickster slaves; Slater (1985) is an excellent place to start for a discussion of this from a metatheatrical perspective. The more general studies by Moore (1998a) and Sharrock (2009) offer insightful readings of Plautine and Terentian plays from a metatheatrical perspective, and might also be of some use for *Phormio* as well. Frangoulidis (1996) discusses the play's schemes on the basis of performance and comments on their curative function. Fantham (1972) and Maltby (2007) make some valuable general remarks on the imagery of sickness and cure in the play. Karakasis (2011) offers concise information on the *status quaestionis* of the play.

CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Hecyra

Ortwin Knorr

Terence's second play, *Hecyra* or "Mother-in-Law," is a fast-paced farce full of comic plot twists and suspense, eye-catching spectacle, and dramatic irony. Unfortunately, few modern discussions of the play view it in similarly positive terms. Even the few scholars who appreciate at least some of the play's qualities overlook its farcical humor (cf. Norwood 1923: 3; Gilula 1979–80; Konstan 1983: 130–41; Slater 1988). The first word most Classicists associate with Terence's *Hecyra* is "failure," a characterization that the play does not deserve.

1 *Hecyra's* Bad Reputation

Terence himself, strangely enough, is responsible for his play's bad reputation. The prologues he wrote for *Hecyra's* second and third performance survive. In both of them Terence complains that the first two shows had to be broken off prematurely. Only the third performance, it seems, went through without interruptions and "found favor" with the audience (*placuit, Hec. Didasc. I 10*). Not surprisingly, *Hecyra* enjoys the dubious fame of being Terence's "jinx-play" (Parker 1996: 600; Lada-Richards 2004: 59; Sharrock 2009: 243).

As a result, many modern studies of *Hecyra* focus on trying to explain the play's alleged failure. The most common charge is that the play lacks humor (Duckworth 1952: 149; Arnott 1975: 46; Ireland 1990: 8–9; on Terence's humor, see chapter 4, this volume). Perelli (1973: 97 and 179) counted only three humorous scenes, the two comical parodies of typical running slave

scenes (*Hec.* 430–43 and 799–807) and the final exchange between Parmeno and Bacchis (*Hec.* 873–80). Carney (1963: 37) noticed a few more but called them “(somewhat inorganic) passages of rather callous humor for the groundlings.” Others put a more positive spin on the fact that *Hecyra*, in their eyes, failed to please its public. Penwill (2004: 149 n.63), for example, suspects that *Hecyra* too “radically challenged the conventions of the genre” (similarly Braund 2005: 62). Norwood, an avowed admirer of the play, believed that the Romans failed to appreciate that Terence gave them “real people and natural conduct” (1923: 92) instead of conventional comic types. Only Büchner noticed, in a footnote on Pamphilus’ comical struggle against having to recognize his wife’s apparently illegitimate baby as his own (*Hec.* 627–726): “The slapstick [of this scene] ... is characteristic for this play. ... [I]t is probably not correct when people say that there is hardly anything to laugh about in *Hecyra*” (1974: 154 n.35, my translation).

Critics have also frequently decried what they perceived as the play’s “essentially static nature” (Ireland 1990: 8–9). Kuiper (1938: 3) complained, “the action proceeds only slowly, struggling on as it does in a flow of consultation, argument, refutation, dissimulation, reflection, reasoning, after-consideration.” Walter Forehand (1985: 95) condemned *Hecyra* as “the slowest of all Terence’s plays” (cf. also Goldberg 1986: 163). In short, most scholars would agree with Harold Mattingly (1959: 167) that Terence’s *Hecyra* was “too subtle and quiet for Roman taste.”

Apart from these rather fundamental problems, scholars have identified a number of other flaws as well. *Hecyra*’s plot, for instance, entertains its audience with an unusual amount of suspense. Many scholars attribute this to Terence’s decision to delete the divine prologue of his Greek original, the *Hecyra* of Apollodorus of Carystus, which, they argue, contained important parts of the exposition (e.g., Frank 1928: 319–20; Sewart 1974: 259–60; Goldberg 1986: 168; Ireland 1990: 10–11; Lefèvre 1999: 178–9). Not a scrap of such a divine prologue survives (Büchner 1974: 495–96), yet these critics fault Terence for creating in this way a plot with “complex uncertainties” (Ireland 1990: 9), a “suspended dénouement” (Duckworth 1952: 229; Carney 1963: 27 and 53), and an exposition that allegedly left Terence’s audiences emotionally unaffected (Lefèvre 1999: 178–9). Konstan, in turn, speculated that what he sees as the play’s “moral ambiguity ... repelled the Roman audiences” (1983: 136). Duckworth (1952: 378) also blamed, in addition to the lack of humor, the relative paucity of song and dance compared with Plautus’ plays. Barsby (2001: 140) ponders that *Hecyra* may have had trouble because “it is an unusually sombre play surrounded by much doubt and uncertainty in which the path to the happy ending is by no means clear.”

The low regard in which *Hecyra* is held has affected scholarly judgment of Terence’s entire oeuvre. Sidney Ashmore (1908: 33), the last scholar to

comment on all of Terence's plays, claimed that none of them have "any of the extravagance or exuberant humour, or even creative fancy, which characterize the writings of [Plautus]." Elaine Fantham, to name a more recent critic, likewise accuses Terence of "depriving his comedies—or most of them—of their vitality and power to offer release from earnest reality" (2004: 31).

Considering all this, it may come as a surprise that we have no ancient evidence to support this common belief in *Hecyra's* failure. Terence refers to the play's initial difficulties in three of his prologues (*Ph.* 30–2; *Hec.* 1–5, 29–42). Yet nowhere does he say that his audiences walked out on *Hecyra* because they were bored (*pace* Büchner 1974: 15; Benz 1995: 152–3) or demanded more entertaining fare (Gilula 1981: 36; Sandbach 1982: 134; Lada-Richards 2004: 56 n.5). On the contrary, they fought tooth and nail to be allowed to remain in the theater. Several scholars have tried to prove that Terence's spectators did not run away from *Hecyra*, most importantly Holt Parker (1996: 593–5), but apparently without success. Many recent discussions simply ignore his arguments (Lowe 2000: 214 n.34; Segal 2001: 242; Marshall 2006: 24–6) or express doubts (Lada-Richards 2004: 57–8; Penwill 2004: 141 n.62). So it may be worthwhile to survey the evidence again.

2 What Really Happened

Prologue II, written for *Hecyra's* third performance, best illuminates the actual events at *Hecyra's* first two productions. The play's second performance, it notes, was disturbed by false rumors about a gladiatorial show in the same venue as Terence's play. The result was chaos in the theater: *populus convolat, / tumultuantur, clamant, pugnant de loco* ("A crowd quickly gathers; they make a riot, scream, fight over seats," *Hec.* 40–1). Accordingly, the problem was not that Terence's spectators left the theater. Instead, a new crowd, keen on gladiator fights, forced its way in and struggled for seats with the *Hecyra* audience, which implies that the theater was full to start with (Parker 1996: 593).

The same disruption apparently happened at the play's premiere. Then another crowd assembled in Terence's theater (*Hec.* 35) to see boxers or tightrope walkers. Thus, the first two performances of *Hecyra* were both interrupted by an influx of new people, but no one actually left the theater (Parker 1996: 593–5; cf. also Gilula 1981: 36; Sandbach 1982: 134).

Fellow playwrights jealous of Terence's success may have spread the disruptive rumors about rival attractions (Mattingly 1959: 166; Carney 1963: 33; Parker 1996: 600). The second prologue probably hints at them when it asks the audience not to allow "unfair critics to cheat and unfairly deride the poet" (*ne eum circumventum inique iniqui inrideant*, *Hec.* 54). The speaker also

compares Terence to Caecilius, an earlier star playwright, who was plagued by similar *iniuria adversarium* (“wrongdoing by his adversaries,” *Hec.* 22). Hence, the evidence seems to suggest not repeated failure but premeditated sabotage by hired clagues that spread false rumors (Parker 1996: 600; cf. also Lefèvre 1999: 177; Stroh 2000: 105; Kruschwitz 2004: 117).

3 The Secret to *Hecyra*’s Success

If Parker is correct, we need to explain *Hecyra*’s astonishing success rather than speculate about its alleged flaws. Proof of the comedy’s success is how often it was produced at major public festivals. Most plays were put on only once. This may have meant a run of several performances because Roman Games often featured more than one day of theatrical shows (Marshall 2006: 80). As far as we know, however, only *Hecyra* was staged at three different major venues, the Megalensian Games of 165, the grand funeral games for Lucius Aemilius Paullus in 160 (in double billing with Terence’s *Adelphoe*), and finally the Roman Games in late 160 BCE.

These repeated bookings prove that at least the aristocratic organizers of these Games were convinced of *Hecyra*’s theatrical appeal. Roman noblemen tried to impress the populace and increase their chances at future elections by putting on particularly magnificent Games. The curule aediles who organized the Roman Games in 160 BCE would not have bet their careers on a demonstrably bad comedy, a play that had failed not just once, but twice. Clearly, they thought *Hecyra* would be a guaranteed success (Parker 1996: 607).

What made them so sure? Evidently, a simple reading of *Hecyra*’s script as it has come down to us, without stage directions, music, and choreography, is not able to communicate the play’s comic appeal. Otherwise, the judgment of modern critics would not differ so enormously from that of Terence’s ancient backers. Accordingly, we need to reproduce, as far as that is still possible, the experience of the ancient spectators. Only then can we expect to see *Hecyra* as they did, as a comedy full of farce, spectacle, and entertaining plot twists, seasoned with a generous dose of dramatic irony.

4 *Hecyra*’s Playbill

Before we look at the play itself, however, let us imagine *Hecyra*’s playbill. Its line-up of well-known names would have excited Roman theatergoers. First of all, spectators at the play’s premiere in 165 BCE would have remembered that Terence wrote the hit comedy *Andria*, which was performed a year earlier at the same festival. In 160 BCE, *Hecyra* was staged twice more. By that time,

Terence was an established star. Five of his plays had been produced at major religious festivals within the last six years. The year before, in 161 BCE, his *Eunuchus* won the highest prize sum ever awarded (Suet. *Vit. Ter.* 3). In short, Terence spelled F-U-N.

Secondly, as the remake of a play by Apollodorus of Carystus, *Hecyra* was sure to be a hit. Apollodorus (third century BCE) ranked among the best six out of the sixty-four writers of Greek New Comedy, together with Diphilus, Philemon, and Menander (Anon. *De com.* 5 Kaibel). Terence's *Hecyra* may have been the first adaptation of one of Apollodorus' comedies into Latin, and contemporary Romans would have been excited to see it.

Finally, the show starred an extremely popular actor, Ambivivus Turpio (on his career, see Tansey 2001: 40 with n.71). Usually, a younger member of the cast would speak the prologue (*Hau.* 1–2; *Hec.* 9–11). Terence, however, capitalized on Ambivivus' popularity by making him the prologue speaker. As *prologus*, Ambivivus appeared in costume but still without mask. Accordingly, everyone in the theater could see at once that *Hecyra* featured one of the greatest stars of the Roman stage.

The notion of scandal and bitter rivalry among playwrights in *Hecyra*'s prologues would have added to the audience's sense of anticipation. Rivalry is funny (Sharrock 2009: 78), and controversy sells (Carney 1963: 27; Parker 1996: 603). Hence, Terence does not even attempt to hide the play's previous problems. In fact, he alludes to *Hecyra*'s troubles even when he does not have to, in the prologue to *Phormio* (30–2), delivered in September 161. *Hecyra* was scheduled to be restaged a few months later, at the funeral games of Aemilius Paullus in 160 BCE. Maybe Terence tried to remind his audience of the scandal in order to drum up interest in the play's upcoming revival. *Hecyra*'s problems clearly did not worry him. In the prologue written for this revival he even jokes about them (*Hec.* 5–7), acting as if he had to defend himself against the charge of causing the disturbances himself in order to cash in twice for the same play (Parker 1996: 595).

5 Musical Spectacle

Once we get to the plot itself, the play's comic appeal becomes even more obvious. *Hecyra* offered exactly the kind of entertainment that Roman spectators liked, a comedy full of spectacle, farce, and dramatic irony.

Spectacle is a feature of *Hecyra* right from the start. In the Oxford Classical Text, this is not apparent because the Latin manuscripts, as I have already said, fail to preserve stage directions. For this reason, the play seems to open with a simple dialogue between two minor characters, the *hetaira* Philotis and her old maid Syra. Exiting from the house of another *hetaira*, Bacchis, they discuss a

surprising piece of news that they have just learned: Pamphilus, once Bacchis' devoted boyfriend, has left her unexpectedly and married someone else (60–2).

A much more spectacular opening preceded this scene. The *hetaira* and her servants entered the stage as part of a musical entrance parade (Knorr 2008: 448–9). Modern readers are unaware of this because our manuscripts lack stage directions. Yet Philotis and Syra are unlikely to emerge alone from Bacchis' door. Several mute extras, the servants of the *hetaira*, must have followed them.

Elsewhere in Roman comedies, at least, *hetairai* rarely enter the stage accompanied by only one servant. Bacchis and Antiphila, for example, bring an entire “herd of maids” with them when they first appear in *Hau.* 381 (see chapter 13, this volume; on Antiphila's ambiguous status, see chapter 9, this volume). Later, Bacchis leaves her house in the company of two female servants even though she is off-duty (*Hec.* 793). In the case of Philotis, we know that she has only just returned from a two-year stay in Corinth (*Hec.* 85–7). So when she and her maid enter, we should imagine them in the company of a whole retinue of slaves carrying the *hetaira*'s baggage. This group would have presented a colorful spectacle.

Moreover, Philotis and her retinue will not have filed onto the stage quietly, but *danced* their way out of Bacchis' door to the accompaniment of flute music. A generation later, after 133 BCE, the play would have opened with the dropping of a curtain (Beare 1964: 267–8). In Terence's time, however, it probably fell to the *tibicen* (“flute player”) to mark the beginning of a play by playing a musical overture (see chapter 5, this volume). The evidence for such overtures is limited (Cic. *Ac.* 2.20; Donat. *De com.* 8.11) and somewhat ambiguous (Beare 1964: 169) but many scholars agree that they were a feature of Roman drama (Ashmore 1908: 55; Stroh 2000: 108; Moore 2008: 3; *contra* Marshall 2006: 31 n.66). If these scholars are correct, it seems reasonable to assume that Philotis' retinue would have danced their way onto the stage while the *tibicen* played the play's opening music (Knorr 2008: 448).

Similar dancing processions occur in other ancient comedies (cf. Pl. *Mos.* 158–247, *Poen.* 210–60 and 1174–200; Ter. *Hau.* 381–97). Accordingly, ancient audiences probably enjoyed watching them. Hardly any plays, however, begin with a musical parade. The few exceptions are Menander's *Aspis*, which opens with a somber military funeral procession, and Plautus' *Curculio*, which starts with a religious night procession by torchlight. A comical military parade may also have introduced Plautus' *Miles Gloriosus*, and the three *hetairai* in the first scene of his *Cistellaria* could conceivably dance onto the stage accompanied by their retainers. In any case, the musical parade of a *hetaira* and her baggage train that sets *Hecyra* in motion was a relatively unusual feature. Such a procession would have surprised and delighted Terence's audience, and it would have secured their attention for the rest of the play.

6 The Clever Slave

After this grandiose, spectacular opening, Terence can afford to quiet things down for the play's exposition (58–197). Conveniently, Philotis and Syra, so-called protatic characters who appear only in the first two scenes, are just as ignorant about the plot's prehistory as Terence's audience. They have only recently returned to Athens from a prolonged stay abroad and depend on the slave Parmeno to fill them in on what has happened in their absence.

By putting most of this plot exposition in Parmeno's mouth, Terence prevents it from becoming too tedious. For Parmeno, Pamphilus' slave and confidante, represents a very entertaining stock character, the clever slave (*servus callidus*). To an ancient audience, his identity would have been immediately clear because he acts (and was probably dressed) like one.

Parmeno's behavior unmistakably characterizes him as a clever slave. As he is leaving his master's house, he turns around and tells a fellow slave:

If the old man asks for me, say I've just gone to the harbor to find out when Pamphilus is arriving. Do you hear what I'm saying, Scirtus? If he asks for me, then say that; if he doesn't, don't say a word, so that I can keep the excuse to use another time. (*Hec.* 76–80)

Ordering fellow slaves around and deceiving his master—all this is typical clever slave behavior.

Accordingly, Parmeno probably wore the distinctive costume of a clever slave, as we know it from a description in Plautus' *Pseudolus* (1218–20). There, the title character wears a large, grotesque mask with flaming red hair and possibly asymmetrical eyebrows. His costume features a huge, protruding belly and oversize shoes (cf. Marshall 2006: 133–6).

Both Parmeno's self-important, roguish manner and his grotesque costume imbue *Hecyra*'s exposition with farcical flavor. The scene's humor is enhanced by the fact that the grotesquely obese slave tries to flirt with the beautiful young *hetaira* (e.g., 141–2). Another source of comedy is Parmeno's grand posture as his master's trusted confidant. He likes to drop self-important innuendoes (100) but then refuses to reveal what he knows (104–5). His secretiveness is, of course, mere pretense. When Philotis calls his bluff, Parmeno sheepishly admits, in an aside to the audience, that his love for gossiping is his greatest weakness (111–12).

Consequently, the entire passage turns into a metatheatrical joke at the slave's expense. The same Parmeno who sternly refused to talk publicly about his master's affairs (104) suddenly feels free to discuss the most intimate details of Pamphilus' marriage. Moreover, he does this in a crowded theater, right after his aside has shown that he is fully aware of the audience's presence.

Another feature that makes Parmeno's part comically effective are the passages of quoted dialogue. Parmeno tells Philotis about the anxious conversations Pamphilus had with him when he was forced to marry the neighbor's daughter. Over several lines, the slave quotes his master's words verbatim (131–3, 148–51, 153–6). Arnott (1993: 29) remarks that quoted dialogue, as in Menander's *Dyskolos* (107–15), tested an actor's vocal abilities (cf. Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.91). Accordingly, the Parmeno character in *Hecyra* probably got some extra laughs by imitating the voice of his spineless young master.

7 Plot Twists and Farce

The expository information Parmeno provides (101–94) replaces the first mystery with another one. Pamphilus, we learn, did not voluntarily desert Bacchis, the *hetaira* next door. He was desperately in love with her, but his father pressured him into marrying a respectable girl, Philumena, the daughter of another neighbor. Pamphilus then refused to consummate the marriage for a long time, hoping his new wife would leave him on her own accord. He finally transferred his affections to Philumena when Bacchis started to become difficult and demanding. Soon afterwards, Pamphilus was sent on a business trip to far-away Imbros, and now the marriage is suddenly at risk: Philumena, left behind alone with Pamphilus' mother, Sostrata, has conceived an inexplicable hatred of her mother-in-law (179). She has moved back in with her parents and refuses any communication with her husband's family. In short, the first mystery (why Pamphilus left Bacchis) has been replaced by another, just as intriguing puzzle: what caused the unexpected crisis in Pamphilus' marriage?

The second Act introduces more lively farce into the mix. An irate old man, Pamphilus' father Laches, storms onto the stage in a strong, farcical entry. He delivers an over-the-top misogynistic rant (198–204). His despondent wife, Sostrata, tries ineffectually to defend herself against his accusation that she has caused the rift between herself and her daughter-in-law. The scene resembles several other, similarly misogynistic, outbursts in Roman Comedy and shows that such tirades were extremely popular with the Roman audience (cf., e.g., Pl. *Aul.* 40–66, *Men.* 110–24).

The next scene features another old man quarreling with a woman. This time Laches' neighbor, Phidippus, bursts out of his house. Still on the threshold, Phidippus argues loudly with his daughter inside because she refuses to return to her in-laws (243–5). The two entries almost exactly mirror each other, a resemblance that is underlined by the fact that they are both musically accompanied.

An amusing squabble between Laches and Phidippus follows. Laches dares to imply that his neighbor is under the thumb of his womenfolk. Otherwise, he would simply force his daughter to go back (247–50). The scene ends with

Phidippus confirming Laches' suspicions of Sostrata. His daughter, he reports, swears she could not endure life in her in-laws' house without her husband (268–9). Since Laches usually resides at his country estates (174–5, 215), only Sostrata can have driven Philumena to move out.

A surprising plot twist, however, the first of several to come, disabuses the audience of its prejudice against Sostrata simply because she is a mother-in-law. Left alone on stage, Sostrata assures us that she has never mistreated her daughter-in-law; she has no idea why Philumena suddenly moved out (274–80). Comic convention guarantees the veracity of her soliloquy (cf., e.g., Büchner 1974: 129; Gilula 1979–80: 143; Zoccola 2007: 291–2). Moreover, habitual theatergoers probably already suspect her innocence. In the analogous scenes in Plautus that I have mentioned above, it also turns out that the women were accused unjustly. Accordingly, all indications of Sostrata's guilt that Terence has given us so far, namely the play's title, Parmeno's suspicion of her (179), Laches' rant (198–204), and Philumena's oath (268–9), were merely false clues. Again, we are left with an intriguing mystery: if the mother-in-law is blameless, what is really threatening the young couple's marriage?

8 Philumena's Secret

The third Act offers a surprising answer to this question. It also significantly steps up the pace and intensity of the farce. Characters exit and enter in increasingly close intervals so that the pace of the action reaches almost frantic speeds.

At first, the Act starts out slowly. Pamphilus lengthily complains to Parmeno about the injustice of his fate (281–315, thirty-five lines). Then, however, a scream from backstage interrupts their conversation (315). A rapid exchange of brief questions and answers follows (316–26, eleven lines). Pamphilus finally learns that his wife is said to suffer from a mysterious illness. So he rushes into her house to help her (326).

The pace continues unbroken. Parmeno remains behind, but he has barely spoken nine lines (327–35) when Sostrata exits her house to investigate the strange noises. For seventeen lines (336–52), we tensely wonder whether Parmeno can keep Sostrata from following her son into Philumena's house. Then Pamphilus suddenly reemerges (352). Now he acts even more distraught than before, and his mother's presence clearly causes him discomfort. Quickly, Pamphilus sends everyone else away. After just six lines, his mother returns to her home (353–8); after another two, Parmeno rushes off to the harbor (359–60).

Once Pamphilus has removed all unwelcome witnesses, the pace slows down temporarily for the soliloquy in which the young man reveals to the audience the shocking events that he has just observed in his in-laws' house

(361–414, fifty-four lines). All too soon, however, a new threat emerges. Parmeno returns with another large procession, the servants that carry Pamphilus' baggage (415–29, fifteen lines). Our texts print only the funny banter between Parmeno and his fellow slave, Sosia (415–27). From Pamphilus' order to Parmeno, however, we know that Sosia is not alone. Several slaves are supposed to bring Pamphilus' baggage (cf. the plural *pueris*, 359 and 409). So while Pamphilus desperately wants to be alone in order to pour out his troubled heart to the audience, another crowd of baggage porters, mirroring Philotis' retinue earlier, bursts dancing onto the stage.

This time, Pamphilus finds it harder to get rid of Parmeno. The porters are quickly sent inside (429), but Parmeno is so tired of running that he resists being sent away again (434–5, 443). It takes Pamphilus an entire fourteen lines (430–43) before Parmeno is off once more, running up to the Acropolis on another wild-goose chase. And even this break turns out to be much shorter than Pamphilus expects. Only seven lines later, Laches and Phidippus appear and cause him even more trouble (451).

Together with the pace, the farcical nature of the action also increases. Everyone on stage suddenly starts acting like complete fools. Again, the absence of stage directions in the Latin text obscures what is really going on, although there is no need to reassign the speakers (*pace* Victor 2007a). Several times, we hear Philumena crying out from backstage (*pace* Cabrillana 2000: 279). Her cries, however, do not appear in our script because they are extrametrical, inarticulate utterances. As a result, this scene with its multi-layered humor has yet to be appreciated in all its complexity.

What happens is actually relatively simple. Just as Parmeno is about to knock at Philumena's door to announce her husband's return, a loud cry of pain stops him in his tracks. He and his master then overhear two further screams from inside and a muffled attempt by Philumena's mother, Myrrina, to stifle her daughter's cries:

PAM. abi, Parmeno, intro ac me venisse nuntia! PAR. hem, quid hoc est?

PAM. tace!

trepidari sentio et cursari rursum prorsum. PAR. agedum, ad fores

accedo propius. em, sensistin? PAM. noli fabularier!

pro Iuppiter, clamorem audiui. PAR. tute loqueris, me vetas.

MY. (intus) tace, obsecro, mea gnata! (*Hec.* 314–18)

PAM. Go inside, Parmeno, and announce my return! (*They hear a cry of pain.*)

PAR. (*startled*) Hey, what's that? PAM. Hush!

I'm hearing panicked noises and running back and forth. PAR. Come on,

I'll get closer to the door. (*Another cry of pain.*) There, did you hear that?

PAM. Don't talk!

(*A small pause, then another cry.*) By Jove, I've heard a scream! PAR. (*peevish*)

You are speaking, and me you tell not to!

MYR. (*muffled from inside*) Hush, for goodness' sake, my daughter!

This scene makes brilliant use of a typical comic convention (Knorr 2008: 449–51). Whenever characters in ancient comedy overhear such screams from off-stage, they are always those of a girl in labor (cf. Men. *Georg.* fr. 112–14 Arnott, *Plokion* fr. 335 Koerte-Thierfelder (= p. 313 Sandbach = Gel. 2.23.15–18); Pl. *Am.* 1061, *Aul.* 691–2; Ter. *An.* 473, *Ad.* 486–7). This device is so common, in fact, that old Simo in *Andria*, the play Terence staged the year before the *Hecyra* premiere, mocks the artificiality of this convention and refuses to believe that a birth is really taking place (474–6). Accordingly, Penwill (2004: 134) calls the *Hecyra* scene “a re-run of *Andria* Act 3 scene 1.” Yet what makes the *Hecyra* scene much more comical is that everyone on stage completely fails to understand what is going on, not just Pamphilus and Parmeno, but even a woman like Sostrata who has experienced childbirth herself.

In contrast to the characters, the audience would have recognized Terence’s clever play with the convention at once (*pace* Ireland 1990: 127; Cicu 1996: 67). By Terence’s time, two to three generations of Romans had attended theatrical games, and audiences were thoroughly familiar with the conventions of Greek and Roman New Comedy (Handley 1975: 117–32; Parker 1996: 608–9). Büchner (1974: 130) feared that Pamphilus would appear ridiculous if the spectators could guess what is going on right away. That, however, is the very point of the scene. In fact, the playwright tries his best to ensure that his audience notices the allusion to comic convention. When Pamphilus tells Parmeno to be quiet, he says, *noli fabularier* (316). This means not only “Don’t talk,” but also “Don’t speak like an actor in a play (*fabula*)” (cf. Knorr 2008: 450). This metatheatrical pun draws attention to the genre-typical nature of the entire scene.

Their familiarity with comic conventions would also have enabled the spectators to appreciate the dramatic irony in what follows:

PAM. matris vox visast Philumenae.
nullus sum! PAR. quidum? PAM. perii! PAR. quam ob rem? PAM.
nescioquod magnum malum
profecto, Parmeno, me celant. PAR. uxorem Philumenam
pavitare nescioquid dixerunt. id si forte est nescio.
PAM. interii; quor mihi id non dixti? (*Hec.* 318–22)

PAM. This seems to be the voice of Philumena’s mother!
I’m done for! PAR. How so? PAM. I’m ruined! PAR. Why? PAM. It’s some really big trouble, Parmeno, that they are hiding from me! PAR. They said that Philumena, your wife, has some sort of a fever. Maybe it’s that, I don’t know.
PAM. I’m dead! Why didn’t you tell me?

On account of Pamphilus’ reaction, the audience must at first assume that he has finally realized the implications of Philumena’s screams and Myrrina’s

plea. His wife is giving birth to a baby, and his mother-in-law is trying to keep this fact secret because the baby is illegitimate. The speed, however, with which Pamphilus then accepts Parmeno's explanation that Philumena may be sick (320–2), shows the audience that he continues to be completely in the dark and that even the supposedly clever slave is clueless. Their utter failure to understand the situation is comically underlined by the fact that the “really big trouble” (319) that Pamphilus suspects the women are hiding from him is actually a tiny baby.

The following scenes skillfully exploit the same dramatic irony. Parmeno decides to stay outside so that no one can blame him, the lowly slave, of having anything to do with Philumena's “disease” (330–5). For the audience, this is hilarious because it means the pot-bellied old slave would have had to have sex with his young master's wife. Then Sostrata appears on the scene, concerned that Philumena's “illness” may have gotten worse (337). She expresses relief when she hears that her son has finally come home and has gone inside to check on his wife's health (346). Here too, the audience can guess that Pamphilus has, in fact, returned at the most inopportune moment possible. The spectators will wait with suspense for his reaction to what he finds in Philumena's house. Predictably, the young man is devastated (352) once he has seen the truth and reemerges, and the audience knows enough to enjoy the desperate attempts with which Pamphilus then tries to get Parmeno and his mother out of the way before the truth dawns on them too (353–60, cf. 412–13).

The ensuing monologue is similarly suffused with dramatic irony. Pamphilus sounds so wretched when he reports what he has seen inside his in-laws' house (361–414) that one could feel almost sorry for him. The dramatic irony of the situation, however, would have tempered the audience's pity and increased their fun. Pamphilus complains that his wife suffered from a very different “disease” than he expected (365–6), and reports that he only understood what kind of “disease” it was when he entered her room (373). Roman spectators would have gloated at his slow-wittedness and enjoyed their own acuity. Pamphilus never mentions explicitly what he has seen (cf. 374–5), but this is, of course, not necessary anyway. Everyone in the audience has understood the truth long before him.

The most important information that Pamphilus imparts is a bit of mathematics. He reports Myrrina's calculation of Philumena's due date, and this explains why Pamphilus alone is shocked at seeing his wife give birth, whereas the baby's grandfathers are overjoyed (642–3, 651–3). As quoted by Pamphilus, Myrrina says:

parturire eam nec gravidam esse ex te solus conscius:
nam aiunt tecum post duobus concubuisse [eam] mensibus.
tum, postquam ad te venit, mensis agitur hic iam septimus; (*Hec.* 392–4)

You're the only person who knows that she's having a baby and that it is not yours. I'm told that she slept with you only after two months, and this is now the seventh month since she came to live with you.

In other words, Pamphilus and Philumena have been married for seven months, but had sex for the first time only five months ago. So the baby clearly cannot be Pamphilus' child. In hindsight, it now also becomes clear to the audience why Pamphilus was so eager to get his trusty slave, Parmeno, out of the way. Of everyone in Laches' household, Parmeno alone knows how long Pamphilus avoided sleeping with his wife, and so he too could figure out that the baby is illegitimate (136–7, 143–5, 410–11). To Pamphilus' father and father-in-law, however, who are unaware of Pamphilus' initial refusal to consummate the marriage, it will look as if Philumena has born her child somewhat prematurely but nevertheless “regularly and at an appropriate time” (*recte et tempore suo*, 531), after a seven-month pregnancy (Schadewaldt 1931: 4). Only for some classical scholars, this is apparently a difficult calculation (cf. Büchner 1974: 135–6 and see, e.g., the various appendices in Carney 1963: 146–7 and Ireland 1990: 162–50).

9 Pamphilus: Callous Rapist or Comic Fool?

To Terence's ancient audience, Pamphilus' despair was both understandable and a source of comedy. The spectators could rest assured that the young man is exciting himself over nothing. First of all, since they were watching a comedy, the happy ending was guaranteed (Gilula 1979–80: 138; Penwill 2004: 136). Secondly, they probably knew that the father of the baby in all the comedies with labor screams is always the young hero himself. In fact, this dramatic convention infuses dramatic irony into some of Myrrina's words:

scio nemini aliter suspectum fore
quin, quod veri similest, ex te recte eum natum putent. (*Hec.* 398–9)

I know that nobody will suspect anything; they'll come to the natural conclusion that the baby was legitimately born from you.

A neat pun in this statement confirms the audience's suspicions and foreshadows the happy ending: the people who assume that the baby is Pamphilus' believe not only what is “likely” (*veri simile*), but also what is “like the truth” (for which the Latin is also *veri simile*). Thus, Pamphilus really has nothing to worry about, and ancient audiences would have been undisturbed by his suffering.

Modern readers, in contrast, have been thoroughly disturbed, not by Pamphilus' tribulations, though, but by his insensitive reaction to Philumena's distress (esp. Penwill 2004: 135). Philumena is not only blameless: she is the victim of a heinous crime. Pamphilus, however, worries less about her feelings than about the fact that she was no longer a virgin when he married her. He feels that it would be "dishonorable" (403) if he took her back under these circumstances, and cries more about his own future loneliness (405–6) than her pain and hurt. His callous self-pity, however, makes Pamphilus no more shallow and narcissistic than other young men in Roman Comedy, such as Lyconides in Plautus' *Aulularia* or Chaerea in Terence's *Eunuchus* (cf. Pierce 1997: 173). Moreover, our feelings about rape, even if the Romans generally shared them (cf. Liv. 1.58, 3.46), are anachronistic and beside the point here. In Graeco-Roman Comedy, rape is a dramatic necessity (on rape, see chapters 9 and 14, this volume).

In the context of an ancient comedy, then, Pamphilus' rape becomes a pardonable offense. Accordingly, characters in other comedies are typically willing to forgive a rape as long as the crime took place at night (i.e., not in full daylight) and the offender was drunk and in love (Pl. *Aul.* 745, 794–5; Ter. *Ad.* 470–1; cf. Duckworth 1952: 292; Carney 1963: 95; Fantham 1975: 53–4; Smith 1994: 23; Lape 2001: 93–4). Some modern critics have nevertheless argued that Terence tries to portray Philumena's rape as particularly violent and repulsive (James 1998b: 44–5; Anderson 2000: 314; Penwill 2004: 138–9; see also chapter 9, this volume). Pierce is more sympathetic to comedy's generic needs, but she also argues that the fact that Pamphilus was on his way to Bacchis when he raped Philumena turns his rape "into a more sinister exercise in power" than other comedic rapes (1997: 174). Bacchis herself, however, apparently tries to excuse Pamphilus' crime: when he encountered and raped Philumena, she reveals, it was night and he was drunk (cf. *nocte prima*, 822; *vini plenum*, 823). Moreover, the play's happy ending rewards Pamphilus and thus implicitly endorses his behavior (Rosivach 1998: 30). It seems likely, therefore, that Roman audiences were no more bothered about Philumena's rape than Pamphilus himself. They would have thought of him less as a callous rapist than as a typically silly and egotistical young lover.

10 The Tribulations of Pamphilus

Pamphilus' startling discovery that he did not marry a virgin is by no means the end of his comic tribulations. Conscious that Philumena has always been more than kind to him, whereas he was initially mean to her, Pamphilus has promised his mother-in-law that he will keep Philumena's misfortune secret as long as the baby is quietly disposed of (402). At the same time, however, he feels that it would not be honorable for him to take his wife back (403).

Pamphilus' noble promise to guard Philumena's secret, "a thoroughly Hippolytean gesture" (Penwill 2004: 137; on tragic intertexts in the play, see chapter 3, this volume), sets in motion a series of farcical complications that keep him busy for most of the rest of the play. With every scene, the pressure on Pamphilus mounts to reconcile with his wife and to accept her child as his own progeny, up to the point where the young man can no longer resist and almost gives the game away.

The first test of Pamphilus' resolve arrives in the form of Laches and Phidippus, his father and father-in-law (451). The old men expect that Philumena will agree to return to her husband's house, now that Pamphilus is back (451–2). Overhearing them, Pamphilus panics because he cannot think of a pretext to prevent this (452–3).

To ease Philumena's return, Laches and Phidippus try to hide from Pamphilus that his wife has moved out. This makes even more sense in a Roman than in a Greek context. In Athens, a wife needed the permission of her male guardian (*kyrios*) to initiate divorce. Roman marriage, in contrast, was based on the will of *both* partners to live together. Accordingly, simply by moving out Philumena could be understood as initiating divorce. No specific divorce formula, documentation, or even notification of the partner was legally required (Treggiari 1991: 33–6).

Of course, the old men's clumsy attempt at deception fails at once because Pamphilus already knows more about the matter than they do (466–8). In his desperation, he "resurrect[s] the *odium* theme" (Ireland 1990: 135) and acts as if his duty as a good son (*pietas*, 481) prevented him from taking back a wife that cannot get along with his mother (470–81). This is so patently ludicrous that the old men refuse to accept it, until Pamphilus escapes their insistent pestering by simply running away (495).

The humor of this scene consists not only in this farcical escape, which Pamphilus will repeat one more time (706). The scene also comically unmasks Laches' greed, which is stereotypical for old men in comedy (for parallels, see Ireland 1990: 135). The first thing Laches inquires about is the inheritance that Pamphilus was supposed to secure on Imbros. The old man expresses sorrow over the loss of his relative only after he has heard that the deceased has left them at least some property (458–64).

Pamphilus mocks his father's hypocrisy in a comical aside (464–5), but then he turns out to be no less of a hypocrite than Laches. Pamphilus pretends that he has to give up his wife in order to do his duty to his mother (477–81). The audience knows, however, that it is not a sense of *pietas* that propels Pamphilus to repudiate his wife, but his knowledge that she has given birth to someone else's child. Accordingly, dramatic irony comically undermines everything Pamphilus says.

Dramatic irony similarly informs the earlier scene in which the old men try to fool Pamphilus into thinking that his wife's absence is nothing out of the

ordinary (466–8). Pamphilus knows that the old men are lying, and we know that Pamphilus knows. At the same time, this scene represents a clever inversion of comic convention. Usually, it is young men who try to deceive their elders, not the other way around (Gilula 1979–80: 149). Not surprisingly, the old men are rather bad at deception. Phidippus misses his cue, and when Laches reminds him in a whispered aside, “Tell him *you* ordered it” (*dic iussisse te*, 466), he complains, “Don’t poke me!” (*noli fodere*, 467), before he understands what is required of him and loudly confirms, “I ordered it” (*iussi*, 467). So the scene entertains the spectators also with some delightful visual slapstick or, in Zoccola’s words, “[The scene] manifests a subtle irony in the parodic inversion of the aside and in the realization that this humor is not provoked by the use of the convention but by its failure” (2007: 270, my translation).

One last joke that no one seems to have picked up on comes right at the beginning of the scene. Phidippus greets his son-in-law (456–7), “It’s good news that you’re back, Pamphilus, and safe and well too, which is the important thing.” Pamphilus already knows that he has actually arrived at a rather bad moment, and that his father-in-law must think so too. Phidippus has not yet heard about the baby, but he cannot be happy that his daughter has still not moved back in with Pamphilus’ parents. So the young man reacts not with the usual *credo*, which is equivalent to our, “Thank you!” but more literally means, “I believe you” (Don. ad *An.* 939; Carney 1963: 80). Instead, he responds in a much more non-committal way, with *creditur* (457). Literally, this impersonal passive form means, “It is being believed” or “One believes it.” The audience, with its superior knowledge of the situation, may perceive Pamphilus’ remark as a subtle metatheatrical joke at Phidippus’ expense. Implicitly, Pamphilus says, “You are only pretending to be happy about seeing me, but it’s a credible performance: one believes it.”

Pamphilus’ seemingly irrational rejection of any reconciliation with his wife leads to another amusing scene (496–515). Phidippus becomes so upset about the young man’s stubbornness that he attacks his old friend Laches before angrily rushing back into his house: “You people are getting above yourselves, just because you’ve come into a bit of money” (506–7). Phidippus’ outburst is particularly funny because we have just heard that the inheritance from Imbros is rather small (458–63).

The fourth Act starts with a scene (516–76) that mirrors the earlier comical altercation between Laches and Sostrata (198–280) (Schadewaldt 1931: 16). This time, however, the action takes place on the opposite side of the stage,¹ and the desperate wife, Myrrina, bursts out of her house first, followed by her irate husband, Phidippus, instead of vice versa. Two features remain the same: both scenes are musically accompanied (Moore 1998a: 255 n. 16) and concluded by a monologue of the despondent wife: Sostrata in lines 274–80, Myrrina in 566–76.

This act introduces another surprising plot twist that will cause even greater trouble for young Pamphilus: Phidippus has found out about his daughter’s

baby. On the one hand, this is a welcome development since it removes all suspicion from Sostrata. On the other hand, it merely shifts the blame from one mother-in-law to another: Phidippus is now convinced that his own wife, Myrrina, incited his daughter to leave her in-laws' house. He claims that she secretly tried to kill their newborn grandson so that she could finally get rid of her son-in-law. She has never liked Pamphilus because of his cavorting with the prostitute Bacchis (529–39). Myrrina is not happy about being blamed, but she prefers it to Phidippus' finding out the truth (540).

Myrrina's monologue at the end of this scene reveals another important piece of information to the audience. Sostrata's earlier monologue had assured us that she was innocent, which in turn imbued all the following scenes with dramatic irony. Myrrina's soliloquy now introduces the ring that will, as usual in comedy, prove to be the all-important recognition tool. Ironically, she mentions the ring only to illustrate why she completely despairs over ever finding the father of her daughter's baby:

MY. nam quom compressast gnata, forma in tenebris nosci non quitast,
neque detractum ei tum quicquamst qui posset post nosci qui siet;
ipse eripuit vi, in digito quem habuit, virgini abiens anulum. (*Hec.* 572–4)

MY. When my daughter was raped, she couldn't recognize her assailant in the darkness, and she didn't snatch any possession of his at the time by which he could be identified later; In fact, he himself as he left stole a ring from her, which she was wearing on her finger.

The scene represents yet another instance of dramatic irony that counts on the audience's familiarity with generic conventions. The first two lines tell the audience that Terence is not following the usual comic convention. According to this convention, a raped girl always manages to steal a ring from her attacker that allows her to recognize him later and sue for marriage. So Myrrina is understandably unhappy. Her next line (574), however, promises the audience that there will be a ring after all, except that this time the attacker has stolen the ring from the girl. So all Terence has done is play with yet another trite comic convention. Hence, the audience, with its knowledge of comic conventions, must realize that Myrrina is needlessly worried. The spectators can both enjoy the novel twist to an old routine and simultaneously rest assured that the ring will show up in the nick of time, as usual, and bring about the happy ending.

As always in *Hecyra*, however, the following scenes introduce a new plot twist that complicates Pamphilus' situation further just when the happy ending seems almost within reach (577–622). Since it is apparently her presence that prevents Pamphilus from taking his wife back, Sostrata decides to move out to the country house where Laches usually resides alone. Pamphilus' father cannot help but approve Sostrata's decision, even though he clearly does not look

forward to living under one roof with his much-maligned wife: *abi rus ergo hinc. ibi ego te et tu me feres* ("So off you go to the farm where I'll put up with you and you with me," 610).

The audience knows that Laches has rarely spent any time with Sostrata for years (cf. 215), so it is amusing that his own false suspicions of her now force him to live with her under the same roof again.

For Pamphilus, Phidippus' discovery of the baby and his mother's departure have comically devastating consequences. This becomes immediately apparent in the next scene when Phidippus joins him and Laches once more (623–705). Comic asides in rapid succession (628, 633, 634, 638, 647–9, 651, 653, 670–1) vividly illustrate Pamphilus' growing panic as Phidippus tells Laches about their new grandson and blames his wife, Myrrina, for concealing his birth from them. In the end, Pamphilus cannot control himself any longer and reveals Philumena's secret. Ironically, the old men are not even listening to him:

PAM. etiamsi dudum fuerat ambiguom hoc mihi,
nunc non est quom eam sequitur alienus puer.
LAC. nulla tibi, Pamphile, hic iam consultatiost.
PAM. perii! (*Hec.* 648–50)

PAM. (*half-loud aside*) Whatever doubts I had before, I've none now, if she's bringing someone else's child with her.

LAC. (*distracted*) No one, Pamphilus, is asking you for your opinion anymore.

PAM. (*aside*) I'm ruined!

By convention, only the audience is supposed to understand a character's asides, no one else. So the fact that Laches half-overhears Pamphilus' all-too-revealing aside is another comical break with dramatic convention (Duckworth 1952: 112 lists a few similar cases, e.g., Pl. *Mil.* 1348).

This is such effective slapstick that Terence uses the same gag a moment later again. Ignoring Pamphilus' protests, Laches demands that the child, in accordance with Roman law, be given to his father, Pamphilus, so he can raise it (668–70). Again, Pamphilus' comment implies doubt over the paternity of the baby, but Laches comically understands only the irrelevant second part of his aside, namely that Pamphilus still refuses to raise the boy:

PAM. quem ipse neglexit pater
ego alam? LAC. quid dixti? eho! an non alemus, Pamphile?
prodemus, quaeso, potius? quae haec amentia? (*Hec.* 670–2)

PAM. (*half-loud aside*) Someone whom his own father has disowned, I am supposed to raise? LAC. What did you say? Listen, should we then not raise him, Pamphilus? Should we expose him instead, pray? What madness is this?

From their position of superior knowledge, the spectators cannot help but sympathize with Pamphilus' struggle and wonder how he will extricate himself this time. In the end, Pamphilus chooses to run away once more, as before in 495. This time, he even gives the audience a reason for his escape in an aside:

nam puerum iniussu, credo, non tollent meo,
praesertim in ea re quom sit mi adiutrix socrus. (Hec. 704–5)

They won't acknowledge the child against my orders,
especially when my mother-in-law supports me in this.

What makes this second escape particularly amusing, however, is that Pamphilus underestimates his father. Laches is so exasperated with his son's antics that he declares he will simply recognize the child himself (708).

Even before he makes his escape, Pamphilus' strange and apparently irrational behavior has set the plot once more into an unexpected direction. Both fathers start to suspect that there can be only one explanation for the young man's stubborn refusal to take his wife back: he must still be in love with Bacchis, his old *hetaira* friend (682–96). Again, the old men's charges are filled with dramatic irony because the audience, remembering Parmeno's report about the affair (157–70), knows that their suspicions are completely unfounded (Gilula 1979–80: 155; Zoccola 2007: 283).

Terence, however, has one final surprise up his sleeve. Unexpectedly, the old men's baseless suspicions of Bacchis bring about the happy ending. In Act five, Laches cajoles Bacchis into meeting with Philumena and Myrrina to swear to them that she stopped seeing Pamphilus long ago (726–98). Neither Phidippus (772) nor Laches himself believe her (796–8), but they are convinced that her testimony will nevertheless persuade Myrrina to give up her resistance and send Philumena back to her husband (779–80).

The dramatic irony of these scenes must lead the audience to believe that Bacchis will simply waste her time. Once more, however, Terence is only playing with his audience's expectations. When Bacchis reemerges from Phidippus' house, she unexpectedly bears good news. The turning point to the happy ending has arrived.

Terence has designed this second plot reversal to be exactly parallel to the first one when Pamphilus discovered his wife's pregnancy. As Schadewaldt (1931: 10) observed, the two soliloquies of Pamphilus and Bacchis correspond to each other. The good news in Bacchis' monologue (816–40) corrects the disturbing discoveries Pamphilus reported in his own, earlier soliloquy (361–414). And even the slave Parmeno reappears again (799), right at the most inopportune moment, and comically delays the revelation that the audience is waiting for.

Exactly like Pamphilus before, Bacchis sends the slave away again, albeit with a tantalizing message for Pamphilus: Myrrina has recognized the ring that Pamphilus once gave her as that of her daughter (811–12).

Thus the comedy has reached a satisfactory happy ending. Bacchis' monologue fills in the last pieces of the puzzle that were still missing, including another bit of mathematics: one night almost ten months ago, Pamphilus came to her drunk and gave her the ring which, as he admitted, he had just taken from a girl he had met in the street and raped (821–9). So Philumena's newborn son is Pamphilus' child after all, begotten during a chance encounter and rape nine months ago.

The comedy ends with a fireworks of metatheatrical jokes that emphasize the play's novelty and originality. One of these jokes is well known (cf., e.g., Norwood 1923: 105; Büchner 1974: 168): Pamphilus and Bacchis agree that they will keep most people in the dark over what really happened, except for those who already know (which includes the audience), and Pamphilus explicitly points out that this is not what is usually done in comedies:

placet non fieri itidem ut in comoediis
omnia omnes ubi resciscunt. hic quos par fuerat resciscere
sciunt. quos non autem aequomst scire neque resciscunt neque scient.
(*Hec.* 866–8)

I don't want what happens in comedies to happen here, where everybody finds out everything. In this case, those who need to know know already; those who don't must not find out or ever know.

Conspicuously, the people who are kept in the dark include Parmeno, the clever slave, whose ignorance is roundly mocked in the last two scenes (841–80). None of the leading slaves in Terence's other comedies is very smart, but Parmeno beats them all. He never even realizes that Philumena has borne a child. When Pamphilus promises him a reward (849) such as the clever slave customarily receives at the end of comedies, honest Parmeno feels he has to decline it because he has no idea what good he has done (850–1). Considering that the slave has spent only one-third of the play onstage, and twice that much offstage (Cabrillana 2000: 273), this is not even surprising. In short, Parmeno must be the most ridiculous parody of a clever slave that Terence's Roman audience had ever seen. It is this novel character of his role that Parmeno's metatheatrical parting words emphasize once more: *equidem plus hodie boni / feci imprudens quam sciens ante hunc diem umquam* ("Well, at least I've done more good today unwittingly than I've ever done knowingly before this day," 879–80).

11 Reasons for *Hecyra's* Comic Appeal

For contemporary audiences, the remarkable amount of dramatic innovation in *Hecyra* must have been one of the most appealing features of this comedy. The scholiast Donatus, at least, was struck by the unusual way Terence employs the standard personnel of Roman comedy:

in tota comoedia hoc agitur, ut res novae fiant nec tamen abhorreant ab consuetudine: inducuntur enim benivolae socrus, verecunda nurus, lenissimus in uxorem maritus et item deditus matri suae, meretrix bona. (vol. I, p. 190, 11–14 Wessner)

In the entire comedy, the intention is to do things in a new way and yet not deviate from the customary. Introduced are benevolent mothers-in-law, a modest daughter-in-law, a husband that is most lenient toward his wife and at the same time devoted to his mother, a good prostitute.

Donatus could also have added Terence's striking innovation of the role of the clever slave. Instead of playing the *architectus doli*, as in Plautus, the slave is literally marginalized, spending more time offstage than on the stage (Norwood 1923: 92; Gilula 1979–80: 147–8; Cabrillana 2000: 273; Zoccola 2007: 271–4). His role as a cunning schemer is usurped by Pamphilus. The latter, however, still resembles the conventional young man enough that all his intrigues are basically doomed to failure from the start.

In addition, *Hecyra* offers more comic inversions of dramatic conventions than any other Terentian comedy (Zoccola 2007: 278). Several examples have already been mentioned, such as the misunderstood labor screams, the old deceiving the young, the ring that is stolen *from* the rape victim instead of *by* her, the slave who is promised a reward for doing nothing, and the limited recognition at the end. One could also add, for instance, the popular slapstick routine of the running slave (*servus currens*). Instead of running onto the stage, we always see Parmeno running off the stage (Gilula 1979–80: 145 n.15; Goldberg 1986: 15–16; Knorr 2007: 170–1). Roman audiences, as Tim Moore has noted (1998a: 15), liked to see old routines executed well, but they appreciated novelty even more. Accordingly, they must have been really excited about Terence's *Hecyra*.

Most importantly, *Hecyra* is a great comedy because it is a particularly well-designed farce. Leslie Smith, in his book *Modern British Farce*, identifies several plot features as characteristic of farce, such as “the accelerating pace of the action, the multiplications of misunderstandings, reversals, and confusions of identity” (Smith 1989: 207). Terence's *Hecyra*, as we have seen, possesses all these features. The action constantly accelerates, as Pamphilus is

confronted by one crisis after the other, each one worse than its predecessor. Misunderstandings multiply as the old men blame first Sostrata, then Myrrina, and finally Bacchis for the rift in Pamphilus' marriage (cf. Lowe 2000: 214). The play also features two major plot reversals, tied to a mistaken identity. The first reversal comes when Pamphilus realizes that his wife is pregnant by another man, the second one, when Bacchis discovers that this man was in fact Pamphilus himself. In addition, Terence's play contains "a flurry of exits and entrances" (Gowers 2004: 160), another characteristic of farce (Smith 1989: 209). And finally, to use the words of a modern practitioner, Brian Rix, "a good farce ... always threatens ultimate catastrophe, and this is what sustains the dramatic tension" (quoted in Smith 1989: 207). The same sense of an impending catastrophe drives the plot of *Hecyra* and keeps the spectators on the edge of their seats, as they watch Pamphilus struggle to guard Philumena's secret while refusing to take her back. In view of all these farcical features, it seems truly ironic that Norwood praised *Hecyra* as "the purest and most perfect example of classical high comedy" precisely because he considered it "a markedly unfarcical comedy" (1923: 90).

Hecyra may also have appealed to Roman spectators because it is unusually rich in female speaking parts. The play features two *hetairai*, Philotis and Bacchis, and two *matronae*, Sostrata and Myrrina, not to mention the more limited role of Philotis' maid servant, Syra. Only Plautus' *Cistellaria*, with six out of twelve characters, offers a similar number of female roles. Accordingly, Norwood termed *Hecyra* "a woman's play, ... with women as the chief sufferers, the chief actors" (1923: 91).

With even greater justification, *Hecyra* could be called Bacchis' play. The *hetaira* Bacchis appears first at line 727, quite late in the play. But right from the start, the playwright establishes a focus on her and her door (*pace* Cabrillana 2000: 271 n.13). The first door through which anyone enters the stage is that of Bacchis. Moreover, the *hetaira* who emerges from that door, Philotis, shows real concern for her lovers (66, 71) and so prepares the audience for the fact that Bacchis as well will later turn out to be an unusually good-hearted *hetaira*. After that, Terence renews the focus on Bacchis at regular intervals. Twice, he has Pamphilus reminisce about his former love for Bacchis (294–7, 407–8). Later, Phidippus remembers that Myrrina was opposed to Pamphilus because of his infatuation with Bacchis (538–9). And finally, Laches accuses his son of still being in love with Bacchis (682). All this prepares us for her eventual appearance in line 727 when she unexpectedly turns out to be the only one who can fix Pamphilus' marriage and ensure his future happiness.

The main focus of the play, however, is not on Bacchis, but on Pamphilus. The audience, as Schadewaldt realized (1931: 11), is far less interested in the fate of the women than in "die Nöte des Pamphilus" ("the sufferings of Pamphilus"). The comedy centers on the comic paradox that Pamphilus, by

refusing to take back his wife and acknowledge his newborn son, is himself the “blocking character” that stands in the way of his own happiness (Büchner 1974: 143, Braund 2005: 61). As much as the audience may sympathize with the play’s unjustly suspected women, their main concern is always for Pamphilus, and it is the ever-intensifying pressure on Pamphilus that holds their attention and likely was responsible for the play’s ultimate success as a comedy.

FURTHER READING

The most useful discussions of *Hecyra* can be found in Norwood (1923: 85–105), Gilula (1979–80), Konstan (1974 and 1983: 130–41), Slater (1988), and Penwill (2004). The standard commentaries are Carney (1963) and Ireland (1990). Typical examples of analytical readings that try to reconstruct Terence’s Greek models are Schadeewaldt (1931), Lowe (1983), and Lefèvre (1999). For the most extensive list of *Hecyra*’s alleged flaws, see Goldberg (1986: 161–9). For recent contributions that take the observations of Parker (1996) in different directions, see Gowers (2004: 160–1) and Sharrock (2009: 244–7). On the music in Terence’s *Hecyra*, see Moore (1998b: 252–3, 2007: 105–7, and 2012); on Terence’s language, see, e.g., Müller (1997) and Karakasis (2005). Marshall (2006) focuses on Plautus, but offers interesting comments on comical routines and performing with masks. On theatrical shows in front of the Magna Mater temple on Rome’s Palatine Hill, the site of *Hecyra*’s first performance, see Goldberg (1998).

NOTE

1. Only Laches’ house can be securely located. It must be next to the wing exit that is usually defined as leading to downtown, i.e., stage left (from the perspective of the audience, right). Carney (1963: 36) may be correct in assuming that Phidippus’ house is stage right, Bacchis’ house in the center. Marshall (2006: 50), however, doubts the usual assumption that the meaning of the wing exits was fixed by universal convention.

CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

Adelphoe

Ariana Traill

Terence's last play is often the first one modern readers encounter. It regularly appears on reading lists, syllabi, and anthologies. It was, not accidentally, the first of the six plays to receive a commentary in two popular English language series (Martin 1976 and Gratwick 1999). With its conventional character types and intrigues, its double plot, non-expository prologue and pithy Latin, *Adelphoe* typifies both the genre and the playwright in a way that teachers have found hard to resist. The topic, too—how to raise adolescent boys—has always sounded relevant to the schoolroom (whatever its actual shortcomings, Henderson 1988: 192–4).

The play centers on two characters with opposing beliefs about parenting: the *pater durus* Demea takes an authoritarian approach; his brother and anti-type, the *pater lenis* Micio, is permissive. In an opening monologue, Micio explains how he, being childless, has adopted and raised Demea's older son, Aeschinus, while Demea has raised his younger son, Ctesipho—each in accordance with his beliefs. An angry Demea bursts on stage with the news that Micio's spoiled boy Aeschinus has just kidnapped a harp-player from her pimp—patent proof that his indulgent parenting has failed. The old men argue and eventually leave the stage, in time for Aeschinus to rush in with the harp-player and a retinue of slaves, several of whom are beating an indignant pimp. Aeschinus' clever slave Syrus eventually talks the pimp, Sannio, into accepting the girl's purchase price rather than taking legal action (Syrus' Plautine trickery probably owes much to Terence; see Forehand 1973; Lefèvre 1983; and chapter 11, this volume). At this point, a jubilant Ctesipho enters

and we learn that the girl is actually his beloved, not Aeschinus'. Aeschinus engineered the kidnapping to prevent his brother from serving as a mercenary, a recourse he had contemplated in desperation. The two boys head for a celebratory banquet at Micio's house.

In the meantime, the impoverished widow Sostrata is anticipating her daughter's delivery of Aeschinus' illegitimate child when she learns about the harp-player. Assuming the worst, she sends her slave Geta to beg their kinsman, Hegio, for help. Hegio has no difficulty convincing Demea (whose temper is thoroughly frayed, after considerable mockery by Syrus) that justice (*quae ... aequomst*, 505) requires another heated exchange with his brother. This, however, proves unnecessary. Micio meets with Hegio on his own, dispels the misunderstanding about the harp-player and learns, to his chagrin, about the baby. While Demea is off on a wild goose-chase devised by Syrus (on the Roman elements here, see chapter 7, this volume), and Ctesipho is safely concealed, with the harp-player, in Micio's house, Micio confronts Aeschinus. At first he pretends that the girl (Pamphila) is going to marry a friend of his. Disclosure, reproof, and marriage plans follow in short order. When Demea returns from his pointless search, he is confronted with the unpleasant news that his older son is to marry a girl without a dowry and his younger son is lying in a harp-player's arms. A fruitless argument with Micio leads to a reflective monologue, where Demea compares his life with his brother's—much to the latter's advantage. After concluding that his sons must be won over with flattery and largesse, he promptly tests a new affable persona on Syrus, Geta, and Aeschinus, who all respond enthusiastically. When Micio appears, Demea proposes lavish gifts, all at the latter's expense and difficult to refuse, thanks to Aeschinus' clamorous support. When Micio eventually finds himself maneuvered into marrying the penniless Sostrata, he questions his brother's new-found generosity. At this point, Demea reverts to type, upbraiding his brother for spoiling the boys and offering himself as a counterbalance. He will serve as a check on the rash impulses of youth, with one begrudging exception: Ctesipho can keep the harp-girl. The play ends with Aeschinus and Micio consenting to this arrangement.

Adelphoe presents itself as a play of ideas. Two key monologues and several dialogue sequences are devoted to framing the action as a contest between opposing theories of parenting: Micio's theory that strong affective ties, built by leniency and trust, create an intrinsic motivation to virtue, versus Demea's theory that good behavior requires the extrinsic motivation of old-fashioned discipline. The play holds the stage with the question of how the conflict between the two will be resolved and openly invites a philosophical reading, but it may be a mistake to look for rigorous inquiry. The binarism imposed by the *pater lenis/durus* stock pairing effectively limits the alternatives to two, neither of which receives a particularly coherent defense. Even if a third,

Aristotelian middle course, is read into the final scene, the range of parenting approaches represented is far from exhaustive (though correlations have been drawn with child-rearing styles identified in modern psychology; see Kłowski 2000). Terence elaborates the motivations of stock characters in stock situations. He provides more information than the genre technically requires to explain what are, essentially, conventional behaviors, in order to invite reflection about the impact of parenting approaches on father–son relationships. *Adelphoe* poses questions and offers answers, but it ends without a clear verdict. Worse, the final scene flouts comic convention, thematic coherence, and poetic justice alike, when the liberal, easy-going Micio is the one who gets the comeuppance, despite his success in raising the kind of son—more or less—he set out to raise. As Johnson puts it, “why has this paradigm of classical humanism been subjected to wild mockery?” (1968: 171). The ending has challenged producers and puzzled readers over the centuries, including later adaptors who have, without exception, rewritten it to eliminate the moral ambiguity (Enk 1960: 92; Norwood 1923: 114 n. 2). Thomas Shadwell’s *Squire of Alsatia* (1688) concludes that “severity spoils ten, for one it mends,” while Molière’s (significantly named) “Ariste” tells his duped and defeated brother that “his practices are the cause of this result” at the end of *The School for Husbands* (1661).

Adelphoe is the last surviving play in the *comoedia palliata* tradition. Puzzlement over its ending has led to speculation that there may be something wrong with it, something symptomatic of Terence’s approach to comedy in general and perhaps even serious enough to cause the “death of comedy” in the *palliata* tradition (Goldberg 1993: 62–3). There is a countervailing view as well that stresses Terence’s all-round popularity (Parker 1996), not least for *Adelphoe*, whose moral complexity was, accordingly, either welcomed for its intellectual stimulation or offset by its first-rate buffoonery. The discussion that follows will consider how ambivalent this play really is, and how much of this is due to Terence.

1 *Adelphoe* as an Adaptation

One much debated answer to the question “which father is right?” is simply that Terence confused the play’s message by abandoning his Menandrian model in the final scene. Consequently, investigating what Terence contributed to his version of *Adelphoe* is essential to any larger critique of the play. The source play, Menander’s *Adelphoi B*, is unfortunately lost (only seventeen tiny fragments survive), but some of Terence’s changes are known from the prologue, Donatus, and other ancient sources. A few are common to Roman Comedy and/or to Terence’s other plays, while others have emerged from comparison with the

extant corpus of Menander. Evidence of intervention has also been seen in references to Roman institutions. Lastly, the *didascalie* information that the play was first performed at the funeral of Aemilius Paullus in 160 BCE has prompted inquiry into how it may have flattered Paullus and his two surviving sons.

Terence himself raises the issue of adaptation in the play's short prologue, where he invokes the audience as judges (*iudices*) in a literary dispute between himself and his opponents (*advorsarii*). He admits to adding a scene from Diphilus' *Synapothneskontes* ("The Suicide Pact")—where Aeschinus steals the harp-girl from the pimp (155–96). Terence's concern here is to defend himself against violating a rule against reusing source material, a kind of plagiarism (*furtum*). He argues that this scene was legitimately available because Plautus had omitted it from his version of the *Synapothneskontes*; consequently, *Adelphoe* is "new" (*novam*, 12).

Modern readers approaching this play after millennia of *furta*—or adaptations—by later playwrights often feel that the issue of prior claim is rather trivial, although it may have worked as a publicity stunt (in the tradition of "comic agonism," Sharrock 2009: 75–7; see also chapter 2, this volume): the real question is how well the scene fits its new context. There are problems with it. One is that it disrupts the play's timeline. Demea claims "the whole population is talking about" the kidnapping (*in orest omni populo*, 93), which suggests it has already taken place, but it is still in progress when Aeschinus enters at 155. The blocking is far from clear (Frauenfelder 1996 attempts a reconstruction), and it is even harder to piece together what must have happened offstage (Lowe 1998a: 473–7 offers some sensible ideas). Aeschinus is more violent here than in the rest of the play, while his claim that the harp-girl is free (194) contradicts indications elsewhere that she is a slave—notably the purchase agreement that Syrus arranges in the next scene. Even if this scene shows the tail end of an event that had the whole town talking, improbably, within minutes of its onset (Kauer 1901: 90; Marouzeau 1949: 114 n. 1; Frauenfelder 1996: 31–2), if the minor characters just stand around with nothing to say, Aeschinus is allowed to be far more aggressive on his brother's behalf than his own, and the claim of freedom is dismissed as a bluff (Kauer 1901: 91; Martin 1976: 133), a joke (Lloyd-Jones 1973: 281), or a legal dodge (Gratwick 1999: 185–6), it is hard not to feel that the dramatic consistency of the scene has suffered from its relocation (see further Fantham 1968 and Grant 1980).

The question is all the more tantalizing because Terence claims to have reproduced this scene "word for word" (*verbum de verbo expressum extulit*, 11) (translations and text of Barsby 2001) which invites reflection on his principles of translation. Even without the Diphilus scene for comparison, we know that this cannot be literally true. Scrupulously literal translation would be at odds with the normal practice of *palliata* writers and incompatible with the scale of revision entailed in turning the Greek original into Latin iambic octonarii, a

meter which Terence liked but Greek playwrights rarely used (Gratwick 1999: 43 and 237). Like the rest of the corpus, *Adelphoe* is almost entirely in iambo-trochaic meters, the only exception being an eight-line *canticum* that Aeschinus sings at 610–17 (on the dramatic effects of changes of meter in the play, particularly the use of octonarii to underscore moments of success, see Moore 2007: 100–3). About 64 percent of these are iambic senarii, which were unaccompanied. In general, this play would have felt more “spoken” than Plautus, especially late Plautus, and in this sense closer to Menander, although Menander’s plays had choral interludes in lyric meters (*Adelphoe*, like all of Roman Comedy, does not). Differences in the way iambo-trochaic meters worked in Latin (specifically, greater tolerance for resolution and the influence of a stress, rather than pitch, accent) would also have worked against word-for-word literalism in translation.

The few passages where direct comparison with Menander’s *Adelphoi* is possible show that Terence attached more importance to replicating the sentiments, communicative organization, and rhetorical effects of the Greek than to preserving the syntax or finding the closest Latin equivalent for any given word. Demea’s self-description, *ego ille agrestis, saevos, tristis, parcus, truculentus, tenax* (“I ... am your typical rustic: aggressive, surly, stingy, ill-tempered, tight-fisted,” 866) resembles the Greek original in being an asyndetic list of nominative disyllables with no resolutions and the same order of topic and focus (cf. ἐγὼ δ’ ἄγροικος, ἐργάτης, σκυθρός, πικρός, / φειδωλός, “I’m rustic, working-class, gloomy, harsh, miserly,” fr. 14 K-A). Only a few lexemes, however, match in sound or meaning and the order is shuffled. Similarly, Micio’s *quod fortunatum isti putant, / uxorem numquam habui* (“I’ve never had a wife, which they reckon is a blessing,” 43–4) replicates the communicative order of the Greek ΤΩΜΑΚΑΡΙΑΗΜΥ [very likely some form of μακάριον] γυναικ’ οὐ λαμβάνω (“fortunate ... I have no wife,” fr. 3 K-A) without, however, the hint of paradox: μακάριος is an epithet of bridegrooms; *fortunatus* is not. Terence makes similar choices in translating the proverb κοινὰ τὰ τῶν φίλων, ἐπὶ τῶν εὐμεταδότων (“what friends have is shared, among the generous,” fr. 13 K-A): he gives the two keywords close Latin synonyms, in the same order (*communia esse amicorum inter se omnia*, 804, “friends share everything in common”) but changes the Greek syntax (impossible in Latin, in any case) and rewrites the second half of the phrase.

Terence also dropped cultural references a Roman audience would have been unlikely to recognize (Haffter 1953: 81–4; Ludwig 1968: 175–6; Martin 1976: 13–15; Goldberg 1986: 10–12). In *Adelphoi*, these include the proverbs γυμνότερος παττάλου (“more exposed than a peg,” fr. 12 K-A) and τὰ πολλὰ τηρεῖν πολλὰ δεῖ δεδοικότα (“one who fears a lot needs to watch out for a lot,” fr. 16 K-A), as well as a couple of points of Attic law. Micio does not mention canceling the adoption when he proposes that Demea split his estate between the two boys, but this would be the only way to make the plan legal at Athens (Grant

1975: 52–3) and might have been perfectly clear, for an Athenian audience, from Aeschinus' calling Demea *pater* at 991. Terence also eliminates a relationship with legal implications by making Hegio a relative (*cognatus*) of Sostrata's deceased husband rather than her brother, as he was in Menander. An Athenian brother would have become his widowed sister's guardian (assuming their father is deceased) (Harrison 1968: 111) and his approval, therefore, would have been necessary for the marriage to Micio (and probably for Pamphila's to Aeschinus: transfer of guardianship, commonly arranged by will, may well lie behind *ille tibi moriens nos commendavit*, "it was to you that the old man entrusted us on his deathbed," 457). Hegio would not, however, have been obligated to marry Pamphila himself under the law protecting orphans, since he was not collaterally related to the husband (see Todd 1993: 217–18 on *ankhisteis*). This change has the effect of isolating Sostrata (Kauer 1901: 100; Martin 1976: 158; and Gratwick 1999: 29–30) and, arguably, of elevating Roman civic virtues over natural affection as Hegio's primary motivation (Callier 1982: 520–1, cf. Comerci 1994: 12–13). Legally, it also gives Terence's Sostrata more scope for initiative: she can decide on her own how to handle her daughter's pregnancy.

What was added to Menander's play in the process of transculturation is more speculative. Since Rieth's seminal study (Rieth 1964), many have argued that Terence introduced substantial changes to appeal to Roman tastes and interests. Some have attempted to identify historical analogues for the central characters and evidence of particular Roman cultural practices. Demea and Micio, for example, have been thought to reflect Cato and Aemilius Paullus, respectively (e.g., Lana 1947: 165–70; MacKendrick 1954: 32–5; and Trensényi-Waldapfel 1957: 143–56; cf. Grimal 1982: 40–1, 44) but the resemblances are too general to support any firm identification (Comerci 1994: 5–13; Orlandini 1982: 109–10); Leigh 2004 argues for traces of *both* figures in Micio). The information that the play was first performed at Aemilius' funeral, together with a discreet allusion in the prologue to *homines nobiles* ("members of the nobility," probably not Scipio and Laelius, as Suetonius claims in his *Vita Terenti* 4; see chapter 6, this volume), has prompted search for flattery of Aemilius (e.g., MacKendrick 1954: 33–5; Lehmann 2003: 558, cf. Gowers 2004: 162–3, on aristocratic ideology in the play), or at least traces of his signal virtue, his *humanitas*—in the spirit of Roman funerary customs (Trensényi-Waldapfel 1957: 143–5). The Roman manumission custom of the *alapa* or box on the ear may lie behind 193–4 (Lloyd-Jones 1973: 280). Further traces of broader Roman customs, attitudes, and beliefs have been identified: notably, the unique power Roman fathers wielded over their children (*patria potestas*) and contemporary Roman debates about marriage (Lehmann 2003: 553–6) and childrearing (Leigh 2004: 167–91; Christenson 2010: 26–31; see also Comerci 1994, on competing models of paternal *imperium*).

Terence's approach to adaptation allows for many small alterations, some of which subtly change characterization. For example, Terence makes Demea "quicker to quarrel" by having him refuse to return his brother's greeting (Don. ad *Ad.* 80); his more timid and helpless Ctesipho thinks of foreign service, not suicide, when his love affair looks desperate (Don. ad. *Ad.* 275, see Kauer 1901: 98), and his Micio is "annoyed" at having to marry Sostrata (*gravatur*, Don. ad. *Ad.* 935). It is likely that Terence also changed his characters' names to underscore their dramatic functions, common practice in the *comoedia palliata*, although he limited himself to conventional choices (the evidence that Micio was called "Lamprias" is problematic; see Gratwick 1999: 266; no other names from the original survive). Demea, who voices conventional morality, is a "man of the people"; his son Ctesipho, "famed for his possessions" (ironic, but not inappropriate). Hegio is a "leader," probably a joke about his low socioeconomic status; Sostrata, a "saver of the army" (the name may be too conventional to press, but she *is* a good tactician); Pamphila, "dear to all"; and their slave Canthara, "wine glass" (an ancient stereotype about old women). Micio means "small," conceivably a nod to Aemilius Paullus, while Aeschinus denotes a "sense of shame." Sannio is either "Clown" or "Dick" (in the colloquial sense), depending on how the name is etymologized. Terence retained the play's Greek title. As Donatus notes, calling it *Adelphoe*, and not *Fratres*, advertised the Menandrian source and ensured that the play was not mistaken for a *togata* (Don. ad *Ad.* 1).

What, then, does Terence mean when he claims to have rendered the Diphilus scene "word for word"? It is hard to see why a playwright would *not* tweak a scene to fit the surrounding play, much less boast about it (as Fantham 1968: 200 points out, the other prologues describe a different working method). It is likelier that Terence is downplaying his own changes in order to defend himself against the charge of reusing previously adapted material. He wanted no confusion about which Greek scene was being claimed or whether he had actually used it. This rhetorical end was best served by emphasizing how close this scene was to Diphilus'—not how close it was to what it replaced in Menander, or how far it had to be adapted to fit a different play. His implication is not that changes were not made, but that they were too insignificant to matter in a *furtum* trial.

2 Terence's Dramaturgy in *Adelphoe*

Suetonius mentions, in his *Life of Terence* (*Vita Terenti* 3), that Varro preferred the opening (*principium*) of Terence's *Adelphoe* to Menander's (see further Lehman 2003). How much of the play counts as the *principium* has been disputed. It includes the literary prologue that almost certainly takes the place

of a Menandrian expository prologue (perhaps alluded to in 22, “don’t expect an outline of the plot”), which probably came after Menander’s Micio departed at 154, just where Terence inserts the Diphilus scene (Gratwick 1999: 9). Donatus thought Terence was innovating in having “characters without knowledge” (*nescias personas*) deliver the *argumenta* (Don. ad *Ad.* 151). This would rule out everyone but Aeschinus, Syrus, or a god as the Menandrian prologue speaker. Aeschinus may be the likeliest of the three, since he is the focus of more dramatic interest than Syrus and he probably entered at this point (Fantham 1968: 211 and Lowe 1998a: 483; *contra* Rieth 1964: 27–30 and Grant 1980: 352–3).

Through deliberate omissions and misdirection, Terence substantially changed the experience of the Greek play. Menander’s audience knew the truth as they watched characters discover discrepancies between what they believe about each other; Terence’s audience had to go through the process of discovery along with the characters. We do not, for example, know from the start that Aeschinus has no personal interest in Bacchis or that he has a relationship with the girl next door, and so we watch the Sannio scene thinking he has gone off the rails and Micio’s parenting has failed. The explanation for the kidnapping comes as a surprise, as do Sostrata’s disclosures about the rape, the baby, and the promise of marriage. Ctesipho’s entrance is another surprise: like Syrus, he is not clearly introduced. It is easy enough to guess his identity, but we have to discount Demea’s description completely. By dropping Menander’s expository prologues, Terence famously exchanged irony for suspense and predictability for surprise (first argued by Frank 1928: 316–22; cf. Duckworth 1952: 228 and see Lefèvre 1969: 38 n. 40 for further references). This is consistent with his tendency to turn Menandrian monologues into dialogues (Don. ad *An.* 14; Sostrata’s lines at 288–97, 330–50 may be another example, see Grant 1973: 73–4 and Gratwick 1999: 36) or eavesdropping scenes (Denzler 1968: 35–63; Sannio’s mute scene at 265–80 may be an example, see Lowe 1997: 157). Both have the effect of de-emphasizing interiority, which can invite an empathetic audience response, and encouraging a more judgmental reaction, often modeled by the interlocutor/eavesdropper (see further Lowe 1997: 153–8). In Terence, dramatic interest centers more on the emotional relations between the characters.

Routine transformations in line with Roman scenic conventions probably far outweighed the type of cutting and patching described above in transforming the experience of the original play. The *Dis Exapaton* fragments show that cutting choral songs and act breaks could involve wholesale transformation, beyond anything we would call translation (first noted by Handley 1968: 13–15 and Pöschl 1973: 18–20; see also Barsby 1986: 140–5 and Paduano 2008: 309–10 for bibliography). Dropping the five-act structure of Greek New Comedy led to a general loosening, in Roman adaptations, of the

requirement that the illusion of reality be strictly maintained, especially in the handling of offstage time and space. Choral songs had provided stretches of dramatic time that allowed characters to complete trips to the farm, harbor, or market with some plausibility. Without them, Roman playwrights were left with sequences of scenes that might or might not allow for a time-consuming errand. Demea's pointless hunt for Ctesipho takes place, not implausibly, between lines 587 and 713; Hegio's trip to the market and subsequent conversation with Micio takes place, less plausibly, between lines 517 and 592. Entrances and exits are unusually frequent in *Adelphoe*, particularly at key points in the action (Brown 2007: 176–7). Roman troupes permitted, and perhaps even encouraged (Marshall 2006: 94–114), more than three speaking parts on stage at the same time. The fourth speaker required in five scenes in *Adelphoe* (listed in Marshall 2006: 121), was almost certainly added by Terence, who routinely gave minor characters larger roles, more stage time (Ludwig 1968: 176), and perhaps additional scenes (Lefèvre 1983) or routines (such as Geta's running slave entrance; Lowe 1998a: 483–5). Terence may also have elevated mute parts to speaking roles or invented minor roles entirely. Both have been suggested to explain problems relating to Canthara (Sostrata complains to her that she has no one to send for a midwife (291–2) and yet sends her on precisely this errand at 354; Grant 1973 and Gratwick 1999: 46–7).

3 Demea's Transformation

Adelphoe famously ends with Demea lavishing money, most of it Micio's, on Aeschinus, Ctesipho, Sostrata, Hegio, Syrus, and Syrus' wife, while making continual asides about the hypocrisy of it all and eventually concluding that permissiveness (*adsentatio*) is neither right nor just (988). The single issue that has dominated critical studies is why the play ends without clearly vindicating the permissive Micio and punishing the authoritarian Demea, which has appeared, until this point, to be the inevitable resolution. Answers have fallen along five general lines:

- (i) Demea wins. He hoists Micio with his own petard by forcing him to accept an unwanted wife and a lot of expenses. The final message is that Demea's principles are superior (Carrubba 1968; Grant 1975; Lord 1977), or at least Roman (Rieth 1964; cf. Commerci 1994: 42–4), and/or that Micio's are inferior, as evidenced by Aeschinus' behavior (as Norwood notes, “the result of his theories is a damning argument against him,” 1923: 129; cf. also Carrubba 1968; Tränkle 1972: 245–7).

- (ii) Micio wins, either for his principles (Rieth 1964 famously argued that his Menandrian counterpart embodied a Peripatetic ideal and that Demea's final speech was a Terentian concession to Roman pride) or because Aeschinus' behavior is at least better than Ctesipho's on various scales (Webster 1960: 66 and 206; Hunter 1985: 107; cf. Riccotilli 2003:) 75; *contra* Lape 2004a: 46–7). Greenberg's (1979–80) argument that Aeschinus' misdeeds are of "the sort which societies and parents condemn on the surface, but which are tacitly condoned and welcomed as evidences of youthful (and perhaps aristocratic) vigor and spirit" is not tenable, even in Roman terms (see chapter 9, this volume).
- (iii) Both win, inasmuch as fraternal harmony is the final note (Riccotilli 2003) or the conventional restoration of social cohesion in New Comedy demands that both find a place in the happy ending (Frye 1957: 165–6, on *Adelphoe*, 169). Both have a claim to our sympathy (Norwood 1923: 127: "Neither is perfectly right, but each has a good deal of human sentiment and experience on his side").
- (iv) Neither wins. There are flaws in Micio's motives and conduct (Johnson 1968: 185–6; Fantham 1971: 985 and 993–4; Lape 2004a: 44–6; cf. Grant 1975: 47–8 and Riccotilli 2003: 78–9) and in Demea's principles (Fantham 1971: 987; Mauger-Plichon 2000). Neither properly exemplifies Aristotelian ideals, although they may have learned something by the end of the play (Grimal 1982: 45–7; Orlandini 1982: 107; Intagliata 2010: 87–90; but Lord 1977: 189 sees something of Aristotle in Demea). Alternatively, there may be nothing *to* win. They play's instructional value has been overrated because of its frequent use as a school text. The senate expelled philosophers from Rome and insisted that theater buildings be temporary; Terence did the same thing with his Menandrian source (see Henderson 1988: 216–17; cf. Hunter 1985: 108–9; Sharrock 2009: 276–7: comic farce wins in the end).
- (v) Menander's ending was clearer, as evidenced by Donatus and by comparison with other plays (but not, as formerly, from a presumption of Roman literary inferiority) (Rieth 1964; Büchner 1974; Blanchard 1983: 239 and Goldberg 1986: 28 ("Terence has created ambiguity where Menander so often created clarity"); *contra* Arnott 1963 and Lord 1977: 194).

There is insufficient evidence to show that Menander's ending differed enough from Terence's (v) to eliminate the problem entirely. It may well have included a statement endorsing an Aristotelian middle course (and Greek proverbial wisdom), but there is no trace of this in Terence. Nor are the analogies with Aemilius/Cato so explicit or emphatic as to determine the play's moral message, and the inclusive finale is perfectly compatible with

discrepant outcomes for the individual characters (iii–iv). This chapter develops argument (i). Demea does indeed score points against Micio in the final scene. This entails actual change, not of his “personality” but of his *ratio ad vitam* (“plan of life”), which he puts into practice by making at least one long-term decision that he would never have made earlier. His story follows a master narrative dramatized in nearly all of Menander’s surviving plays. For convenience, this will be called the recognition narrative, from Aristotle’s well-known definition: “recognition ... is a change from ignorance to knowledge or to friendship or enmity among those destined for good or bad fortune” (ἀναγνώρισις δέ ... ἐξ ἀγνοίας εἰς γνῶσιν μεταβολή ἢ εἰς φιλίαν ἢ εἰς ἔχθραν τῶν πρὸς εὐτυχίαν ἢ δυστυχίαν ὀρισμένων, *Poet.* 1452a29–31).

This definition establishes a schema: first “ignorance,” then “recognition,” and finally “change” to “knowledge,” with consequent new friendships or enmities and eventual happiness or misery. Aristotle was describing tragedy, but recognitions of course abound in New Comedy, the majority of which lead to “friendship” and “good fortune.” Menander actually uses *Agnoia* as a prologue speaker and labels one of his *anagnoriseis* as such (as indeed does Terence, at *Hec.* 831). Aristotle classed recognition as a part (μέρος) of the plot (μῦθος), that is, a constituent element or a formal device with identifiable features. This chapter extends this idea in treating Aristotle’s “recognition” as a master narrative, that is, an organizing schema that encompasses many different narratives and is also a story itself—essentially, the story that ignorance is always followed by the acquisition of knowledge, which effects change. Recognizing a master narrative involves more than simply noting the conventions of a particular genre or suspending disbelief, and “recognition” encompasses more than just scenes involving birth tokens. Like any master narrative, it can accommodate endless variety of detail but at its center is the discovery by an individual that he is fundamentally mistaken about someone with whom he has close affective ties.

Terence’s Demea is one of these figures. His change is of the kind described by Aristotle: toward knowledge and resulting in friendship between parties destined for good fortune (this is, after all, a comedy). It is not, however, a transformation of his character or personality, at least in New Comic terms. The key word in Menander is *τρόπος* (sometimes plural, *τρόποι*, Latin *mos, mores*), literally “turn” and by extension “manner, way of life, habit, character” (other terms, such as *χαρακτήρ*, *φύσις*, and *ἦθος* are less frequent and more specialized; see further Massioni 1998). *Tropos* is individual: people have their own (e.g., “φύσις is the same for all, but *τρόπος* contributes the personal (τὸ οἰκείον),” Men. fr. 698). It is frequently ethical. Menandrian characters, for example, are described as having a *tropos* that is good, bad, civilized, reticent, blunt, Greek, youthful, elderly or vice-hating, and the adjectives in *Adelphoi B* fr. 14K-A, cited above, are typical of *tropos* descriptions. One character even

speculates that *tropos* is a moral compass the gods give to human beings (“for everyone, they made *tropos* in-dwelling, as a guardian” *Epitr.* 1094–5). Most relevant here, however, is the consistently expressed view that *tropos* does not change in adults—barring exceptional circumstances, such as mental illness or falling in love. This is why it is so important to learn the *tropos* of a potential spouse (Men. fr. 804, *Dysk.* 65–6, 770). This is also why Micio is so surprised at Demea’s apparent transformation: “what has changed your behavior so suddenly?” (*quae res tam repente mores mutavit tuos?* *Ad.* 984).

Demea’s plotline follows a master narrative that is common, if not normative, in Menander, and that entails actual change—just not change of *tropos*. The plays all have figures whose ignorance and subsequent illumination matter enough to sustain dramatic interest: the young husband in *Epitrepontes*, the kindly fathers in *Perikeiromene* and *Sikyonioidi* and the horrible one in *Epitrepontes*, the two uncles of opposite *tropoi* in *Aspis*, even the unwilling girlfriend in *Misoumenos*. The two most useful for comparison with Demea are Knemon from *Dyskolos* and Demeas from *Samia*, since their roles are reasonably well preserved and they belong to the same status category.

4 Knemon

Knemon, an old farmer living in a rural outpost of Attica, has been compared with Demea since Thierfelder (1960; see esp. Grant 1975: 57–8). Both are stern rustic types; both eventually acknowledge fundamental mistakes in their way of life but do not change their behavior. Knemon’s life changes when he falls down a well and discovers that he actually needs other people. He concedes at this point that his life of stubborn isolation is unsustainable but still refuses to join the party at the end of the play and remains, like Demea, a gloomy naysayer. At the end of his major speech in Act IV, when he mentions his character (“I want to speak about myself and my *tropos*,” [ὑπὲρ ἐ]μοῦ γὰρ βούλομ’ εἰπεῖν...καὶ τοῦ τρόπου), 742, text of Sandbach, my translations), he admits that he will still be difficult and grouchy (χαλεπός, δύσκολος, 747). As Grant notes, “there is no question of a change of character” (1975: 57). In the play’s final scene, Knemon tries to kick out his only slave and rebuffs a pair of miscreants who ask to borrow items he clearly does not own.

The real change (μεταβολή) Knemon undergoes is a recognition sequence: a change from ignorance to knowledge that alters his ties of friendship and enmity. He concedes that he made a mistake (ἥμαρτον, 713) from ignorance (“not knowing correctly,” οὐκ εἶ...γινώσκων, 716)—or rather, two mistakes: believing that he could be self-sufficient and believing that people are never well-disposed (εὖνους) to one another, since they think only of profit (713–20). His fall and subsequent rescue disprove both, in a limited way. Knemon

recognizes that he needs his stepson, Gorgias, as a “helper” (τὸν ἐπικουρήσαντα), but no others; nor does he concede virtue to humanity in general: Gorgias is simply an exception. Knemon’s concessions are reluctant, an acknowledgment, but hardly an embrace, of a new way of regarding a single person. This is perfectly consistent with remaining hostile to strangers, which is what he plans to do. His *tropos* does not change, just his belief that he has a monopoly on virtue and needs no one’s help.

Two points here are particularly relevant to Demea in *Adelphoe*. First, Knemon’s concessions introduce the possibility that his earlier behavior was rational. Refusing to marry off his daughter and abandoning his wife and stepson might be more than reflexive expressions of his *tropos*. His efforts at restitution, even as he asserts that his character will not change, show a capacity for rational action in the face of new knowledge. Knemon adopts his stepson Gorgias, instructing him to dower the girl from his estate, and resumes supporting his estranged wife. If the relationships are unlikely to be cordial, they are at least an improvement over the complete alienation that stood before, and they represent permanent, irrevocable decisions that Knemon would never have made earlier. There are other effects, as well, of Knemon’s new knowledge. He now blames himself, not the general wickedness of mankind, for his failure to find his daughter a husband: “even if I were in perfect health, I couldn’t find one: no one will ever suit me” (733–5). He even concedes that Gorgias might have found the impossible, “a groom with a *tropos* like his own” (337), in the young man he is forced to meet (“He’s sun-burnt. Is he a farmer?,” Knemon notes, with reluctant interest, 754).

Second, this change is a deliberately planned theatrical surprise. *Dyskolos* tries hard, up to the fourth Act, to represent Knemon’s behavior as irrational. The prologue explains that he hates everyone “all the way to Cholargos” (32–4). Early scenes present and dismiss the possibility that his hostility might have a rational cause: perhaps he chased the slave Pyrrhias away because he was “upset about something” (125–6) or because he was trying to steal (141–2); it might be simple poverty (“a poor farmer is an embittered thing, not just him alone,” 129–30). Yet he is eventually pronounced “clearly unwell” (150), if not completely mad. Knemon’s opening lines show more rage than reason. They are full of oaths, interjections, overstatements (“You couldn’t find a quiet place anywhere, even to hang yourself,” 169–70) and generalized resentment (“Perseus was lucky ... because he had that thing that turned everyone who annoyed him into rocks; I wish I did!” 153–8). It is a planned dramatic effect to suddenly give him a rational defense of his behavior and to use a quasi-tragic tableau to invite a sympathetic hearing (Knemon delivers his big speech on the *ekkyklema*, crippled and supported by his daughter). This is theatrical sleight of hand, all the more effective because it is not actually inconsistent with his earlier behavior, just unexpected.

5 Demeas

Although *Samia* is not often described this way, it is, like *Adelphoe*, an experiment in childrearing that appears to have gone wrong (so arguably, was *Dis Exapaton*, Tränkle 1972: 53–5). The father, Demeas, has raised his adopted son Moschion liberally, giving him ample funds to raise hounds, serve as a phylarch, and help friends in need. In return, both he and Moschion agree that the boy should be “well behaved” (κόσμιος, 18, 273, 344), especially in his dealings with Demeas. In the course of the play, however, Demeas discovers compelling evidence that his son has slept with his, Demeas’, mistress. His liberality has, apparently, produced no better results than Micio’s. For a short time, it looks even worse: that Moschion not only slept with her, but he did it with malicious intent. The whole play is something of a whodunit, obsessed with criminal evidence and witness testimony. Eventually Moschion is cleared of the charges, although found guilty—like Aeschinus—of getting the girl next door pregnant and failing to inform his father. The successive recognitions effectively cancel each other, leaving father and son in a relationship of friendship (φιλία).

Demeas’ *tropos* remains stable through the revelations that threaten to change his relationship with his son. He is consistently generous, deferential—at least in public—to social norms, and devoted to Moschion, but very short-tempered. His mistress Chrysis calls him “highly prone to anger” (ὀργιλώτατον, 83), and his neighbor testifies to his outbursts (“he got into a rage,” 412; “frantic,” 415; and “raving,” 419; see further Groton 1987). Demeas reacts to the news that Moschion has fathered a child (presumptively, with Chrysis) with an angry outburst, reminding himself at one point to stop shouting (327). Yet he also lets his affection lead him, through a tortuous chain of reasoning, to blame Chrysis entirely. He breaks up with her, maintaining a façade of respectability while limiting the impact of his new knowledge: continuing amity (φιλία) with Moschion comes at the cost of hostility (ἔχθρα) with Chrysis. Indeed, Demeas goes to some trouble to convince himself that Moschion still loves him (“if he had acted of his own free will ... or because he hated me ... he would be stubbornly digging in his heels against me,” 330–3); it takes a second revelation to turn him against the boy and even this rift is short-lived.

The change that Demeas, like Knemon, undergoes is one from ignorance to knowledge, with consequences for his personal relationships. When Moschion pretends to leave for military service in the fifth Act, he hopes to frighten his father out of “acting with poor judgment towards me” (εἰς μ’ ἀγνομονεῖν, 637). This is not the language one might expect. There are many verbs that would imply that the poor judgment was deliberate or characteristic, and so

likely to recur. Demeas uses one himself, admitting that he “was unjust” in his suspicion (537–8). Instead, Moschion chooses ἀγνωμονεῖν, which is cognate with both “recognition” and “ignorance” (ἀναγνώρισις, ἄγνοια), to highlight intellectual failure. In the apology that follows, Demeas too describes his fault in primarily intellectual, rather than moral, terms: “I was ignorant” (ἡγνόησα), “in error” (ἥμαρτον), “crazy” (ἐμάνην), and “lost my mind” (ἄνοια). He does not blame his temper or other qualities of character. He makes no apology for his anger; to the contrary, he regards it as a father’s privilege and reproves Moschion for not showing more forbearance (“you ought to have tolerated upsetting behavior from me ... since you are my son,” 700–1). He still does not want family grievances to be aired in public (“I didn’t make it obvious for our enemies to rejoice”—unlike Moschion, 706), and he expects the same obedience after his “one failure” (710) as before. Future harmony clearly does not hinge on any change in Demeas’ temperament. Whether we (or his son, his neighbor, or girlfriend) accept this narrative of knowledge transforming relationships may be irrelevant. The play ends with the restoration of goodwill all round and Demeas’ is the only explanation we are allowed to hear.

6 Demea

Dyskolos and *Samia* illustrate aspects of what I have called a recognition narrative. These appear in *Adelphoe* as well, when Demea is forced to reevaluate decisions made on false assumptions (*agnoia*, it should be noted, covers misprision as well as ignorance). He undergoes an apparent change of heart and confesses, in a monologue like Knemon’s, that he was mistaken about his entire life course (855–81). At the end of the speech, he decides to try Micio’s style of liberality, and yet he spends the last Act pointing out how shallow and hypocritical it is. The seeming inconsistency between his monologue and his final speech at 985–95, where he claims it was all an object lesson for Micio and reaffirms his basic beliefs about parenting, has occupied critics since Donatus, who notes, “here Terence shows that Demea has pretended his habits (*mores*) have changed, more than actually changed” (ad *Ad.* 992). In the examples discussed above, I have argued that it is actually normative in Menandrian recognition sequences for *mores* (i.e., *tropoi*) to remain stable. Dramatic interest lies in watching people react *in character* to revelations that affect their closest relationships. Demea’s monologue is not entirely consistent with (what we know of) Menandrian practices, but there are notable commonalities with Knemon and Demeas that suggest that his plotline also follows this pattern.

The most striking of these commonalities is the sudden revelation that Demea, like Knemon, has made his major life decisions from rational principles all along. *Adelphoe* employs techniques of misdirection similar to those used

in *Dyskolos*. Micio, in particular, mounts an effective smear campaign at the beginning of the play (Johnson 1968: 174–6). He controls the whole exposition, speaking the opening monologue, dominating the next scene with Demea, and even delivering a postscript afterwards. The picture he paints is vivid, memorable, and not obviously contradicted by what we see of Demea. Micio shows us a traditional *pater durus*: gloomy (*tristis*), prone to rage (*iracundia*), stingy (*parcus*), and preoccupied with what other people think. Implicit in his critique is something even more insidious: that Demea's parenting style is a byproduct of his nature and not grounded in reflection and principle—like Micio's. Micio caricatures Demea's parenting as habitual scolding, mimicking his complaints about Aeschinus while Demea is still offstage (“Why is he having a love affair? Why is he drinking? Why are you supplying him with money for these things?” 61–3).

Since Demea comes on stage railing and ranting, without so much as a civil greeting, and never engages in anything like abstract debate, it is easy to follow Micio's lead and believe that he acts from nature (*natura*), not reason (*ratio*). Worse, Micio accuses him of hypocrisy: “If you and I didn't do these things [sc. partying, the way Aeschinus is], it was because we couldn't afford them. Are you now claiming credit for behavior forced on you by poverty?” 103–5). This is uncorroborated anywhere else in the play but it is the sort of statement that can be true without being the whole truth: at some point, both brothers were too young to control *any* resources legally. What is not true is that Demea started indulging a taste for wine, women, and kidnapping at an *alienior aetas* (“less appropriate age,” 110), which is what Micio claims happens when men are deprived of the chance to enjoy themselves when they are young. Even this weak argument goes unrefuted. Demea only throws a fit (“Jupiter! You're driving me crazy,” 111), which further undermines his claim to understand childrearing better than Micio (125). Demea's language here is heavily emotive, laden with interjections, exclamations, rhetorical questions, and *aposiopeses* (Riccotilli 2003: 61–2). He speaks like a character who engages in little self-reflection and whose views are dictated by his temperament. Subsequent scenes of mockery by Syrus, moreover, do nothing to change this impression (Lefèvre 1983).

It is a calculated surprise, then, when he puts these beliefs under a microscope. There is a major recognition in *Adelphoe* where Menander's fourth Act would have been: Demea learns that *both* of his boys have turned out worse than expected. Not only has Aeschinus raped and kidnapped, but Ctesipho is in love with the stolen woman and with her right now, in Micio's house. What Demea claims to have “come to know” (*noscere*, 862) is not, however, what we might expect. It is *not* simply that Ctesipho has a girlfriend (he thinks this is what every young man would do, if allowed, and he now knows that Micio has allowed it) nor that this signifies corruption (it does, but he addressed this

in the previous scene, when he railed at Micio for being “the ruination of both our children,” 793). The discovery that preoccupies him is that his life choices have alienated his children: “And now at the end of my time the reward I get from them for my labors is hatred” (870–1). The surprise for us is that he wants the same affection as Micio: “I too have a right to be loved and valued by my family” (879). It is no accident that this point was not made in exactly these terms earlier, but it was nonetheless made. Demea had said that the boys were a *cura* to him and he was not a stranger to them (*alienus non sum*, 137, *litotes*). Syrus recognizes and exploits his affection in order to manipulate him. As he tells Ctesipho, “He likes to hear you praised ... tears of joy instantly fall from his eyes, like a small boy” (533–7). Knemon and Demeas also loved their children (Knemon, indeed, spoke willingly only to his daughter, 334). Paternal affection is as much a part of Demea’s temperament as being hot tempered and tight-fisted, and it comes to the fore in his monologue, where he faces both an intellectual problem (like Knemon, that his major life choices were based on a mistake) and a practical one (like Demeas, that of extricating himself from a recognition sequence that has led to enmity).

What is Menandrian about Demea’s monologue is his emphasis on intellectual discovery as the cause of his change (*μεταβολή*). Demea insists that his actions have been rational, in accordance with a “plan of life” (*ratio ad vitam*) and a set of considered priorities (*quae tibi putaris prima*) which experience has shown to be mistaken. His opening lines emphatically exclude irrational factors, such as temperament or habituation:

numquam ita quisquam bene subducta ratione ad vitam fuit
 quin res, aetas, usus semper aliquid apportet novi,
 aliquid moneat, ut illa quae te scisse credas nescias,
 et quae tibi putaris prima, in experiundo ut repudies. (*Ad.* 855–9)

Nobody has ever had such a well worked-out plan of life that circumstances, age, and experience don’t introduce some new factor, teach some new lesson, so that you no longer know what you thought you knew and you reject in practice what you had reckoned to be of prime importance.

This is unexpectedly abstract, dispassionate language about thought, belief, and knowledge (*ratione*, *scisse credas*, *nescias*, *putaris*, even *repudies*) for an irascible farmer who has spent his stage time until now ranting about scandal and waste. Indeed, the rhetorical structure of the monologue is quite formal (see Lieberg 1989: 356–63).

Like Knemon, Demea confesses to two serious mistakes. The first is his assumption that choosing a hard life (*vita dura*) would secure him a good reputation. Micio’s example has allegedly disproved this: “he has always lived a life of leisure and conviviality ... everyone speaks well of him, everyone loves

him" (865). Demea is not talking about parenting alone here, but about Micio's entire life: not marrying or having children, choosing leisure (*otium*), living "for himself," spending on himself. Choosing the opposite has, he believes, cost him the good opinion of "everyone." These inferences are not necessarily valid. Hegio held Demea in some esteem (448–50), and farming is not incompatible with affability (even Demea becomes "as calm as a sheep," Syrus notes, when he hears his son praised, 534). Demea is also vague about the connection between his *vita dura*, which he chose, and his *tropos*, which he sketches in harsher terms than Micio (866, quoted above). Had he never married, he would not have enjoyed "the pleasures of fatherhood" (871) any more than he does now, nor does everyone speak well of Micio and Aeschinus. "Everyone" thought the kidnapping was "outrageous behavior" (91–2), and Sostrata and Hegio have reason to think much worse of the two. Demea's reasoning may be weak here, but he did have an actual *ratio ad vitam* and it failed to produce what he expected.

The second mistake Demea concedes is also a failure of understanding. He "failed" to realize that love comes from complaisance and immediate liberality, not distant inheritances. This need not be true. We do not know how the boys feel about a nest egg, and the only other character who raises the subject, Micio, does consider it important (813–14, below). Demea's concession is significant not because it is unquestionably correct but because it brings the element of his *tropos* that has caused the most trouble with Ctesipho, his thrift, within the field of rational choice. Demea scraped and saved because he saw a reason for it: "to make as much as possible for them" (868). Tellingly, the word used of him is *parcus* (thrifty) not *avarus* (miserly). Demea's thrift was not simply a stock, reflex behavior of the type, like Euclio's miserliness; it was a choice he made to secure his sons' future, a point even Micio concedes ("hoard, scrimp, save; endeavor to leave them as much as possible, and win yourself the credit for that," 813–14). It was Demea who worried that Aeschinus' spending would leave him penniless and with no choice but to join the foreign legion (384–5).

Demea does not undergo a change of personality. Although he begins his speech with measured language, he soon expresses the same anger and resentment that have characterized him from his first appearance. He dislikes Micio no less, only for a new reason (his freeloading has gotten him love, and not just leisure, "without lifting a finger [he] gets all the benefits of fatherhood," 871), and with new animus, now that his own sacrifices appear to have been in vain. He exaggerates, heaping derogatory adjectives on himself (866), fabricating hostility the boys have never expressed ("you can be sure they can't wait for me to die," 874) and overstating their confidence in Micio (as we know, they do not actually "confide all their plans to him," 872). His embittered complaint about humanity is characteristic of moralists in the

tradition of Timon (to which Knemon also belonged (Schmid 1959): “nothing is better for a man than to be generous and easygoing” (*facilitate nil esse homini melius neque clementia*, 861)). *Facilitas* and *clementia* are not compliments, coming from Demea; as commentators since Donatus have noted, their merits here are utilitarian, not moral (Don. ad *Ad.* 855; cf. Fantham 1971: 988, Lieberg 1989: 360–1). This is an indictment as much as a revelation, and the resolution it ostensibly explains, “I’m abandoning the hard life which I’ve lived right up to now” (*vitam durum ... omitto*, 859–60, is an extreme position—like much of the speech—from which Demea retreats by the end of it). He has made, and not kept, impulsive declarations of this sort before (e.g., at 133–4, 436–7); they are typical of his extremism and volatility. (It should be noted that critics disagree about whether this monologue shows development of thought (Lieberg 1989: 364), or merely inconsistency (Büchner 1974: 415–18). Rieth (1964: 112–15) reads it as Menandrian self-deception; Victor (2012: 688) interprets *omitto* in particular as deliberate kidding, on Terence’s part.)

Like Knemon and Demeas, Demea makes several decisions in light of his new revelations that he would not have made earlier. The first is to test whether he, too, can use Micio’s methods (“let’s see (*experiamur*) if I am capable on my side of winning words and kind deeds,” 877–8). It is important to recognize that this is, in fact, a test (*experior*, in the sense “make trial of, put to the test,” *OLD* s.v. 1). Demea does not know how the boys or Micio will react. He explicitly describes his new behavior as playing a “role” (*non posteriores feram*, sc. *partes*, 880, a metaphor from the stage: literally, “I will not play a subordinate role”) and “practicing” (*meditor*) being something other than himself (“I’m practicing being affable,” 896) (Hunter 1985: 108 and 168 n. 42). This is not the first time he has adopted a role in order to learn something. He knew that Syrus would keep mum, if he was aware of Demea’s intentions, so he concealed them (“I won’t let him see that’s what I want,” 364). His affability here is another deliberate pretense; it is not a change of character (Rieth 1964: 111 and Lieberg 1989: 363). Demea frankly concedes that it goes against his nature (“That’s three things I’ve said already that don’t come naturally (*praeter naturam*),” 884–5). With all of the asides he makes about the costs of his proposals and the artificiality of his new behavior (911–15, 884–5, 896–8), it is hard to forget this.

The purpose of his pretense is expressed much more obliquely than in Menandrian duping scenes and it changes as the scene progresses. Demea learns from his experiment that he might well win over the *plebs* (898), given sufficient time; more important, he discovers that he can manipulate Aeschinus to Micio’s disadvantage and proceeds to exact an opportunistic revenge (he finds “a new purpose,” as Rieth 1964: 103 notes, for his *Schadenfreude*). He quotes Micio’s words against him (“it’s a common fault of all of us that in old

age we are too worried about money,” 954), before saddling him with a wife, an encumbrance Micio had thought himself lucky to escape (42); he recommends that the wall between Micio’s house and Sostrata’s be removed, in part to increase Micio’s expenses (“my brother’s house will become a thoroughfare ... it’ll cost him a lot,” 912–13); and he forces Micio to lavish his generosity on recipients other than the two boys (indeed, most of the gifts he proposes, and Micio reluctantly agrees to, go elsewhere (Orlandini 1982: 104)). The dynamic between the two brothers has not changed: Demea still distrusts and dislikes Micio. He saw the experiment as a contest when he first conceived it (“since this is the challenge he throws down,” 878; cf. Rieth 1964: 111–15 and Lieberg 1989: 370); what he had hoped to change was their relative standing (i.e., to stop playing “a subordinate role”). He effectively succeeds. For the first time in the play, Micio describes spending as “extravagance” (*largitas* 985, cf. 940) and quarrels with Aeschinus.

This scene unfolds differently than Menandrian duping scenes. Menander’s tricksters know in advance how their dupes will react (e.g., Daos in *Aspis* or Habrotonon in *Epitrepontes*) and they are clear about their intentions. As Victor (2012: 686) notes, Demea’s monologue violates “a principle of Menander’s dramaturgy whereby characters announce plainly what they are going to do and why”. It is quite likely, as Victor suggests, that Menander’s Demea explained in advance that he intended to teach Micio a lesson. Terence dropped the explanation, just as he dropped expository prologues, in order to allow for dramatic surprise. The whole final scene is set up to mimic an improvisation, as Demeas reacts to a succession of characters in his assumed role. The series of benefactions is presented as spontaneous and escalating. Demea thinks out loud (“What shall I ask next, since this is going just as I wanted?” 946), and two of his suggestions are prompted by stage events (Syrus’ appearance at 958, and his request that his wife be freed, 972–3). The reasons for the gifts start off plausibly but degenerate into parody (that Syrus should be freed for “buying food on credit, hiring girls, arranging drinking parties” (964–5) and the wet-nurse should be freed for, well, being a wet-nurse (“the first to breastfeed your grandson,” 975–6). When challenged about his new *mores* (984–5), he claims that his goal is to teach Micio a lesson (986–8), but there is no evidence to suggest he conceived the intention before he saw the opportunity (he has, after all, been trying to show Micio his true colors since Act I) and this, too, is prompted by a stage event. Aeschinus calls Micio *festivissime* (“wonderful,” 983), even though he has caviled at the expenses, not to mention his own marriage. Demea seizes his chance to show Micio the real cost of being “wonderful” in the boys’ eyes (“what they judge to be your good nature and generosity (*quod te ... festivom putant*) is not the product of sincerity or indeed of anything right or good but of weakness, indulgence, and extravagance,” 986–8), before defending his own *vita* on

moral grounds (989–95). Demea never intended to abandon his hard life (*vita dura*) permanently, only to test whether he could compete on Micio's terms. In the end, he forces Micio to share it, thus distributing its unexpected costs (as Carubba 1968: 22 observes, he must limit Micio's funds, as well as his leisure, to curtail his influence). As Demea crows, "I'm cutting his throat with his own sword" (957). The real hypocrite may be Micio (see Johnson 1968: 173–5, 186; Riccotilli 2003: 78–9; *contra* Bustos 2009: 65–73 argues for a purpose to his pretenses).

As most of the spending comes out of Micio's purse, it is important to recognize what has actually changed in Demea. Part of his experiment was to be agreeable. The other part was to try spending a little money in order to be liked. Authorizing *any* expenditure is a real change for Demea. He does not intend to continue spending liberally (if the boys insist on "indulgence and extravagance," he threatens, "I wash my hands of you," 991), but the donations will stand. Demea even spends a small sum himself to free the wet-nurse—probably the cheapest item in on the bill, and definitely cheaper than the harp-girl Micio paid for—and, even more important, he allows Ctesipho to keep the latter (996–7). It will be his only indulgence ("but she must be his last," 997), but it is an indulgence nonetheless, and marks a change from Demea's last expressed opinion about the girl: he was going to put her to kitchen and field work until she was "covered with soot, smoke and flour" and "black as charcoal" (846–9). Demea may also recognize the general principle that a father's responsibilities include "support from time to time" (*secundare in loco*, 994; there is some uncertainty over the text). As scholars have noted, he surrenders a degree of paternal authority in recognizing that the boys' wishes count for something (Riccotilli 2003: 75–6) and becomes less dogmatic about imposing himself as a "perfect model and mirror image of ethics" ("modello etico assoluto e speculare," Intagliata 2010: 86). He will reprove and correct only significant lapses—not all lapses: that is, things the boys notice "less" (*minus*) than they ought, or desire "too eagerly" (*magis impense*), or think about "too little" (*parum*) in advance (992–3). These changes are small, just enough to bring about a "change to friendship" (μεταβολή εἰς φιλίαν) with his sons. (It is Aeschinus who expresses formal approval (995–6), but Ctesipho's agreement can be assumed.)

There is a master narrative behind these plays, based on the thematic premise that human relations are characterized by ignorance, and telling over and over the story of how it is dispelled (by gods, coincidence, observation, reason) and how social and affective ties are changed in consequence. There are many ways to make drama—not to mention high comedy—out of these readjustments, but one distinctively Menandrian trick is to give the central character, at the moment of recognition, a capacity for reflection that was not hinted at earlier. Playwrights were suddenly ordering clowns to "think," long

before Beckett. This is one reason why Knemon and Demeas are relevant to understanding Demea (and an argument, for which there is not space here, might be made for Euclio in *Aulularia*, as well). Both *Dyskolos* and *Samia* show actual change of conduct, in response to new revelations, but no wholesale transformation of the distinctive qualities that make the character's *tropos*, and in this they offer a template for *Adelphoe*. Demea's discovery of the unexpected costs of his frugality results in actual spending—and not all it of Micio's—but no long-term plan of acting *praeter naturam*. *Adelphoe* may introduce ambiguity at the point where New Comedy makes it clear who was right and who was wrong, but to seek greater moral clarity is to look for a kind of change that Demea and his forebears do not undergo.

FURTHER READING

Adelphoe has attracted considerable scholarly attention, since Diderot, Voltaire, and Lessing pronounced on its ending. The major commentaries in English are Martin (1976) and Gratwick (1999). Rieth's (1964) detailed monograph, applying traditional philological methods, remains well worth consulting, as does Büchner's (1974) chapter on the play. After Rieth, Blanchard (1983) is perhaps the most extensive discussion of the play's relationship to its Menandrian source. Important discussions of themes and the ending problem include Johnson (1968), Grant (1975 and 1980), Greenberg (1979–80), Henderson (1988), Lieberg (1989) (a revised version of Lieberg 1988), and Victor (2012); for comparison with the very similar *Heauton Timorumenos*, see Fantham (1971) and Lape (2004a). On the beginning, including the Diphilus scene, see Fantham (1968), Grant (1971), and Damen (1987). Lord (1977) and Hunter and Fantuzzi (2002) offer an Aristotelian reading of the play. Riccotili's (2003) linguistic analysis, with an emphasis on pragmatics, offers a fresh and illuminating approach. For topical references other than links with Cato or Aemilius Paullus (noted in the text), see Callier (1982) and Lehmann (2003). Far more has been written about the men than the women of the play. Rosivach (1998) offers a brief discussion of Sostrata's perspective on the rape, and Grant (1973) discusses problems relating to Canthara's role. There is one commercially available video production (based on Mercier's translation of 1996).

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

My warm thanks audiences at the University of Cincinnati and the University of Illinois for their comments on earlier versions of this paper, and to Walter Stockert for his kind suggestions at a much later stage.

PART IV

RECEPTION

CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

History of the Text and Scholia

Benjamin Victor

Below will be told the story of Terence's passage through antiquity and the earlier Middle Ages. The subject may be found of interest for several reasons, one among them quite simple and practical, namely that the evaluation of manuscript and other textual evidence depends on an understanding of its history, as does the interpretation of scholia. This essay has been written with that consideration foremost: it aims chiefly to assist readers in making confident and profitable use of the primary material.

1 The Direct Tradition: Earliest Phases

The comedies of Terence had a life of some duration on stage: the *didascalic* notices transmitted with them preserve traces of performances possibly as late as 106 BCE (Tansey 2001 and chapter 19, this volume). At some time copies began to circulate among a reading public, as opposed to the milieu of professional actors, and became the fountainheads of our tradition. This could have happened, theoretically, at any moment from Terence's own lifetime until that of Varro and Cicero. An acting-text or acting-texts will have preceded reading-texts and served as their basis, since certain features of the tradition are best explained as stage-variants (the doublet at *Hec.* 790–1 being the clearest case). These phenomena are very few when compared to the doublets and other acting-variants of the Plautus tradition. Likewise there is no question of pseudepigraphy, in notable contrast to the Plautine corpus.

These considerations point toward a relatively quick emergence of reading-texts, closer in time to Terence than to Varro.

After relative public disinterest in the first century CE, archaic writers benefited from a revival in the second. Valerius Probus is presented by Suetonius (*Gram.* 24) as precursor and instigator of this development and said to have concerned himself with the *diorthosis* of archaic texts. The Donatian scholia credit him beside with some such observations on Terence. Günther Jachmann (1924: 75–6) took a long step farther, supposing that Probus produced an edition of Terence, which in turn underlay the entire direct tradition. This idea, though repeated for a long time after, was never justified. There is no ground to think Probus created an edition with such far-reaching effect. Notwithstanding, Probus' time and the century following were an active period in the afterlife of our author, as is reflected in matters of presentation and paratext. The metrical hypotheses (or *periochae*) were composed by Sulpicius Apollinaris, a contemporary of Gellius. The digestion of *didascalie* information into the notices that have been transmitted, which read like archaic inscriptions, would also be in character for the Antonine age, though the investigation underpinning the notices must have been conducted in the first century BCE (see Section 9). Scene-headings would seem to have been created before the mid-third century CE. That the illustrations in the γ -manuscripts of Terence are dependent on the headings has been recognized since Jachmann (1924: 11–44). If, as Dodwell has argued (2000: 3–21), the cycle of illustrations was conceived in the middle of the third century CE, then the introduction of scene-headings must be earlier. There is even some reason to think the headings earlier than the mid-second century (Bader 1970: 150–2). In any case, the headings were created after the transition from acting- to reading-text. If they had been carried right from the phase of stage-copies, the manuscripts would not disagree as they do with regard to scene-division. Nor would necessary mute characters be so often omitted from the headings (Jachmann 1924: 49).

Terence would eventually become one of four authors—Sallust, Cicero, and Virgil being the others—taught to all grammar pupils of the Western Empire, guaranteeing him scholarly attention and widespread copying. The beginning of this development, complete by the fourth century CE, can already be seen about the end of the second in the career of Aemilius Asper, who wrote commentaries on Terence, Sallust, and Virgil. (See also chapters 20 and chapter 22, this volume.)

2 Surviving Ancient Manuscripts: A and Others

The oldest of our extensive surviving manuscripts, A, was executed around 500 CE. It is also known as the “Codex Bembinus” after the Venetian family

that owned it during the Renaissance. A is now kept in the Vatican Library under the shelfmark Vat. lat. 3226. Most of *Andria* and the end of *Adelphoe* are lost; otherwise nearly the whole text of the comedies is intact and legible (see further chapter 20, this volume). The plays come in the order *Andria–Eunuchus–Heauton Timorumenos–Phormio–Hecyra–Adelphoe*.

The quality of A's text is excellent. The scribe and one other hand ("A²" in the Oxford editions) have made a small number of corrections in brown ink; these are often of high value. The other ancient corrections ("Iov.") are drawn from a poor source, much marked by interpolation.

There exist two papyri and an ancient palimpsest:

- Π^a Wien, Papyrussammlung der Österreichische Nationalbibl. L 103 = *CLA* X.1537. Bits of *Andria* III.2–III.4.
- Π^b P. Oxy. 2401 = *CLA* Suppl. 1717. Substantial fragments from the second half of *Andria*.
- Sa Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibl. 912 = *CLA* VII.974. Eleven lines of *Heauton Timorumenos*.

3 The γ-Class of Medieval Manuscripts

Beside the direct survivals of antiquity, just discussed, two other ancient exemplars admit of reconstruction. A great deal, down to details of decoration and layout, is known about the lost ancestor of the γ-class of medieval manuscripts, henceforth to be called Γ. It was a sumptuous illustrated book and for that reason sought as a model in Carolingian times. Three ninth-century manuscripts are especially close copies:¹

- C Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 3868. Origin disputed.
- Y Paris, Bibl. nationale de France, lat. 7900. Corbie. Not yet used by editors.
- P Paris, Bibl. nationale de France, lat. 7899. Reims.

The γ-class has the plays in the order *Andria–Eunuchus–Heauton Timorumenos–Adelphoe–Hecyra–Phormio*. The name Calliopius appears in front- and end-matter to the γ-manuscripts, and more sporadically in subscriptions to individual plays. This Calliopius has been assumed a late-antique corrector, such as emended Livy or Persius, but that should not be regarded as certain (see also chapter 20, this volume). It is evident from agreements in error that C and Y are more closely related to each other than either is to P.

The medieval vulgate of Terence arose when a manuscript or manuscripts of the γ-class, probably in central or northern France, received readings of the δ-class (see the next section) and a few conjectural emendations beside. This

debased text is first seen about (and probably a bit before) the middle of the ninth century, in the main correcting hand of manuscript C. It would spread quickly. The lesser γ -manuscripts used by editors (EFven η) are all affected by it.

4 The δ -Class of Medieval Manuscripts

Another ancient exemplar can be discerned, a good deal less clearly than Γ , by comparison of its descendants. This is Δ , antecedent of the δ -class of manuscripts, represented chiefly by:

- D Firenze, Bibl. Medicea-Laurenziana 38.24. Lake Constance region, ca. 900.
- p Paris, Bibl. nationale de France, lat. 10304. Beauvais, tenth (?) century.
- G Città del Vaticano, Bibl. Apostolica Vaticana Vat. lat. 1640. Tenth century. Missing large parts of the text.
- L Leipzig, Universitätsbibl. Rep. I 37. Germany, tenth century.

The δ -manuscripts present the plays in a distinctive order (*Andria–Adelphoe–Eunuchus–Phormio–Heauton Timorumenos–Hecyra*) and place *Eunuchus* 30–45 before 1–29. Though occurring in δ -manuscripts, mentions of Calliopius, and more specifically the subscription *Calliopius recensui* naming him as editor, will not have been original to this class. In D, the oldest and purest member of δ , these words are nowhere written by the first hand.

The overall quality of Δ 's text was a little higher than Γ 's. Being later in date, however, than the best representatives of γ , the manuscripts of δ have been variously influenced by those of the other, more numerous class. Hence the frequency with which a valuable ancient reading is conserved in just one manuscript of the δ -class (in practice, almost always D or p). The relations among δ -manuscripts as a whole cannot be plotted exactly. However, errors of verse-division do show the relations among those manuscripts *written as verse*. These are seen to change affiliation very frequently (Victor and Quesnel 1999). Note that L deserts the group in *Hecyra* and most of *Heauton Timorumenos*, taking its text there from a γ -source.

5 Relations among Families of Manuscripts

The γ - and δ -classes of manuscripts often share errors with each other against A, much oftener than either γ or δ does against the other medieval class. Accordingly Γ and Δ have been assumed related (“the Calliopian class”) through a common ancestor (“ Σ ”) (Jachmann 1924: 115–37; Grant 1986: 3–48). But the assumption is unwarranted. Manuscripts and families of

manuscripts may resemble each other for reasons besides common (direct) descent—namely their ancestors may have been contaminated from similar sources. As it happens, the errors shared between Γ and Δ are just the sort of trivializing corrections that tend to spread across traditions through contamination (Victor 1989: 263–6 and 1996). Much the same can be said of the errors that have been imputed to an ultimate single source of all extant manuscripts (by Jachmann 1924: 72–90): they are useless for the purpose, being either mechanical errors that will produce themselves independently or simplifications that will spread. In default of a demonstrable pattern of descent, then, an eclectic method should be used in evaluating the readings of A, Γ , and Δ .

The interpolated form of the γ -text existed by the mid-ninth century. Its spread can be observed, *inter alia*, in the correcting hands of the Carolingian manuscripts. The corrections in CYPDpGL largely reflect this vulgate. It is unlikely in any case that the correcting hands of these manuscripts had access to any source independent of Γ and Δ . Notwithstanding, other, later medieval manuscripts do have ancient material coming ultimately from some source outside Γ and Δ : the “Vita Ambrosiana” (an ancient life based on that of Suetonius); the *alter exitus* (or spurious ending) of *Andria*; the metrical hypothesis to *Eunuchus*; and various scattered readings, sometimes excellent. These “extratraditional” influences are concentrated in certain manuscripts of Italian and German origin, beginning at the end of the tenth century (see Ceccarelli 1992; Deufert 2003; and Victor 2007b). They have been used to edit the Vita Ambrosiana and *alter exitus*, but hardly at all for the body of the plays. Future editors will have to take account of them.

6 The Evidence of the Scholiasts and Grammarians

The Donatus commentary, while a rich source of variants, is also a problematic one by reason of its complicated history (see Section 10). In particular, any of its short reports of variants may derive from Donatus and his predecessors or from a stratum considerably later, even medieval. The lemmata, too, represent in a great many, if not all, cases a later stage of the commentary. All the same, the text of these lemmata is not to be despised, for they sometimes preserve the truth against all other sources (at *Hec.* 134, for example, a variant reading in the lemma confirms the old conjecture *perdant*; at *An.* 153 Donatus *in lemmate* has *meo me* against *me meo*, unmetrical). Eugraphius is generally less helpful than Donatus as an indirect source, though not entirely useless. The lexicographers and grammarians, Nonius and Arusian in particular, preserve many valuable readings. The Terence citations in Priscian, for all their vast number, are of low value, for Priscian knew Terence through

inferior manuscripts and cited carelessly from memory. (Indirect sources can be traced in Umpfenbach 1870.)

7 Overall Nature of the Tradition: Scope for Conjecture

It is important, not only for the maker of a critical edition but for its users as well, to form an idea of the tradition's character. What forces were at work on the text? What sorts of degradation affected it? Given the nature of our evidence for Terence, the consensus of sources will always give a reading that was current in antiquity, though it is rare that any reading is vouchsafed for a date earlier than the major scholiasts. We must therefore ask in what conditions Terence was transmitted under the Empire. His popularity, especially from Antonine times on, has been seen. The more popular the text, the more opportunity to correct it from other copies in circulation or from readers' memory. We should therefore expect Terence's comedies to have undergone much conscious correction by the time Donatus worked and A, Γ and Δ were produced, so as to be left, if not quite as their author wrote them, at least highly readable. And indeed the consensus of sources is never nonsensical. It is seldom, in such circumstances, that a critic can manage that feat we so admire, turning lead to gold with a swift, light touch. To be sure, it is not impossible. *Eunuchus* 570–5, as given by the manuscripts:

CH. ... submonuit me Parmeno
 ibi servus quod ego arripui. AN. quid id est? CH. tacitus citius audies:
 ut vestem cum illo mutem et pro illo iubeam me illoc ducier.
 AN. pro eunuchon? CH. sic est. AN. quid ex ea re tandem ut caperes
 commodi?
 CH. rogas? viderem audirem essem una quacum cupiebam, Antipho.
 num parva causa aut parva ratio est?

CHAEREA. ... Right on the spot, our servant Parmeno dropped me a tip, and I jumped on it. ANTIPHO. What was it? CH. You'll hear quicker if you keep quiet. It was to change clothes with him and have myself taken there in his place. AN. Disguised as a eunuch? CH. Yes. AN. But what would you achieve by that? CH. What a question! To see, to hear, to be alongside her whom I longed to, Antipho. Is the objective minor or the reasoning small?

Now certain patterns of repetition (*anaphora*, *epanalepsis*, *anadiplosis*, *epiphora* or *antistrophe*, *symploke*, *kyklos*, *polyptoton*) were admired and cultivated by the ancients, but *parva causa* ... *parva ratio* (575) fits none of them; it is just inept and ugly. *Parva*, too, is probably not the *mot juste* to

modify *ratio* (depending upon the exact sense allowed to the latter). The Renaissance critic Janus Palmerius set everything right by transposing just two letters: *num parva causa aut prava ratio est?* (“Is the objective minor or the reasoning wrong?”). In doing so, he also gave back to Terence a very characteristic paronomasia. More typically, however, persuasive conjectures in this author follow a different pattern. They usually restore less classical or less common linguistic features. *Hecyra*, 436–8, in the consensus of the manuscripts, reads:

PAR. quid vis dicam? an conveniam modo?
 PAM. immo quod constitui me hodie conventurum eum,
 non posse, ne me frustra illic exspectet. vola.

PARMENO. What do you want me to say to him? Just “hello”? PAMPHILUS. No, I’ve made an appointment to meet him today: say I can’t make it, so that he won’t waste his time waiting for me there. On your way!

Editors have long seen that the meter requires the local adverb to take its archaic form *illi* in place of the standard *illic*. As is usual with “denormalizing” conjectures, the sense is unaffected. This is unexciting stuff, admittedly, but it is no less part of philology’s business.

In the end, it is the indications of speaker that give the critic his widest scope. Terence’s autograph must have shown changes of speaker by a crude method (probably that of *paragraphi* and blank spaces) that invited misunderstanding and error. A lower standard of proof therefore applies to redistribution of speaking parts than to conjecture in the text proper: it should not be required that the received arrangement creates an impossibility or even a difficulty, but only that another is superior. Great good can be done by rethinking this aspect of the comedies. Consider *Eunuchus* 1017–22:

PA. Hem, quid dixisti, pessima? an mentita es? etiam rides?
 itan lepidum tibi visumst, scelus, nos inridere? PY. nimium.
 PA. siquidem istuc impune habueris. PY. verum? PA. reddam hercle. PY. credo.
 sed in diem istuc, Parmeno, est fortasse quod minare.
 tu iam pendebis qui stultum adulecentulum nobilitas
 flagitiis et eundem indicas: uterque in te exempla edent.

PARMENO. What’s that you said, you awful hag? Did you lie? Are you still laughing? Did you think it so very witty to make fun of us, you villain? PYTHIAS. Oh, did I ever! PA. If you get away with this, I’ll— PY. Really? PA. I’ll pay you back, by god. PY. No doubt. But that threat of yours, Parmeno, is for the future. Right now you’re going to be strung up for making that foolish boy a public scandal and then for giving him away to his father: they’ve both got it in for you!

The translation given above makes the dialogue sound more or less coherent, but in fact it is a fudge, since *verum* as a question is nowhere paralleled. And even if *verum* could be spoken as a question, has Pythias any reason to ask “Really”? Madvig saw the solution:

PA. siquidem istuc impune habueris, verum reddam hercle. PY. credo.

PA. It is only if you get away with it, but I’ll pay you back, by god. PY. No doubt.

8 Modern Editions

The first edition of Terence on modern principles is Umpfenbach (1870), based on eight manuscripts, six of them (ABCDGP) very long known and two others (EF) publicized in the nineteenth century. This edition can still be a useful source of information. In consulting it, however, no account must be taken of B, which is simply a copy of C. As regards D, Umpfenbach was unaware that several of its leaves are not original, having been added in the fifteenth century to make good losses. These repairs, of no textual worth, are indicated as such in more recent editions. One must be wary of the preface, too, where the description of A is gravely mistaken. Umpfenbach included a thorough collection of indirect sources, which remains the most valuable feature of his work. Unfortunately the editions of Donatus and Eugraphius available in his time were unsatisfactory; hence citations from these scholiasts must always be checked using Wessner (1902–8).

The most significant edition since has been Kauer and Lindsay (1926), in the Oxford Classical Texts series. Its innovation was to report the readings of eight new manuscripts, the most important of which was p. When this edition was reissued as Kauer, Lindsay, and Skutsch (1958), the considerable improvement was made of citing the papyri and palimpsest. The only other modern editions of any importance are Posani (1990), containing *Andria* only, and Prete (1952).

For *Andria*, the apparatus of Posani (1990) is more accurate than any other, being based on original collation of Kauer and Lindsay’s manuscripts. As regards the other plays, the following should be noted. For the readings of A and E, Prete (1952) is the most trustworthy. Those of A can be verified from the photographic facsimile in Prete (1970). Reports of A in Kauer and Lindsay (1926)/Kauer, Lindsay, and Skutsch (1958) are especially unreliable. C, D, F, and G are adequately reported by Umpfenbach, P much less so. For C and F there also exist published photographic facsimiles of high quality (Jachmann 1929; Bethe 1903). D can now be viewed online via the Fondo Plutei website (<http://teca.bmlonline.it/TecaRicerca/index.html>). The papyri are most thoroughly reported by Roberts (1957)

and Danese (1989). All reports of manuscripts in Kauer and Lindsay (1926) and its successor (1958) are highly selective.

Editors since the 1880s present the text in a uniform orthography admitting some preclassical elements—for the most part those found sporadically in manuscripts. So *cum* (the conjunction) will appear everywhere as *quom*, *servus* as *servos*, etc. This orthography is a compromise between that really practiced in the second century BCE, which was more varied and included many other archaisms, and that given by the manuscripts of Terence, which usually (though not invariably) write *cum* and *servus*. The Oxford editions take particular pains to make *crases* and other points of prosody explicit. This feature, due to Lindsay, is perhaps their most unfortunate. Much of it is arbitrary; in particular, the systematic *apocope* of final *s* cannot be justified. Should the reader be interested in details of manuscript spelling, Umpfenbach's apparatus is the place to start.

All editors since Umpfenbach cluster at the conservative end of the spectrum. That is understandable enough, since Terence is exceptionally well preserved and his tradition, as I have said, is not one that lends itself to conjectural criticism of the usual sort. Yet one cannot but sense that this text has missed the full skeptical examination it needs. Some of the lack is made good by two older editions: Bentley (1726) and Fleckeisen (1857).

9 Ancient Scholarship, Second Century BCE to Fourth CE

We do not hear, in literary sources, of Terence as an object of philological activity in the late second and early first centuries BCE, as we do of Plautus. Nevertheless, the production history of his plays must have been investigated in the first century BCE. Such research on literary chronology, carried out within a narrow circle of acquaintances, was no longer pursued after the death of Varro in 27 BCE. Hence we have a *terminus ad quem*. Since the information assembled for Terence appears to include revival productions down to the end of the second century, we also have a *terminus a quo*. Results of the inquiry gave rise in time to two divergent sets of *didascalical* notices, one of which would come to be carried in manuscript A, the other in Γ and Δ.

Varro, whether or not himself responsible for the *didascalical* information, certainly took an interest in Terence, as appears from citations in his extant writings and mentions in his fragments. The polymath Nigidius Figulus, a contemporary of Cicero, would seem to have written a commentary on Terence (or at least on *Phormio*): though customarily denied, such is the most natural interpretation of Nigidius fr. 35–7 Funaioli (= Donatus ad *Ph.*

182, 190, 233). Terence was also among the writers whose language was studied by Verrius Flaccus.

The Flavian grammarian Valerius Probus, highly regarded in antiquity, is cited several times in the Donatian scholia for various points and said to have raised one of them while “annotating” Terence (ad *Ph.* 49). The observations so attributed to Probus include some on *diorthosis* and punctuation, recorded by Suetonius as being among his special interests (*Gram.* 24). It is also recorded by Suetonius that Probus mostly disseminated his observations through conversation with others, publishing only “a few scanty writings on certain very minor questions.” This testimony, nearly contemporary to Probus and well informed, is hard to reconcile with authorship, in the normal sense, of a commentary. What, then, was this work or these works cited in Donatus? Was it pseudepigraphical, containing nothing of Probus but usurping his famous name? Or were the observations culled from genuine writings of Probus and incorporated into the scholiastic tradition? Did later scholiasts then speak of these observations as though deriving from a commentary, no longer knowing their true origin? Or was authentic Probian material edited into the form of a commentary at some time after Suetonius? Or did Probus really write annotations, which Suetonius thought so little of as to subsume under “scanty writings on certain very minor questions”? If so, are they best described as a commentary, or did they more resemble a collection of *adversaria*? Citations of Probus in Virgil scholia pose the very same problem. No certain solution is possible, though much has been written on it and related issues. (For a readable overview see Timpanaro 1986: 18–22.)

About 200 CE Aemilius Asper wrote an influential Terence commentary, used both by the Donatian scholia and by the scholia Bembina (that is to say, the marginalia in manuscript A of Terence). A good deal can be deduced about the character of Asper’s scholarship because many fragments of his Virgil commentary are identifiable (this situation is due in large part to the Servian scholia’s habit of naming sources; “Donatus,” at least in his extant form, does so much less often). The fragments of Asper’s Virgil commentary show him to be a loyal defender of his author, active in *diorthosis*, with a tendency to explain the unusual and the difficult as archaism or as *recherché* figure, and more interested than most in the Greek models (Tomsin 1952). It has been conjectured that the Donatian scholia reporting features of the Greek originals derive from him. About the same time as Asper a certain Arruntius Celsus is known from citations in grammarians to have commented *Phormio*. He appears to have taken an especial interest in lexicographical points. His work did not visibly influence the extant Terence scholia. Helenius Acro, whose name is better known in association with Horace, also commented at least two plays of Terence (*Adelphoe* and *Eunuchus*), again without leaving discernible traces in surviving scholia.

Exegesis of course was only part of a whole, going hand in hand with other scholarly pursuits. The introduction of paratexts to the tradition in or about the second century has already been described. In addition, Terentian usage would figure prominently in grammar treatises right through late antiquity.

10 Donatus

About the mid-fourth century scholiastic activity on Terence culminated in the commentary of Aelius Donatus, one of the very most important such works that the Roman world produced. Donatus' methods are known from his own words, conserved in the dedication (edited in Brummer 1912 and Hardie 1957) to another work, his otherwise lost commentary on Virgil. There he states bluntly that he reproduced the opinions and even the wording of others, sometimes adding material of his own. The Terence commentary, which will have been created in the same way, is in a manner of speaking extant: medieval manuscripts conserve a *Commentum Donati* covering five of Terence's six plays (all but *Heauton Timorumenos*), though this text has been transformed since it left Donatus' hands. The metamorphosis will be described below, following a line of inquiry most marked by Teuber (1881, 1891), Sabbadini (1894), and Wessner in the preface to the first volume of 1902–8.

The *Commentum Donati* has been reassembled from divergent versions. Passages such as the following, on *Eunuchus* 555, leave no doubt:

QVID GESTIAM Gestire <est> motu corporis monstrare quid sentias. hoc autem constat a pecudibus ad homines esse translatum. gestire est sensum corporis gestu indicare, quod magis animalium est mutorum. Vergilius “et studio incassum videas gestire lavandi.”

WHY I MOVE EXCITEDLY *Gestire* (“move excitedly”) is to show what one feels by movement of the body. The word is believed to have been applied first to domestic animals and to humans afterward. *Gestire* is to indicate a feeling by a bodily gesture, which is more typical of dumb animals. Virgil: “and they can be seen moving excitedly (*gestire*), to no purpose, in their eagerness to bathe” (G. 1.387).

There are many such series of notes giving the same observation in more than one form. A compiler has mechanically combined related texts, untroubled by the repetition that comes of it. The section of the commentary treating *Phormio* II.3 is particularly instructive: there the work of compilation was left for some reason incomplete, so that the commentary appears in the best manuscripts as a series of notes treating the whole scene line by line, followed by a second series doing the same and partly duplicating the first. Indeed, in

all sections of the commentary the more substantial notes that repeat each other come in pairs. It happens often that one of the pair is a good deal fuller than the other. On *Andria* 277–80 *adeon me ignavum putas, / adeon porro ingratum aut inhumanum aut ferum, / ut neque me consuetudo neque amor neque pudor / commoveat neque commoneat ut servem fidem?* (“Do you think me so weak or ungrateful or inhuman or so brutal, that neither long association nor love nor decency should move me nor persuade me to keep my word?”):

VT NEQVE ME CONSVETVDO NEQVE AMOR Non ordinem reddidit: “ferum” enim reddidit ad consuetudinem, qua etiam ferae mansuescunt; “neque amor” ad illud “inhumanum,” amor namque vehementior est in homines. Vergilius “quid iuvenis, m(agnum) c(ui) v(ersat) i(n) o(ssibus) i(gnem) d(urus) a(mor)?”; “pudorem” ad “ingratum” rettulit.

VT NEQVE ME CONSVETVDO NEQVE AMOR “Consuetudo” adversus feritatem, “amor” adversus inhumanitatem, “pudor” adversus ingratum animum.

THAT NEITHER LONG ASSOCIATION NOR LOVE He has not reproduced the order of the series: he has said “brutal” in reply to “long association,” whereby even wild animals become tame; “nor love” in reply to the word “inhuman,” since love affects humans more strongly. Virgil: “What of the young man, in whose bones harsh love stirs great fire?” (G. 3.258–9). He has said “decency” in answer to “ungrateful.”

THAT NEITHER LONG ASSOCIATION NOR LOVE “Long association” in opposition to brutality, “love” to inhumanity, “decency” to ingratitude.

In such cases one may safely bet that the shorter note is an abridgment of the longer or something very like it. Just as often, though, the two versions are not much different in length but nowhere near each other in wording. For instance, on *Andria* 250–1 *aliquid monstri alunt; ea quoniam nemini obtrudi potest, / itur ad me* (“They’re rearing some sort of monster; because she can’t be palmed off on anyone else, they come to me”):

ALIQVID M(ONSTRI) A(LVNT) ... et mutavit genus dicendo “ea,” quod femina est. sic in Eunucho “taces? monstrum h(ominis), n(on) d(icturu’s)?”

ALIQVID M(ONSTRI) A(LVNT) EA ... dum “monstrum” dixerat, “ea” subiunxit tamquam non verbis sed sententiae serviens.

THEY’RE REARING SOME SORT OF MONSTER ... He has also changed the gender by saying “she,” since it is a woman. Similarly in the *Eunuch*: “Not talking? You monster, aren’t you going to say it?” (696)

THEY’RE REARING SOME SORT OF MONSTER...SHE Though he had said *monstrum* (a neuter word) he continued with “she,” privileging, in a manner of speaking, the sense over the grammar.

Thus what the compiler had at his disposal was nothing so simple as one complete version of the Donatus commentary and one abridged one. At least one had been radically rephrased beside. That both were in large part paraphrases cannot be excluded, and is not intrinsically unlikely. Let us therefore stand warned: we must never feel confident of having the exact words written by Donatus in the mid-fourth century. The excerpts/paraphrases used by the compiler of the extant commentary were not the only ones in existence: others, distinct from them, supplied certain marginalia for manuscript A of Terence.²

The compiler also scrambled some of his material, placing notes where they do not belong. Such displacements are easily explained if at least one of the compiler's sources was the marginalia of a Terence manuscript. In fact, it is commonly thought that all his sources were such. The sources of longer, substantial scholia appear to have been two in number. Further sources contributed glosses and other short notes. The date of compilation is not known; it may be as late as Carolingian.

On occasion the extant commentary transmits notes contradicting each other. Most such contradictions can be set down to careless paraphrase or to some easy inadvertent omission, as of an *aut* or *vel*. But a few are more stubborn. On *Hecyra* 581, *teque ante quod* (var. l. *quam*) *me amare rebar, ei rei firmasti fidem* ("You have confirmed what I imagined before, that you loved me"):

TEQVE ANTE QVAM ME AM.

Deest "tam," ut sit ordo: et quam te me amare rebar, tam firmasti fidem ei rei.

The word *tam* ("as much") is not expressed. The sentence would normally be arranged "You have confirmed belief in this matter just as much (*tam*) as (*quam*) I thought you loved me."

TEQVE ANTE QVAM ME AMARE REBAR

Ordo et sensus hic est: et quod ante rebar, ei firmasti fidem, id est probationem attulisti.

The following is the normal arrangement of words and the meaning: "And you have confirmed my belief in what (*quod*) I thought before, that is to say you have supplied proof."

The author of the first note must have read *quam* in his text of Terence; that of the second, *quod*. To imagine that both passed through Donatus one must suppose the omission of considerable material, more than just an *aut*. It is likelier that one entered a post-Donatian form of the commentary directly from the work of a predecessor, a rival, or a successor (Grant 1986: 70–1). This pair of scholia also illustrates another, recurrent problem: the lemmata transmitted no longer match the text that certain scholia presuppose.

As a last annoyance, much superficial incoherence has been introduced by medieval scribes. Manuscripts of the extant commentary date mostly to the very end of the Middle Ages and palpably incorporate many layers of error. Even when somewhat older witnesses are available (through less than half the text), they are nearly as unsatisfactory.

In the mid-fourth century, then, Aelius Donatus summarized the results of the scholastic tradition on Terence, adding observations of his own. Disunity was thus part of his commentary from the outset. Donatus' work in turn gave rise to various sets of excerpts and paraphrases. One of these was a source of certain marginalia in manuscript A of Terence; others underlie the extant Donatus commentary. This was assembled chiefly from two sets of excerpts/paraphrases, one of them heavily abridged, or perhaps we should say more heavily abridged. Non-Donatian material intruded at one or more stages. Finally, the end product of all the cutting and pasting was corrupted in transmission. In sum, the Terence commentary bearing Donatus' name can nowhere be assumed to have left his hands as we have it, and large parts of it must reflect his own thinking on Terence, when they do at all, only in the sense that he knew the interpretation in question. Accordingly it is best read not as the expression of an individual or even of a milieu and a time, but of a tradition. With that proviso, the commentary may be characterized as follows.

In aim and technique the Donatus commentary bears a family resemblance to its Servian counterparts on Virgil, discounting the many differences imposed by subject matter. The target audience was grammar pupils, that is to say pre-adolescent or barely adolescent boys (that such works were not just teachers' manuals, but read by the pupils themselves, is clear from Jerome, *Apol. c. Ruf.* 23.410; of course, *grammatici* consulted them, too). Training in grammar conceived itself as preparation for that in rhetoric. No surprise, then, that much attention is paid to the effective use of voice and gesture in reading the text out loud. Many notes are altogether rhetorical, identifying figures and analyzing arguments, particularly in terms of *status* ("issues" or lines of argument for use by defendants) and their associated *loci* (roughly, "sub-issues"). The grammar of the text naturally occupies the commentator. Among other matters, he signals anomalies of morphology, of transitivity/intransitivity in verbs, in the use of cases and prepositions or verbal prefixes, and in the order of words. He takes care to fill in ellipses and to disambiguate what might be ambiguous—a large category in a text presented without punctuation. There is much on lexical points: glosses of unusual words or words used in unusual ways, imagined etymologies, *proprietas* (the root senses of words), and *differentiae* (distinctions, often fanciful, among words of similar meaning). The scholiast is concerned with *diorthosis*, and indeed his text-critical comments are of the greatest value,

preserving dozens of otherwise unknown, and sometimes excellent, readings. He seems more interested in judging among traditional variants than in considering or proposing conjectures, but these latter do make their appearance (Zetzel 1981: 151–2, 166).

Among matters that we should call more literary, there is a noteworthy concentration on *éthos*, that is to say the category of comic character (old man, young lover, courtesan, matron, etc.) to which each *dramatis persona* belongs. All manner of detail is read in light of *étbe*. For example, on *Eunuchus* 86, where Thais has delivered a monologue full of tender thoughts for Phaedria and only afterward noticed that he was within earshot, the scholiast holds that she did see him but pretended not to, a deceit to be expected of the courtesan. Similarly characteristic are the scholia on *oeconomia*—the interrelations among scenes and plot elements. They can be wonderfully acute, as at *Eunuchus* 110, where Phaedria asks if Pamphila is an Athenian citizen, and Thais answers *arbitror*, “I think so”:

ARBITROR Bene “arbitror” et nihil certi: quomodo enim ausurus esset Parmeno adornare Chaeream ad vitiandam virginem, si praescisset civem esse?

I THINK SO “Think,” with nothing certain about it, is well chosen. How, after all, would Parmeno have been ready to take the bold step of disguising Chaerea so that he could rape the girl, had he known beforehand that she was a citizen?

Numerous other scholia are less easily characterized but can be just as sophisticated. As an example, one may cite the scholiast’s elaborate strategy to mitigate Chaerea’s offense in *Eunuchus*, well analyzed in Barsby (2000a: 509–11).

We have seen the attention paid to effective *oeconomia*. The scholiast is much less alert to failures of *oeconomia* or, in other words, to incoherences. It does not rouse his notice that Aeschinus, by claiming free status for Ctesipho’s music-girl (*Ad.* 194), contradicts everything else said about her in the play, including his own offer to buy her just two lines before or, likewise, that Antipho’s exchange with Chaerea (*Eu.* 607–8) is not compatible with his monologue (539–48). Expounding the author meant above all highlighting his artistry, not revealing his shortcomings. Of other matters treated but scantily in the Donatus commentary, special mention must be made of meter, almost no knowledge of which is shown. Numerous realities of performance are similarly neglected: the appearance of the stage and its backdrop, props, costumes, and music are hardly mentioned, and the actors are usually imagined, unhistorically, to play without masks. Plainly the scholiasts’ debt to a theatrical tradition was about nil. Just as striking and more frustrating is their disinterest in the genesis of the plays. The Greek originals have indeed been consulted by somebody in the chain of commentators, and differences with

respect to Terence recorded, but only sporadically and never where we are most eager for information. At bottom, a late-antique scholiast and a modern philologist do not set themselves the same task. The latter conducts a historical inquiry and is in principle curious wherever there are events to be reconstructed or causes to be traced. The former is out to expound the text. That means the play Terence wrote, not the one he had read. Thus what Terence added or transformed may be noted, especially when his contribution can be shown inventive and artistically successful, but what he omitted does not enter into the scholiast's mandate. Hence the suppression of expository prologues by Terence—a radical move, entailing many other changes—finds no mention in the Donatus commentary.³

The front-matter to the Donatus commentary incorporates (along with bits of at least one other treatise on comedy in general) *De fabula*, originally part of a full commentary on Terence by Evanthius (Rufinus p. 554 Keil). This Evanthius was a grammarian senior to Donatus by one generation. It is suspected that much else found its way to Donatus from or through him. Another text rescued incidentally by Donatus is the biography of Terence by Suetonius. This last is our principal conduit of Republican-era testimony on Terence's life and reputation (see Introduction, this volume). As such it is perhaps the most valuable matter in the entire corpus of Terence scholia.

Donatus has received just two complete modern editions. Wessner (1902–8) thoroughly reports almost all manuscripts of worth. Wessner passes no judgment on what had been abridged or paraphrased; he does distinguish scholia that must originally have been separate, assigning each an arabic numeral, and he attempts to identify (by italics) certain types of interpolation. In the diagnosis and emendation of corrupt scholia he is conservative. Karsten (1912–13), a highly subjective attempt to identify a genuine Donatian kernel, is best left on the shelf.

11 Other Extant Ancient Scholia

A complete commentary by a certain Eugraphius is conserved. (It is printed in the third volume of Wessner 1902–8.) Nothing whatever is known of this man's life: he is a bare name, attached (under the spelling Eografius) to the medieval copies of his work. These manuscripts, few in number and for the most part variously incomplete, divide into an α - and a β -recension, each with material unique to it. The β -version has been shown the more reliable, α having suffered medieval interpolation from the *Commentum Brunsonianum* (on which see Section 12) and from another source or sources (Wessner 1907).

It is clear that Eugraphius knew and used Donatus in some form. In comparison to his predecessor's, however, Eugraphius' commentary appears a

one-dimensional product. Its range of knowledge and interest is narrower, and its overall level more elementary. Eugraphius is far more concerned with literal paraphrase of the text; in that regard his work is somewhat reminiscent of the Virgil commentary by Tiberius Claudius Donatus, though it is decidedly more concise and operates more on the level of the phrase or sentence than of the passage. Eugraphius also pursues rhetorical analysis, in particular the application of *status* theory, to obsessive length. The following, on *Adelphoe* 787, is typical:

PARATA A NOBIS SVNT ITA VT DIXI SOSTRATA Haec scaena controversiam tenet, <an>pacta et conventa rata sint. qui adoptatum filium habebat, pactus est ut ipsum, qui in adoptionem dederat, curaret suum tantummodo. inventus alter filius apud eum qui adoptaverat cum meretrice redempta ab eo. qui adoptaverat reus fit. hic per finitivum statum responsio efficitur: quia ille dixerat “cur recipis meum?,” respondetur “communis esse amicorum omnia,” alienum illum non esse sed communem. huius igitur accusationis exordium est ab exclamatione sumptum, posteaquam comperit Demea adulescentem in domo fratris esse.

WE’VE MADE THE PREPARATIONS, SOSTRATA, JUST AS I SAID This scene contains a dispute as to the validity of contracts and agreements. He who had an adopted son agreed to attend to the same; he who had given his son in adoption, to attend only to his own son. The second of the two sons has been found in the home of the adopter, with a prostitute who had been purchased by him. The adopter is made the defendant. The defense is effected here through the issue of terminology: because the other had said “Why are you entertaining my son?,” the answer is given “All is shared between friends,” meaning that the other’s son is not an outsider but shared. The prosecution is opened by way of exclamation, after Demea has discovered that the young man was in his brother’s house.

Though not frequent, Eugraphian scholia treating difficult expressions and text-critical points are of unusual interest. Several command admiration for their ingenuity, whether or not one chooses to follow them. As an example may be cited that on *Heauton Timorumenos* 5–6: *hodie sum acturus Heauton Timorumenon, duplex quae ex argumento facta est simplici* (“Today I shall play *Heauton Timorumenos*, which has been made double out of a single plot”). Eugraphius explains that the play is “double” in that it now exists both in Greek and in Latin. Though interpretation of the line continues to be disputed, it is not clear that the ancient scholiast has yet been bettered.

The scholia Bembina, or marginal annotations of manuscript A, are of minor interest, being made up mostly of very brief notes, among which lexical glosses predominate. Their points of contact with Donatus have been noted above. They are edited in Mountford (1934).

12 The Middle Ages

The Donatus commentary was a rare text through almost the whole of the Middle Ages, only leaving the shadows after 1433. Its impact on medieval Terence exegesis was accordingly slight. The commentary of Eugraphius, too, had only a limited diffusion, hence a limited influence. Overwhelmingly the greatest part of the annotation circulating in the Middle Ages was composed in the Middle Ages. These medieval scholia are all interrelated, each having some matter found in others, though their interrelations are far from properly understood. For the classicist, the important fact is that the medieval annotations conserve, by themselves, no ancient learning of any significance.⁴ For the medievalist, on the other hand, they can be valuable witnesses to the reception of the author, to the creation and spread of lore, to the relations among centers of instruction, and to the history of education.

The most influential collection of exegesis was created in France before the middle of the ninth century. More accurately, at least parts of it (those prefatory to each play and some of the rest) were created there at that time: expansion may well have set in afterward. For the sake of simplicity the commentary will be treated here as a unitary composition, but the reader should bear in mind that the reality is quite possibly otherwise. Known as the *Commentum Brunsonianum* by reason of its publication in Bruns (1811), this work consists of a life of Terence, whose biographical details are taken from Orosius and Jerome; an *accessus*, or introduction, to each play, expounding the *didascalie* notice, presenting the dramatic situation and summarizing in part the plot; and scholia summarizing individual scenes and glossing individual words and expressions. Most manuscripts carrying the *Brunsonianum* do not have it complete. The scholia proper draw for the most part on a small number of sources usual for the ninth century (Isidore, Priscian, the *ars Donati*, Servius). In addition, they show a few notes deriving from the Donatus commentary (or from one of its sources) and a few deriving from Eugraphius (discounting those taken into the α -version of Eugraphius from the *Brunsonianum* (Wessner 1907: 220). The author of the *Brunsonianum* had as his task to make Terence comprehensible to pupils in a monastic school, enlarging their Latin vocabulary in the process. He thus aimed his effort at explaining the literal meaning of the text, mostly on the level of the word or phrase. Of this literal meaning he himself had but a shaky grasp. He had read relatively little in the pagan classics (though he had intently studied manuals of grammar, especially the *Institutiones* of Priscian). He can have had no more than a few excerpts of Donatus and Eugraphius. Such glossaries as were at hand provided only scant help with Terence. In short he was in no

position to make his text comprehensible, unless by inventing and imposing a sense. And so he did. To be sure, his glosses on common terms used in Latin of all periods are tolerably accurate, as are those based on the ancient grammarians. The remainder, though, amounting to perhaps a fifth of the whole, are fanciful—sometimes very fanciful. The phrase *modulauit Flaccus Claudi tibiis duabus dextris* (“With music by Flaccus Claudi on two right-hand pipes”) in the *didascalic* notice to *Eunuchus* receives the following comment:

... at vero modulator eius comediae fuit Flaccus optimus tibicen, unde hic dicitur hanc fabulam modulasse duabus dextris tibiis claudi. claudum autem genus tibiarum est inaequalibus fistulis factum, unde et claudum vocatur, eo quod fistulam habeat brevior in modum claudi. dextrae autem tibiae dicuntur quoniam ex dextro crure gruis aliarumque auium meliores fiunt.

On the other hand, the accompanist of this comedy was Flaccus, an excellent flutist. That is why he is said to have accompanied this play on the two right-hand flutes of the “lame” (*claudum*). The lame is a kind of flute made with pipes of unequal length, which is why it is called lame—because it has one pipe shorter, in resemblance to a lame man. The flutes are called right-hand because the best ones are made from the right leg of the crane and of other birds.

In point of fact *Claudi* has nothing to do with *claudus* “lame,” but means that Flaccus was the slave of somebody called Claudius. And Flaccus’ instrument was not made of bird shins.

The work known as the *Commentum Monacense* was compiled slightly later than the *Brunsonianum* and did not enjoy quite so broad a circulation. It is preserved almost complete in a single copy executed at Brescia about 1000 CE (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibl. lat. 14420) and in more partial form by other manuscripts, beginning about the year 900. Wherever it was elaborated (research on this point has so far proved indecisive), the *Monacense* appears to have been diffused from Lombardy. About half of it is now edited, from the Munich manuscript, in Schorsch (2011). While serving the same purpose as the *Brunsonianum* (and incorporating much material from it), the *Monacense* shows a higher level of learning and understanding. Most notably, its author had a knowledge of Greek not widespread at the time.

The two main Carolingian commentaries were succeeded by numerous others. Among important developments may be mentioned a new interest, seen in exegesis of the twelfth century, in characteristics of the comic genre, and Petrarch’s life of Terence, which is distinguished by its historical consciousness and scientific spirit. However, the bulk of post-Carolingian material remains but little explored. It is accordingly full of opportunity—for those with time and energy to invest.

FURTHER READING

Readers as yet unfamiliar with the principles of textual criticism and the history of transmission are directed to West (1973), the most judicious and balanced survey of the whole matter, and to Willis (1972), an introduction to the diagnosis and remedy of corruption; Pasquali (1952) remains important for its conceptual brilliance, however out of date it may now be on matters of detail. As for Terence himself, the main questions to do with extant manuscripts, their ancestry and interrelations are posed in Grant (1986), and the evidence on them set out. It is warned, however, that Grant is biased toward stemmatic solutions. Those curious about earlier phases of the tradition (through the Antonine–Severan period) must take account of Plautus, evidence on whom is more abundant and often has some bearing on Terence: Deufert (2002) furnishes the best entrée. Jakobi (1996) is overall an excellent introduction to the Donatus commentary, though eccentric for its insistence on unity and emphasis on Donatus' own personality. To place the ancient scholiasts in their wider context, Kaster (1980 and 1988) are particularly recommended. As regards the medieval scholia, Jakobi (2007) may serve as starting point for study of the *Commentum Brunsianum*; Schorsch (2011) for that of the *Monacense*; Riou (1997) and especially Villa (2007) for all else. For data on manuscripts of the *Brunsonianum*, Riou (1973) is the first place to go. On the sources and affinities of the *Monacense*, Villa (1984: 1–65) is of fundamental importance. Those seeking detailed information on later medieval exegesis will find it most concentrated in Villa (1984: 137–294). Individual paratextual elements such as *accessus* and *lives* (as many as occur in manuscripts anterior to the year 1200) are catalogued in Munk Olsen (1982–: 2.581–99). The fourth volume of Munk Olsen (1982–) provides a thorough overview of classical scholarship in general during the early Middle Ages.

NOTES

1. A long fragment of *Heauton Timorumenos* is also of the ninth century and quite close to Γ: Lyon, Bibl. Municipale 788 (siglum λ).
2. The scholia of the second annotating hand at *Phormio* 1–59 are Donatian. These were added to A in the course of the sixth century. They are not identical to what is found in the extant Donatus commentary: Löfstedt (1913), Zetzel (1975). Elsewhere a few marginal annotations of the same hand, but only a very few, show contact with Donatus.
3. The scholion to *Hecyra* 58 need not imply that its author knew how Apollodorus managed the exposition of the original. Evanthius III.2 does say that Terence used protatic characters rather than expository prologues, but shows no interest in the process of substitution. The case for systematic suppression of expository prologues by Terence is best made in Lefèvre (1969).
4. The only exception will be the *Vita Ambrosiana* (see Section 5), insofar as it is to be considered part of the exegetical matter.

CHAPTER NINETEEN

Terence in Latin Literature from the Second Century BCE to the Second Century CE

Roman Müller

1 First Performances and Revivals

The reception of any play begins at the moment of its premiere. The Codex Bembinus (A), the Recensio Calliopiana (the Σ class of manuscripts, see Reeve 1983; Grant 1986; and also Victor's extensive discussion, chapter 18, this volume), and Donatus record information in their *didascalía* that allows the precise dating of the first performances because it indicates the occasion, the names of the consuls in office and of the curule aediles, who organized the staging of the play (on the chronology of the plays, see the Introduction, this volume; on *didascalíae* and prologues, see Klose 1966 and Kruschwitz 2004: 165–8).

Contradictory information, however, is also included, that can only be explained by attributing certain names not to the first productions, but to subsequent ones. The presence of L. Atilius Praenestinus as a second manager, next to Ambivius Turpio, the theater director who was active in all plays, except *Hecyra*, is attributed by Dziatzko (1866) and Klose (1966: 13) to revivals. The *didascalía* of *Andria* lists four curule aediles, but as always only two held office at any time; those must be two different pairs of aediles from different years, when two different performances were staged (the second, probably in 143–134 BCE). In the case of *Eunuchus*, performed under the consuls M. Valerius Messala and C. Fannius Strabo in 161, the manuscript group Σ , unlike the rest of the tradition, names another consul,

namely L. Mummius, consul in 146 BCE, the general who conquered Corinth. This is an indication that there was a second production of the play in 146. With *Heauton Timorumenos* and *Phormio*, there is also variation in the names of the consuls: the Codex Bezae gives the name of the consul Cn. Cornelius (146 BCE) instead of T. Sempronius (163 BCE), and it seems reasonable to assume productions in both years. For *Phormio*, it names Q. Pompeius and Cn. Servilius Caepio instead of C. Fannius and M. Valerius; here, too, a restaging in the year 141 is likely.

All the previously mentioned dates of later productions are derived from data provided by the *didascalia* and are based on the assumption that varying performance data, which were mixed up in the tradition, subsequently entered various strands of the tradition. Likewise, the existence of a second, alternative end in *Andria* is due to divergences in the tradition (on this *alter exitus*, see Reeve 1983: 418–19 and Lefèvre 2008: 80–1).

A more reliable witness to later productions comes from the prologues themselves, whose authorship is attributed to Terence (due to stylistic variations between the prologues and the text of the plays themselves, Marouzeau cast doubt even on this in his 1947 edition). The prologue to *Hecyra* bears witness to negative receptions of the play on two occasions, which made the director Ambivius Turpio think a third performance necessary (on the play, see chapter 16, this volume). The second prologue, delivered by the producer Turpio himself, asks the audience for their support, after the piece had already failed twice. At the first performance (165 BCE), boxers and a tightrope walker attracted the attention of the spectators, so that the play had to be stopped because of the noise and turmoil (*Hec.* 25–6); in the revival of 160 BC, the arrival of gladiators brought about a similar commotion (*Hec.* 32). It was only in the third performance, which also took place in 160 BC, that the play was able to succeed.

2 Criticism

Already during his lifetime, Terence experienced problems with his literary creations and the resulting criticism. In addition to the aforementioned performance issues, Terence bears witness to criticism of the artistry and content of his work by an un-named malevolent clique (*maleuoli*; *An.* 6; *Hau.* 16; *Ad.* 15), led by an “malicious old poet” (*malevolus vetus poeta*; *Hau.* 22), probably Luscius Lanuvinus, an older contemporary (his biographical information is obscure), whom Donatus and Eugraphius name in their commentaries. The criticism must have been so poignant that Terence felt compelled to defend himself against it in his prologues (see also chapters 1 and 2 among others in this volume).

A first charge relates to the poetic method of *contaminatio*, which Terence used deliberately: he admits to dipping into two plays of Menander for his

Andria, the *Perinthia* and *Andria* (*An.* 13–16; see chapter 12, this volume). *Contaminatio* is to be understood as a “spoiling” of the Greek originals because the playwright introduces other material and motifs, taken from other plays, and thus creates a whole new play. This charge recurs in the prologue to *Heauton Timorumenos* (*Hau.* 16–17).

Second, Terence was accused of relying on the help of others rather than his own talent (*amicum ingenio fretum, haud natura sua*, “relying on the talent of his friends and not on his natural ability,” *Hau.* 24); the charge of plagiarism was raised at a rehearsal of *Eunuchus* by an alleged spy, who loudly shouted: *furem, non poetam fabulam dedisse* (“the play was the work of a thief, not a playwright,” *Eu.* 23). Lefèvre (1994: 189) draws attention to the similarity of the accusations and defense arguments in *Heauton Timorumenos* and *Adelphoe*. Terence mentions the charges of *contaminatio* (*Hau.* 23–24) and plagiarism (*furtumne factum*, “guilty of plagiarism,” *Ad.* 13), as well as of his alleged collaboration with the *nobiles* (*homines nobilis / hunc adiutare assidueque una scribere*, “members of the nobility assist our author and collaborate with him in his writing all the time,” *Ad.* 15–16). Perhaps this is an indication that the “rather Roman” design of these two comedies was actually backed up by the “moral and institutional support” of the so-called Scipionic circle (on the Roman character of these two plays and their association with satire and the Saturnalia, see Lefèvre 1994: 189; on the Scipionic circle, see Lefèvre 1994: 178–84 and chapter 6, this volume). Undoubtedly, *amici* (*Hau.* 24) encouraged Terence and contributed to the promotion of Roman perspectives in the areas of legal ideas, of humor, and of satire; by contrast, *Andria* and *Hecyra* may be considered to be nearer to a framework of Greek ideas. The influence of a “Scipionic circle,” however, should not be overestimated (see Jachmann 1934; Elvers 2001; and chapter 6, this volume. Dihle 1957, on the other hand, emphasizes the beginning of standardized Latin prose and a conscious effort on Latin language).

Suetonius hands down a point of criticism that Caesar is supposed to have raised (*Vita Terenti* 7): *lenibus atque utinam scriptis adiuncta foret vis, / comica ut aequato virtus polleret honore / cum Graecis neve hac despectus parte iaceres! / unum hoc maceror ac doleo tibi desse, Terenti* (“But would that the graceful verses had force as well, so that your comic power might have equal honor with that of the Greeks, and you might not be scorned in this regard and neglected. It hurts and pains me, my Terence, that you lack this one quality”). Regardless of whether *comica* modifies *uis* or *virtus*, Terence is considered inferior to Greek comedy with regard to form. Nonetheless, Caesar calls Terence’s *scripta*, *lenia*, “easy.” Despite the criticism, which concerns the composition, this must clearly be understood as stylistic praise. The adjective *lenis* stands as a positive characterization of diction, the opposite of *gravis*, which would be associated with the more majestic, more pathetic style of

tragedy. In this sense, one also finds the pair of opposites *lenis/gravis* in Cicero, for instance: *multa in illa oratione graviter, multa leniter, multa aspere, multa facete dicta sunt* (“in that speech there is much that is said with earnestness, much lightly and with charm, much with bitterness, much with wit and pleasantry,” *Brut.* 164, trans. Hendrickson). Here *lenis* is used as an attribute of the quality of an acclaimed speech of Crassus, which Cicero mentions as part of an answer to the question whether there could be an ideal speaker, who unites all essential qualities.

In a now lost text on poets (a testimony preserved by Gellius 15.24; for the quotation, see chapter 2, this volume), Volcarius Sedigitus, a literary critic of the second century BCE, provides a ranked list of comedy writers, where Terence figures only in the sixth place, after Caecilius Statius, Plautus, Naevius, Licinius, and Atilius. After Terence, Turpilius, Trabea, and Luscius follow, before Ennius, who is ranked last. The critic does not mention the assessment criteria or the reasons for the low placement of Terence in the list.

Terence had to listen to stylistic criticism from the *vetus poeta*, as becomes clear from the prologue to *Phormio*, where the accusation is leveled that the plays are *tenui oratione et scriptura leui* (“thin in style and light in content,” *Ph.* 5). Against this value judgment, however, which, according to the evidence of the prologue, was considered negative in Terence’s time, a number of testimonia attest to a positive evaluation of Terence’s language and style.

3 Praise for Language and Style

Suetonius provides the earliest praise that has been handed down to us (*Vita Terenti* 8; see the Introduction, this volume): Afranius, a writer of *togatae* in the second century BCE, who lived shortly after Terence, an admirer or even imitator of Menander and Terence (according to Macr. 6.1.4, and Cic. *Fin.* 1.7) is said to have praised Terence in his *Compitalia* and to have claimed that no one was equal to him. The verdict is too general to support more conclusions than that Terence had already won, soon after his death, the reputation of a model author.

In his *Epistle to Augustus*, Horace provides important information related to language and style, as he castigates the literary tastes of his contemporaries, who wrongly prefer old poetry from earlier times (see also Parker 1996: 589–90):

Naevius in manibus non est et mentibus haeret
 paene recens? adeo sanctum est vetus omne poema.
 ambigitur quotiens, uter utro sit prior, aufert
 Pacuvius docti famam senis, Accius alti,
 dicitur Afrani toga convenisse Menandro

Plautus ad exemplar Siculi properare Epicharmi
vincere Caecilius gravitate, Terentius arte.
hos ediscit et hos arto stipata theatro
spectat Roma potens; habet hos numeratque poetas
ad nostrum tempus Livi scriptoris ab aevo. (Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.53–62)

Is not Naevius in our hands, and clinging to our minds, almost as of yesterday? So holy a thing is every ancient poem. As often as the question is raised, which is better of the two, Pacuvius gains fame as the learned old writer, Accius as the lofty one. The toga of Afranius, it is said, was of Menander's fit; Plautus hurries along like his model, Epicharmus of Sicily. Caecilius wins the prize for dignity, Terence for art. These authors mighty Rome learns by heart; these she views, when packed in her narrow theater; these she counts as her muster-roll of poets from the days of Livius the writer to our own. (trans. Fairclough).

Naevius enjoys a wide readership, it seems, and, perhaps a reference to the formation of a canon, such as Volcacius Sedigitus had undertaken, Horace alludes to the ranking of authors: Pacuvius is a *doctus senex*, Accius *altus*, Afranius imitates Menander in Latin, Plautus follows Epicharmus, Caecilius wins by *gravitas* and Terence by his *ars*. Two conclusions can be drawn from this testimony: first, Horace clearly demonstrates that the Roman Comedy writers have enjoyed a continuous reception and been both memorized and performed on the stage. Second, the question must be asked, what Horace means when he says that Terence takes a place in the ranking because of his *ars*. Of all poets mentioned by Horace, Terence is the one who stands out from Plautus and the other comedians for his new stylistic and linguistic distinctiveness. He was already criticized for this during his lifetime by the representatives of the old ways, most notably the *poeta vetus*. Not openly, but implicitly, Horace separates Terence from the other ancient authors, whom he criticizes. It is noteworthy that, after the passage quoted above, Horace claims that the *volgus* is mistaken in its preference for old poets, but right in censuring the diction of the earlier writers as *nimis antiquae* and *dure* (2.1.66). Horace even brings up the *Carmen Saliare*, which was already incomprehensible in his time (2.1.86–9), as an example of this unwarranted adherence to old ways and traditions. He demands *novitas* (2.1.90), and in a short historical digression, he speaks of the difficulty the majority of Romans have always had with novelty. One cannot criticize the old poet Quinctius Atta (died 77 BCE), he notes, without incurring general disapproval, and Plautus may serve as a bad example of craving the applause of the crowd. As a prime example of the bad popular taste, Horace refers to failures of theatrical performances, with a virtually polemical choice of words: because the *numero plures, uirtute et honore minores, / indocti stolidique et depugnare parati* ("people stronger in number, but weaker in worth and rank, unlearned and stupid and ready to

fight it out,” 2.1.183–4) demand other pleasures, namely bears or boxing matches (*media inter carmina poscunt / aut ursum aut pugiles: his nam plebecula gaudet*, “they call in the middle of a play for a bear or for boxers,” 2.1.185–6). This recalls the failed first performance of *Hecyra*, aborted because of *pugilum gloria* (“talk of boxers”), which were more in line with the taste of the crowd. Did Horace have this particular lapse of good taste in mind? With some caution, we can construe Horace’s complaint about the bad taste of the public for things archaic as a testimony that he views Terence as an early representative of the gradual onset of a new self-consciously literary Latin, and therefore a kindred spirit to him in the development of a similar tradition of literary composition which, unfortunately, did not always meet, either in earlier or in later times, with the desired positive response. Horace had experienced this in his own life from the cold reception of his *Odes*, as he writes in *Epistle* 1.19.35–40. In *Epistle* 1.20, as well, in an apostrophe to his own book, Horace treats the reception of his works: *primis urbis belli placuisse domique* (“I found favor, both in war and peace, with the foremost in the State,” *Ep.* 1.20.23, trans. Fairclough). This wording echoes Terence’s apostrophe in *Adelphoe* 18–21: *eam laudem hic ducit maxumam quom illis placet / qui et vobis univovsis populo placent, / quorum opera in bello, in otio, in negotio / suo quisque tempore usust sine superbia* (“he regards it as a great compliment, if he finds favor with men who find favor with each and every one of you and the people at large, men from whose service in war, in peace, in business each of us has benefited at one time or another without disdain”; for the phrase in line 21, see chapter 7, this volume). Terence returns, in self-defense, to the high-ranking people, for whose help he had been reproached before, while Horace professes to have found approval with the *princeps* in Rome. Activities are associated with both distinguished circles: *bellum, otium, negotium* or *bellum* and *domus*. Calboli (1997) identifies in the word *domi* especially the main difference between Terence and Horace, namely that the latter, to sharpen the contrast, added *domi*, since he had also experienced war at the battle of Philippi, where he commanded a legion as tribune (cf. Hor. *S.* 1.6.48).

In Suetonius (*Vita Terenti* 7) we read that Caesar praised Terence for his *purus sermo*: *item C. Caesar “tu quoque, tu summis, o dimidiate Menander, poneris, et merito, puri sermonis amator”* (“You too, are ranked among the highest, you half-Menander, and justly, you lover of language undefiled”; on the authenticity of the testimony, see Herrmann 1930–2). This statement probably comes from Caesar’s *De analogia* (written ca. 54–52 BCE); the work was dedicated to Cicero, because Caesar wanted to show that they both stood up for *Latinitas*, but that he himself wanted to promote analogistic standardization. What does *purus* mean here? The word is first encountered as a metalinguistic qualifier in *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (*Latinitas est quae sermonem purum conseruat ab omni uitio remotum*, “it is correct Latinity

which keeps the language pure and free of any fault,” 4.17); here it is used to mean “clarity” and “intelligibility” in diction. Varro is also aiming at a manner of speaking characterized by stylistic correctness (*sic is sermo in quo pure disponuntur uerba, ne sit confusus atque ut diluceat, dicitur disputare*, “so also that discourse in which the words are arranged ‘neatly,’ that it may not be confused and that it may be transparent of meaning, is said ‘to discuss’ a problem of question,” *L.* 6.63, trans. Kent). *Purus* refers to intelligibility of expression; *latinitas*, on the other hand, refers to idiomatic correctness. This distinction can be consistently detected in Cicero. In *De oratore*, he demands that all speakers talk *pure et Latine* (1.144), that is, express themselves intelligibly in their stylistic arrangement and idiomatically correct; in *Orator*, he requires from the accomplished speaker *sermo purus erit et Latinus* (79), that is his speech will be readily understood and fully correspond to the nature of the Latin language. To interpret *purus* as “clear,” without distinction, falls short of its meaning because the primary sense is “clearly intelligible.” The related meaning “simple” arose in the context of the different *genera dicendi*, where the *genus tenue*, as the lowest level, was characterized by “simple,” in the sense of “unadorned” diction.

One can understand Caesar’s and Cicero’s assessment of Terence by looking at a note in *Brutus*: *mitto C. Laelium < L. > Philum P. Scipionem: aetatis illius ista fuit laus tamquam innocentiae sic Latine loquendi—nec omnium tamen, nam aequalis Caecilium et Pacuuium male locutos videmus—sed omnes tum fere [...] recte loquebantur. sed hanc certe rem deteriore vetustas fecit et Romae et in Graecia* (“I need not refer to Gaius Laelius, Lucius Philus, or Scipio; pure Latinity, not less than uprightness of character, was the mark of their time, though not quite universal, since we note that their contemporaries Caecilius and Pacuvius did not use a pure idiom; still, practically everyone ... in those days spoke well and correctly. But lapse of time has brought about some deterioration in this respect at Rome and in Greece,” *Brut.* 258, trans. Hendrickson). The three members of the circle of Scipio, C. Laelius, L. Furius Philus, and P. Scipio had still spoken “correctly,” before the language began to deteriorate. According to Suetonius (*Vita Terenti* 5), just Laelius and Scipio were supposed to have helped with the drafting of the comedies. Thus Terence is removed to a bygone age when people still spoke correctly, in contrast to the present day of Cicero and Caesar time (on Cicero and Terence’s circle of Scipio, see Karamalengou 2001).

What exactly did Caesar approve of, in Terence’s language? Aulus Gellius preserves a fragment from *De analogia*, in which Caesar demands *ut tamquam scopulum, sic fugias inauditum atque insolens verbum* (“avoid a strange and unfamiliar word, as you would avoid a rock,” 1.10.4). Here Caesar seems to be targeting both foreign words and neologisms, as well as archaisms. Müller (2007: 119) has showed that Terence’s use of language

corresponds with Caesar's conception: Terence may have introduced a maximum of eight Grecisms into the Latin language (see also Müller 1997: 254–64). It seems not unlikely that Scipio Aemilianus, who like Cato had launched a campaign for the protection of the Latin language, envisaged the concept of a “well-kept Roman written and literary language” (Müller 2007: 121) as a conscious counter-model to a type of poetry that had thus far been indebted to Greek Comedy. In addition to the avoidance of neologisms and foreign words, abundantly used by Terence's predecessors (especially Plautus), the ban also applies to the use of compound nouns, frequent in Greek and typical even in Plautus (a maximum of five occur in Terence).

To be “only half a Menander” most likely meant that Terence followed the Greek author in his choice of material, but went his own way when it came to style and composition (Müller 1997: 221–2). For the contemporary *vetus poeta* with whom Terence had to concern himself this had been yet another flaw—now it became a sign of poetic quality. In the linguistic standardization debate, Caesar positioned himself on the side of the analogists, as the representative of a *pura et incorrupta consuetudo* (cf. Dahlmann 1935), as Cicero has Atticus report: *Caesar autem rationem adhibens consuetudinem vitiosam et corruptam pura et incorrupta consuetudine emendat* (“Caesar however by invoking rational theory strives to correct distorted and corrupt usage by restoring usage pure and uncorrupted,” *Brut.* 261, trans. Hendrickson). This matches Cicero's remark, again preserved in Suetonius, that Terence offers a *lectus sermo* (“a carefully chosen speech”) and *elegantia sermonis* (“elegance of expression,” *Att.* 7.3.10).

Since the famous Roman orator showers the language of Terence with so much praise, it is no wonder that he includes numerous quotations and references to the text of the admired comic poet in his own rhetorical works. These serve partly as examples in the context of teaching rhetoric, and partly as a treasure trove of illustrative quotations and allusions.

4 Rhetorical Praxis

Twice in *De inuentione*, Cicero quotes excerpts from Terence's comedies to illustrate points in his teaching of rhetoric with examples. The first example helps to illustrate the function of the *narratio*, “the exposition of events that have occurred or are supposed to have occurred” (*Inv.* 1.27; on the *narratio*, also used in Greek rhetoric, see Barwick 1928). Ancient rhetoric distinguishes three degrees of relation to reality (*fabula*, *historia*, and *argumentum*) and ascribes to each a different literary genre: tragedy corresponds to *fabula*, which is neither true nor probable; historiography is matched with *historia*, which relates true events; comedy corresponds to *argumentum*,

which occupies a middle position, because it represents something invented that might conceivably happen. In *De inventione*, Cicero repeats verbatim from *Rhetorica ad Herennium* (1.13) the parallelism between *argumentum* and comedy, adding an excerpt from *Adelphoe* (60–4) to demonstrate, with the speech of the *senex* Micio, that an individual's style and emotions can be portrayed, in addition to the incidents described:

argumentum est ficta res, quae tamen fieri potuit. huiusmodi apud Terentium:
nam is postquam excessit ex ephebis ... (Ter. *An.* 51)

Illa autem narratio quae versatur in personis eiusmodi est, ut in ea simul cum rebus ipsis personarum sermones et animi perspicui possint, hoc modo:

venit ad me saepe clamitans "quid agis, Micio?
quor perdis adolescentem nobis? quor amat?
quor potat? quor tu his rebus sumptum suggeris,
vestitu nimio indulges? nimium ineptus es."

nimum ipsest durus praeter aequomque et bonum ... (Ter. *Ad.* 60–4)
(Cic. *Inv.* 1.27)

Argumentum is a fictitious narrative which nevertheless could have occurred. An example may be quoted from Terence: "After he had finished his military service ..." But the form of narrative which is concerned with persons is of such a sort that in it can be seen not only events but also the conversation and mental attitude of characters. For example: "He often comes to me shouting 'What are you doing, Micio? Why are you ruining our boy? Why is he having a love affair? Why is he drinking? Why are you supplying him with money for these things? Why are you spoiling him with expensive clothes? You are being all too silly about it.' Well, he is being all too strict, well beyond what is fair or right ..." (trans. Hubbell and Barsby for Cicero and Terence respectively)

According to ancient rhetorical practices, after the *narratio*, in which the speaker presents the general facts, the *partitio* followed. The orator here outlines the stages of his exposition; Cicero describes the *partitio* with reference to the words of the old man Simo from *Andria*:

atque his de partitione praeceptis in omni dictione meminisse oportebit, ut et prima quaeque pars, ut exposita est in partitione, sic ordine transigatur et omnibus explicatis peroratum sit, ut ne quid posterius praeter conclusionem inferatur. Partitur apud Terentium breviter senex et commode in *Andria*, quae cognoscere libertum velit:

eo pacto gnati et vitam et consilium meum
cognosces et quid facere in hac re te velim. (Ter. *An.* 49-50)

itaque quemadmodum in partitione proposuit, ita narrat, primum nati vitam:
nam is postquam excessit ex ephebis ... (Ter. *An.* 51)

deinde suum consilium:

et nunc id operam do ... (*An.* 157)

deinde quid Sosiam velit facere, id quod postremum posuit in partitione,
postremum dicit:

nunc tuomst officium ... (*An.* 168)

quemadmodum igitur hic et ad primam quamque partem primum accessit et omnibus absolutis finem dicendi fecit, sic nobis placet et ad singulas partes accedere et omnibus absolutis perorare. (Cic. *Inu.* 1.33)

Now that the rules for partition have been stated, it is necessary to remind the orator that throughout the speech he should bear in mind to complete the sections in order one after another as they have been planned in the partition, and that after all have been dispatched he should bring the speech to a close so that nothing can be introduced after the conclusion. The old man in Terence's *Andria* makes a brief and neat partition of what he wishes his freedman to know: "That way you will understand my son's behavior and my own scheme and how I would like you to help me". And his narrative follows the plan laid down in the partition: "After he had finished his military service ..." Then his plan: "And that is my purpose now ..." Then what he wishes Sosia to do, which was the last point in the partition, is stated last: "Now, it is your job ..." Just as he turned his attention first to each point as it arose, and after dispatching them all stopped speaking, so I favor turning our attention to each topic and when all have been dispatched, winding up the speech. (trans. Hubbell and Barsby for Cicero and Terence respectively)

Cicero praises the *senex* for his style, and also indirectly Terence, because he uses the expressions *breviter ... et commode*, in accordance with recommended rhetorical practice. Cicero praises the clear structure (*ita narrat primum ... deinde ... deinde ... postremum dicit ... finem dicendi fecit*) that Simo demonstrates by fulfilling what he announced in lines 49–50 with the neatly apportioned breaks at lines 51, 157, and 168. He concludes by commending the speaker Simo (i.e., Terence): *sic nobis placet*. One may find the same idea concerning brevity of expression without the loss of detail in *De oratore* also (2.326). The quotations from Terence in the *De inuentione* are likely to have been immediately recognizable to Cicero's circle; this is a rhetorical and theoretical treatise addressed to an educated and literate audience. One can see from the presumed familiarity with Terence that his comedies were mandatory reading for the budding orator. For instance, in *De natura deorum* (2.60), a quote from *Eunuchus* (732) serves to clarify a use of metonymy.

In several of his speeches as well, Cicero goes back to Terence. In *Pro Caelio*, he defends the young Marcus Caelius Rufus. The plaintiffs had discredited the young man by denigrating his loose morals and lifestyle. Cicero plays the role of the mild-mannered and indulgent father Micio from Terence's

Adelphoe (120–1): *leni vero et clementi patre cuius modi ille est: “fores effregit? restituentur. discidit / uestem? Resarcietur”*. *Caeli causa est expeditissima. quid enim esset in quo se non facile defenderet?* (“But if I take a mild and indulgent father like this one, who would say: ‘He has broken down a door: it can be repaired. He has torn some clothes: they can be mended’. Caelius’ case is quite without difficulty. For what charge could there be on which he would not find it easy to defend himself?” *Cael.* 38). For the sake of rhetorical effect, Cicero transfers stock characters from Terence (the young girl or courtesan, the spendthrift, lovelorn son, the kind father) into the daily life of his client.

In *Pro Caecina* (27), Cicero compares the banker, Sextus Clodius Phormio, with namesake, the parasite in Terence’s *Phormio*, to discredit him morally: Phormio is “no less shady and no less brazen than the Phormio of Terence” (*nec minus niger nec minus confides quam ille Terentianus Phormio*). The names of three parasites occur in the second *Philippic* (*Phil.* 2.15): Gnatho from *Eunuchus*, Phormio from the comedy of the same name, and Ballio from Plautus’ *Pseudolus*. Cicero employs these characters to describe the bad company his adversary Antony supposedly keeps: he threw a party with parasites—intolerable! Finally, for his defense of P. Vatinius, Cicero says that he adapted *Eunuchus* 440–5, that is paying tit for tat (*Fam.* 1.9.19).

Particularly revealing is the use of quotations and allusions in the speeches without any further reference to the author or their origin. It may be that Cicero, who revised his works before publication, wanted to shine with literary erudition, not without a certain dose of vanity, as he frankly confesses in a letter to Atticus: he has just used a quote from *Andria* (185) “to fill the page” (*Att.* 13.34). Since Cicero uses quotations not only in his personal correspondence with people of similar educational background, but also in legal speeches for a public audience, he must have been sure that such quotations would be understood immediately without any further explanation and that their effect would not be missed. This presumes general familiarity with the works of Terence, indeed to the degree that the individual characters from the plays, as well as their associated storylines, are assumed to be well known: all listeners would know who Phormio, Gnatho, or Ballio were; it was understood that the repair of broken doors and ripped clothes, and a father who remained mild-mannered nonetheless (*Cael.* 38.9), evoked incidents from *Adelphoe*.

Finally, Quintilian also endorses the positive assessment of Terence’s plays: *in hoc genere elegantissima* (“they are in fact the most elegant of their kind,” *Inst.* 10.1.99); the only formal point of criticism he expresses about Terence’s works is that they would have been even more charming, if Terence had confined himself wholly to trimeters (*et plus adhuc habitura gratiae si intra versus trimetros stetissent*, “and would have possessed even more attraction if they had been written wholly in trimeters,” *Inst.* 10.1.99). Since Quintilian

complains in general that Roman Comedy is inferior to Greek (*in comoedia maxime claudicamus*, “it is in comedy that our steps most falter,” *Inst.* 10.1.99), one may dismiss this as conventional modesty. The topos of inferiority, with which he flirts, seems overdone: “we barely achieve a faint shadow, and I have come to think that the Latin language is incapable of acquiring that grace that was vouchsafed uniquely to the Athenians” (*vix leuem consequimur umbram, adeo ut mihi sermo Romanus non recipere videatur illam solis concessam Atticis venerem*, *Inst.* 10.1.99). The word chosen by Quintilian to describe the comedies, *scripta*, is odd (Caesar had also used it, according to Suetonius’ *Vita Terenti* 7; cf. quotation above) because in the middle of the first century CE they were by no means better known as literary works, than as stage plays. Quintilian himself attests this when, in the eleventh book, he draws parallels between the presentation of a speech by a speaker and the presentation of a text by an actor. He quotes a passage from *Eunuchus* (46–8) to illustrate his point and explains the pauses, the intonation, and the gestures:

ut si sit in scaena dicendum:
 quid igitur faciam? non eam ne nunc quidem
 cum arcessor ultro? an potius ita me comparem,
 non perpeti meretricum contumelias? (*Eun.* 46–8)
 hic enim dubitationis moras, vocis flexus, varias manus, diversos nutus actor
 adhibebit. (*Inst.* 11.3.182)

Suppose one had to say the following lines on the stage: “So what am I to do? Should I not go, not even now, when she invites me of her own accord? Should I rather take myself in hand and refuse to endure the insults of courtesans?” Here the actor will introduce pauses for hesitation, inflections of voice, various hand-gestures, and different movements of the head.” (trans. Russell and Barsby)

5 Terence’s Characters as Moral Examples

Why does Cicero quote so often from Roman Comedy and Terence in particular (in the case of the latter, from all his comedies except *Hecyra*)? In addition to the rhetorical usefulness of the plays, discussed above, their aesthetic and ethical dimension plays a significant role. For Cicero, there is a link between behavior and diction. Donatus recognizes this in the works of Cicero, when, in the *Excerpta de comoedia* 5.1 (p. 22, 19 Wessner), he notes: *comœdiam esse Cicero ait imitationem vitae, speculum consuetudinis, imaginem veritatis* (“Cicero says that comedy is an imitation of life, a mirror of behavior, and reflection of reality”; cf. also Donatus p. 22, 14 Wessner: *comoedia est fabula diversa instituta continens affectuum civilium ac priuatorum, quibus discitur, quid sit in vita utile, quid contra evitandum*, “comedy is a play that

comprises many diverse practices of public and private disposition, by which one learns what is useful in life and conversely what one ought to avoid"). Comedy mirrors life, custom, and truth. Here Donatus goes one step further than Cicero and mentions an educational function. Although referring to Caecilius, not Terence, Cicero claims that the poets' intention is to hold a mirror up to their audience with their comic characters: *etenim haec conficta arbitror esse a poetis, ut effectos nostros mores in alienis personis expressamque imaginem nostrae vitae cotidianae videremus* ("I think, in fact, that these fictions of the poets are intended to give us a representation of our manners in the characters of others and a vivid picture of our daily life," *S. Rosc.* 47, trans. Freese; cf. also *Amic.* 97). Citing the first verses of Phaedia's entrance monologue in *Eunuchus* (46–9), Cicero explains that even in emotional comic situations, *ratio*, that is, the ability to reason, can have an effect (*N.D.* 3.72); Demipho, the *senex*, who in *Phormio* learns that his son has married in his absence, controls his anger with the help of a bit of philosophical wisdom, namely the recognition of the power of fate. Cicero remarks that Terence has taken this precept from philosophy (*ergo hoc Terentius a philosophia sumptum cum tam commode dixerit, nos, e quorum fontibus id haustum est, non et dicemus hoc melius et constantius sentiemus?* "Now when Terence has given such apt expression to a lesson gained from philosophy, shall we, from whose springs the draught was drawn, fail to express it in better terms and feel it more steadfastly?" *Tusc.* 3.31, trans. King). What is meant here by "philosophy" is the attitude of the Cyrenaics toward unforeseen calamity, which Cicero mentions as one of several examples in the third book of *Tusculanae Disputationes*, which treats the general subject of how overcoming passions (on the themes of fate and grief in Roman Comedy, see Blänsdorf 1974: 149). In *Tusculanae Disputationes* 4.76, as well, Cicero illustrates the power of emotions, this time using the words of the slave Parmeno from *Eunuchus* 59–63. He shows the unreliability of friendship through reference to the figure of the parasite Gnatho from *Eunuchus* 252–3 (*Amic.* 93). The risk of jeopardizing friendships by telling the truth (*Amic.* 89) is exemplified in the words of the freedman Sosia from *Andria* (*namque hoc tempore / obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit*, "these days obsequiousness makes friends, the truth just makes you unpopular," *An.* 67–8).

With a quote from *Andria* (189), Cicero comments on lifestyle changes because of current political developments: there the *senex* Simo looks into arranging a wedding for his easy-going son, one that should give his life an about-turn towards the "right way" (*nunc hic dies aliam vitam adfert, alios mores postulat*, "but today brings another life, demands another way of behaving"). The *alia vita* and the *alii mores* mentioned by Cicero in the letter to Cornificius (*Fam.* 12.25.5) refer to the current situation in Rome after the assassination of Caesar. In a letter to Atticus (2.19.1), Cicero quotes the angry

senex Demipho, who is extremely upset to learn that his son has married hastily, without asking him, in order to express his disapproval of the manumission of Statius, his brother's favorite slave (*nec meum imperium—ac mitto imperium—non simultatem meam revereri saltem!* “Does he not respect my authority—never mind my authority, does he not even fear my anger?” *Ph.* 232). Even in the concluding section of the previous letter (2.18.4), Cicero had sought the assistance of his friend Atticus with the hint: *nec mihi consilium nec consolatio deesset* (“I should then lack neither counsel nor comfort”), which seems to be taken from *Heauton Timorumenos* 86 (*aut consolando aut consilio aut re iuvero*, “I will help you either by consolation or counsel or money”; repeated in *Att.* 9.6.5).

That Cicero harbored a certain fondness for the *senes* is evident in his rhetorical and moral use of the comedies. He is not alone in this. Even Horace evokes, without direct reference to Terence, the image of the comic father, specifically, that of Demea from *Adelphoe* 409–18, where, in a conversation with his brother's slave concerning money and love affairs, the old man brags about having taught his son by praise and blame. In *Satire* 1.4.105–29, Horace exploits this image of the didactic father, when he reproduces the warnings of his own father (*pater optimus*) about wasting money (*rem perdere*) and dealing with prostitutes (*meretricis amore*; cf. Leach 1971 on Horace's circumvention of various *uitia* as an evolution from Greek New Comedy). Another father, the austere and harsh Menedemus from *Heauton Timorumenos*, who bitterly regrets having sent his son away on military service in punishment for his frivolous lifestyle, is compared by Horace to a certain Fufidius who is very strict when it comes to the same issues (the waste of money and the frivolity of the young people): *ita ut pater ille Terenti / fabula quem miserum gnato vixisse fugato / inducit, non se peius cruciaverit atque hic* (“so that the father whom Terence's play pictures as having lived in misery after banishing his son, never tortured himself worse than he,” Hor. *S.* 1.2.20–2, trans. Fairclough; on Horace and Terence, see further Di Benedetto 1962 and 1981). Horace also borrows a Terentian example of a young man wretchedly in love with a *hetaira*: Phaedria's opening monologue in *Eunuchus* (46–9, Hor. *S.* 2.3.262–4). The same Terentian passage is used by Persius in the first century CE to demonstrate the dependence of a lover (on Terence's influence on Persius, see Zietsman 1998).

Finally, two testimonia from Varro reflect Terence's delineation of character: in a fragment from his *Menippean Satires*, Varro awards to the poets Caecilius, Terence, and Plautus the highest rank in different fields, and thereby makes an evaluative selection, as Volcacius Sedigitus was doing at about the same time and Horace would later: Terence excels in the portrayal of characters, but when it comes to the way in which they speak, he commends Plautus (*in argumentis Caecilius poscit palmam, in ethesis Terentius, in sermonibus*

Plautus, “Caecilius wins the prize for the plot, Terence for the portrayal of his characters (*ethesis*), Plautus in his speeches,” *Men.* 399 Astbury). In the fourth century CE, Charisius (2.16), who knows Varro’s *De Latino sermone*, confirms this verdict on Terence (ἤθη, *ut ait Varro de Latino sermone libro V, nullis aliis servare convenit, inquit, quam Titinio, Terentio, Attae; πάθη vero Trabea, Atilius, Caecilius facile moverunt*, “as Varro says in the fifth book of the *On the Latin Speech*, it is agreed that character delineation (*ethos*) is better attested in no other author than in Titinius, Terence, and Atta, whereas Trabea, Atilius, and Caecilius inspired the audience with their power to move them (*pathos*)”, GLK 1.241.28 = 315 Barwick). Generally, *ethos* refers to the *dramatis persona* (e.g., Arist. *Poet.* 1460a), but it can also refer, in the sense used in rhetoric, to the credibility and authority of a speaker, whereas *pathos* denotes the emotional state of the recipient, and *logos*, the strict rationality of the argumentation. Varro’s praise of Terence’s *ethos* applies in both instances to the credible and consistent characterization of the *dramatis personae* in his plays.

6 Non-specific References to Terence’s Plays

In a seemingly apologetic passage in *Tristia* 2.1, Ovid states that we must separate between the behavior of characters in poems and the poet. Literature, and poetry in particular, is all fictitious (*magnaue pars mendax operum est et ficta meorum*, “most of my work is unreal and fictitious,” 2.1.355, trans. Wheeler and Goold) and allows no conclusions to be drawn about the lifestyle and moral views of the author. From this it follows that he, despite being the author of the *Amores* and the *Ars Amatoria*, led no immoral life (*crede mihi, distant mores a carmine nostri*, “I assure you, my character differs from my verse,” 2.1.353). The same principle applies to Accius and Terence (*Accius esset atrox, conviva Terentius esset*, “else would Accius be cruel, Terence a reveller,” 2.1.359). It comes as no surprise that Ovid is also well versed in Roman Comedy, The content of Roman Comedy was, accordingly, well known in the Augustan era.

In *Epistle* 1.16, Pliny the Younger reports that he holds the author Pompeius Saturninus in great esteem. When Saturninus read some letters to him, allegedly originating from his wife’s pen, Pliny thought he heard Plautus or Terence in prose (*legit mihi nuper epistulas; uxoris esse dicebat. Plautum uel Terentium metro solutum legi credidi. quae siue uxoris sunt ut adfirmat, siue ipsius ut negat, pari gloria dignus, qui aut illa componat, aut uxorem quam virginem accepit, tam doctam politamque reddiderit*, “He has recently read me some letters which he said were written by his wife, but sounded to me like Plautus or Terence being read in prose. Whether they are all really his wife’s as he says, or his own (which he denies), one can only admire him either for

what he writes or for the way he has cultivated and refined the taste of the girl he married,” *Ep.* 1.16.6, trans. Radice). In addition to this evidence for continuing familiarity with the works of both playwrights in the second half of the first century CE, one must note here Pliny’s testimony to the learning of the young woman who was, after an early marriage, educated in literary style from the models of Plautus and Terence.

A curious instance of Terence’s reception in the first century CE comes from an inscription in Pompeii which puns on the title of the comedy *Heauton Timorumenos* and the name of its central character Menedemus: *Menedemerumenos*, “Menedemus, the self-tormentor” (*CIL* 4.1211, 1212, 1616, 4555, 5189, 5417, 7102). This may serve as proof the contents of Terence’s comedies were familiar at least until the destruction of the city in 79 CE. There is no archaeological evidence for possible authors of the graffito, nor for the reason or the intended audience.

Apuleius (ca. 125–170 CE) refers to Terence’s *Eun.* 454 in *De Deo Socratis* 165, which is the only demonologic treatise of antiquity known today. He describes the δαιμόνιον, a third instance between the living human soul and the dead soul, to be audible, as well as visible, to Socrates. Only hearing a character and then upon entrance seeing him, which is the typical theatrical communication model, serves as illustration for the philosopher’s relationship to his demon: *at enim Socrates non vocem sibi sed “vocem quampiam” dixit oblatam, quo additamento profecto intellegas non usitatam vocem nec humanam significari. quae si foret, frustra “quaequam,” quin potius aut “vox” aut certe “cuiusquam vox” diceretur, ut ait illa Terentiana meretrix: “audire vocem visa sum modo militis”* (“But Socrates claimed that he encountered not just a voice but ‘a certain kind of voice’; you may understand from this addition that no common or human voice is meant. If that were so, there would be no point in saying ‘a certain kind of voice’ rather than just ‘a voice’ or ‘someone’s voice’—just as even that prostitute in Terence says ‘I seemed just now to hear the soldier’s voice,’” trans. Harrison). As *De deo Socratis* is a philosophical treatise aimed at an erudite audience, it appears likely that Terence’s comedies have still been studied in detail at the end of the second century CE so that the reference to the prostitute (*illa Terentiana meretrix*) including the constellation on stage would have been recognized immediately (May 2006: 50–1 ascribes a function in philosophical reasoning to this passage).

Unfortunately, we cannot draw conclusions here about literary sociology or esthetics. In a way, this applies to all reception of Terence in the first centuries because formal influences were primarily emphasized. Later centuries would discover another more powerful side of Terence, namely Terence as teacher of human values (see chapter 20, this volume), and would accordingly transform the comedies, as it will be seen in Hrotsvit (see chapter 21, this volume).

FURTHER READING

Marti's groundbreaking study (1974) is still very important for any research in the reception of Terence. Also, in Lefèvre's respective monographs one can find chapters dedicated to the reception of *Hecyra* (1999), *Eunuch* (2003), and *Andria* (2008). Parker (1996) discusses the revival of Terence's plays after his death (cf. also Tansey 2001 for *Phormio*). In addition to the bibliography found above, one can also consult Ronconi (1970) and Kruschwitz (2004: 210–12).

CHAPTER TWENTY

Terence in Late Antiquity

Andrew Cain

As we have seen in previous chapters, Terence enjoyed his fair share of popular success during a relatively brief but eventful career as a comic playwright. His play *The Eunuch*, for instance, received an encore presentation on the same day as the début, and this play also netted an unprecedented fee of 8,000 nummi (32,000 sesterces), according to Suetonius. As impressive as this commercial triumph may seem in the contemporary context of Terence's career, it pales in comparison with the literary immortality that was to be his following his untimely death in 159 BCE. Indeed, only a small handful of fellow classical Latin authors would end up enjoying as much literary authority and recognition as Terence. In this chapter, we will sketch the contours of his wide-reaching influence on Roman culture and literature primarily during late antiquity (fourth and fifth centuries CE), a watershed period in the history of the West which witnessed not only the ascendancy of Christianity as the sole imperially endorsed religion but also the last "Golden Age" of ancient Latin literature.

1 From the Stage to the Schools

Terence's last play, *Adelphoe*, was performed in 160 BCE at the funeral games of Lucius Aemilius Paullus (Leigh 2004: 158–91). This was the first time it was staged in antiquity, but it certainly was not the last time either it or any other of the five plays by Terence was performed in posterity. Production

notes preserved in the manuscripts indicate that Terence was revived during the 140s (Jachmann 1934: 607; Goldberg 2005: 75, and chapter 19, this volume; cf. Jory 1963: 73–5; Plautus, too, was revived within a few decades of his own death: see Mattingly 1960). It is therefore altogether possible that his plays had been staged sporadically, if not relatively continuously, ever since his death in 159. Another piece of evidence gleaned from a late antique manuscript of Terence's comedies confirms a revival of *Phormio* for the year 106 BCE (Tansey 2001). The early and mid-first century BCE was a heyday of *palliata* (Duckworth 1952: 68, 70), and Terence and Plautus were still able to pack theaters to capacity even near the end of that century (Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.56–61; see Müller's discussion in this volume). Cicero, who deeply admired Terence and quoted often from his plays, saw Terentian drama on stage, as did Varro, who viewed a production of *Heauton Timorumenos* (*R.* 2.11.11). However, under the Empire this older literary comedy declined significantly in popularity as a form of public spectacle. Its place on stage was largely taken by mime in both the latter's literary (scripted) and "popular" (improvisational) forms (Beacham 1991: 117–53; Fantham 1989a). Augustus was fond of Republican comedy (*comoedia vetus*) and kept it alive on stage during his reign (Suet. *Aug.* 89.1), and because Terence was one of the perennial darlings of Republican drama, it is only natural to assume that he was a featured act (Cf. Quint. *Inst.* 11.3.178–82 with Beare 1964: 237).

Numerous literary and archaeological *testimonia* suggest that Terence, along with Plautus, continued to be revived at periodic intervals—whether in public venues or in more intimate settings such as symposia, we do not know—in the second and third centuries (Bieber 1961: 230–1; Jocelyn 1967: 48–50; Jory 1986: 149–50; Webster 1995: 72–6; May 2006: 16–44; cf. Green 1985 and Jones 1993 on the performance of classical Greek drama into the third century), and possibly in the early and mid-fourth century. In his mid-fourth-century commentary on *Andria*, Donatus makes the following statement: "Notice how some of the more important lines in this play are assigned to Mysis, that is, to a female character, whether she is played by male actors, as in the time of our ancestors, or by women, as we see now" (*et vide non minimas partes in hac comoedia Mysidi attribui, hoc est personae femineae, sive haec personatis viris agitur, ut apud veteres, sive per mulierem, ut nunc videmus* (ad *An.* 716). This passage is often cited as evidence of stage production for Terentian comedy in the fourth century (see, e.g., Basore 1909: xxi; Sifakis 1966: 272; Jory 1986: 150; Webb 2002: 282; Marshall 2006: 94). It has also been suggested that it refers not to revived classical comedy but to mime (Jakobi 1996: 12). However, women had been performers of mime since the middle republic (Gardner 1991: 247), while Donatus seems to imply that the appearance of female actors on stage, in the context in which he is describing staged drama, is a recent development. Moreover, it is impossible to say when

precisely the curtain fell on public performances of Terence, but there is nevertheless general agreement that by the fifth century CE, at the very latest, the plays had made their more or less complete transition from live stage productions to literary artifacts.

Besides Virgil, no Latin poet, and certainly no other dramatic poet, was as widely known or read as Terence was throughout the whole of the imperial period. His immense popularity did not derive from whatever (modest?) stage presence his plays presumably enjoyed; these intermittent revivals were instead the manifestations of his pre-existing renown. Terence lived on not so much through the theater as through another Roman institution, the schools. His plays became a school-text sometime in the second half of the second century BCE—in time, that is, for Cicero (born 106 BCE) to have studied them as a boy (Bonner 1977: 261). And because inclusion in the syllabus constituted one's *de facto* induction into the canon (on the issues involved in the formation of ancient Latin literary canons, see Citroni 2005 and especially Goldberg 2005), Terence had already been enshrined as a literary “classic” by Cicero's youth. By the middle of the first century BCE, the Latin secondary reading list evidently was well populated (cf. Hor. *Ep.* 2.1.50–62, 69–71 with chapter 19, this volume and see Vergeest 1950: 30–9). Around 26 BCE, the grammarian Quintus Caecilius Epirota set a new precedent in Roman secondary education by incorporating Virgil and “other modern poets” (e.g., Horace and the elegists) into his classroom (Suet. *Gram.* 16.3). Many other grammarians seem to have followed suit, with the result that within a few decades the traditional syllabus underwent a drastic metamorphosis. Most notably, Virgil, who may have been recognized as a “classic”-in-the-making even during his own lifetime (cf. Prop. 2.34.61–6), largely superseded Ennius as the principal, epic school-text (Goold 1970: 162–3). By the early second century CE the Augustan poets had all but displaced their Republican forebears from most grammarians' syllabi: the study of Accius and Pacuvius, for instance, seems to have been confined mostly to archaizing circles (cf. Pers. 1.76–82; Mart. 11.90.5–6; Tac. *Dial.* 20.5, 21.7), and only the odd *grammaticus* in the second century CE evidently taught Ennius' *Annales* (so Gell. *NA* 20.10.2; see also *NA* 16.10, 18.5 for second-century *recitatio* of the *Annales*). Despite this curricular restructuring, Terence remained a core school author throughout the imperial period, and by the late fourth century he had become, along with Cicero, Sallust, and Virgil, one of the four main canonical school authors (depending upon the individual school, other authors—e.g., Horace (Auson. *Protr. ad nep.* 56–60)—probably joined these four on the syllabus in some capacity). This elite quartet formed what Cassiodorus (*Inst.* 1.15.7) later dubbed “Messius' four-horse chariot” (*quadriga Messii*), after the rhetorician Arusianus Messius, who in his *Exempla elocutionum ex Vergilio, Sallustio, Terentio, Cicerone digesta per litteras* (395 CE)—a grammatical handbook

listing nouns, adjectives, verbs, and prepositions with multiple constructions—drew his examples from their works (for the critical edition, see Della Casa 1977).

Many Imperial Romans' first encounter with Terence occurred perhaps when they were learning how to read and write. It was customary for young children to memorize and repetitively copy out well-known moral precepts and maxims such as those in which Terence's plays abound. This exercise, which the Romans borrowed wholesale from the Greeks, was intended not only to give children practice forming their letters and words, but also to aid in the formation of their character and their memory (Bonner 1977: 172–6; Criboire 1996: 43–7; Morgan 1998: 120–51). As the Attic orator Aeschines remarks on this practice in the Greek-speaking world, the utility of these pithy sayings was expected to far outlast one's school days: "we memorize as children the maxims of the poets, so that we can make use of them when we are adults" (*In Ctes.* 135). Teachers devised various pedagogical tools to make the learning process less tedious. The most innovative surviving tool, designed for use in the classroom of the *grammaticus* (see below), is the 230-line *Play of the Seven Wise Men* (*Ludus septem sapientum*) by the Gallic poet and rhetorician Ausonius. In this short, mock theatrical poem, seven famous sages from ancient Greece mount the stage one after another and deliver, mostly in Latin, a round of *sententiae*. Five different uniquely Terentian expressions creep in (154–5, 191, 206, 207–10, 219–20). Their presence is striking because, with the exception of one insignificant line from Plautus (131), Terence is the only Latin poet represented in a work starring *Greek* philosophers, and this clearly reflects Terence's curricular prominence in Ausonius' fourth-century Gaul. The aphoristic-sounding locutions were not the only parts of Terence's plays that educated Romans would have internalized during their student days. It is not inconceivable that the more precocious pupils committed, over time, much and perhaps even all of Terence to memory. Such mnemonic feats certainly were not unheard of in the ancient world. Augustine, for instance, tells of how his friend Simplicius knew all of Virgil and every one of Cicero's speeches by heart (*De anim. et eius orig.* 4.7.9), though Augustine's astonishment at this feat suggests that people like Simplicius were rather exceptional cases. Even more impressive is the fourth-century Egyptian monk Ammonius, who is said to have memorized the entire Bible and some six million lines of patristic Greek writings by Origen, Didymus, and others (Palladius, *Hist. Laus.* 11.4).

After ingesting a generous amount of his *sententiae* during the elementary phase of their education, Roman schoolchildren began their formal study of Terence (perhaps between the ages of ten and twelve) under a *grammaticus*, a trained expert in Latin language and literature (see Kaster 1988). After providing a brief overview of the plot, he would guide them

through a word-by-word analysis of the play, in the course of which he would comment on the finer points of the meter and diction, gloss rare words and explain any lexical irregularities, and review such grammatical basics as gender, number, and parts of speech; literary interpretation as it is practiced today seems to have had little if any place in the ancient classroom. The study of Terence during late antiquity was not restricted to the grammarian's classroom but occurred also in less formal settings, such as in the homes of well-educated aristocrats, who gave their children extra-curricular instruction in literature. One such aristocratic man of letters is the Gallic bishop Sidonius Apollinaris (431–489), who had learned his Terence inside and out as a schoolboy (Harries 1994: 39) and quoted or mentioned him by name on numerous occasions in his adult works (*Epist.* 1.9.8; 1.11.5; 2.2.2; 3.13.1; 7.9.19; *Carm.* 13.36; 23.147). In a letter to two friends, Sidonius describes a scene from his study in which he and his son were recently reading Terence's *Hecyra* together (see commentary by Amherdt 1999: 309–14):

Nuper ego filiusque communis Terentianae *Hecyrae* sales ruminabamus; studenti assidebam naturae meminens et professionis oblitus quoque absolutius rhythmos comicos incitata docilitate sequeretur, ipse etiam fabulam similis argumenti id est *Epitrepontem* Menandri in manibus habebam. Legebamus pariter laudabamus iocabamurque et, quae vota communia sunt, illum lectio, me ille capiebat. (Sid. Apoll. *Epist.* 4.12.1–2)

The other day our common son and I were mulling over the wit of Terence's *Mother-in-Law*. I was sitting beside him as he studied, and, following my natural inclination and forgetting my sacred calling, I was holding in my own hands a play with a similar plot, Menander's *The Arbitrants*, so that, once his receptive mind was spurred, he could follow the comic meters more accurately. We were reading, praising, and jesting together, and—such are the interests we share—the reading charmed him, and he me.

Sidonius' remark that they were “mulling over [its] wit” and “jesting together” as they read implies that they appreciated the play's comedic content; therefore, this was not simply some dry lesson in the mechanics of Terentian meter. This picturesque passage is significant not only because it testifies to the private study of Terence in fifth-century Gaul, but also because it shows that *The Mother-in-Law* did indeed have its admirers, despite the fact that it is referenced on far fewer occasions in the surviving Latin literature of late antiquity than Terence's other five plays (Jürgens 1972: 137–9) (by contrast, *Andria* was the most quoted of the six plays in both late antiquity (Jürgens 1972: 112–22) and the Middle Ages (Theiner 1974: 237); *Eunuchus* came in a close second).

2 Late Antique Editions of Terence

Terence's status as a school author kept his works firmly entrenched in the collective literary and cultural consciousness of imperial Rome. As a result of this visibility, there were an indeterminate number of copies of his comedies circulating during the late Empire alone. All that remains now of this booming book-market are one near-complete manuscript and a few manuscript fragments from the fourth and fifth centuries. The great majority of the copies of Terence floating around the Roman world during these two centuries would have been textbooks designed for use in the schools. While these were not nearly as affordable as their modern mass-produced counterparts, they could be priced to fit the budgets of most impecunious students, though the poorest students had the option of using Terence-readers made on recycled papyrus (Bagnall 2009: 58; see also Cribiore 2001: 137–47). Two of the fragments, both on papyrus, originate from fourth-century Roman Egypt (see further chapter 18, this volume). The presence of Greek glosses of selected Latin words shows that the papyrus codices to which these fragments originally belonged were bilingual textbooks for native Greek-speakers who needed a relatively inexpensive way to acquire some reading proficiency in Latin literature (Soubiran 1991: 118; Cribiore 2007: 61).¹

Not all late antique editions of Terence were destined for classroom consumption. A small percentage were higher-end books meant to adorn the personal libraries of the senatorial aristocracy. The production costs of deluxe editions of classical texts varied according to the quality and quantity of parchment used, the degree of ornamentation, and whether they were bound or unbound (generally speaking, binding doubled the price of a book). Consider, for example, two famous illuminated editions of Virgil produced during the first quarter of the fifth century, the *Vergilius Romanus* (Vat. Lat. 3867) and the *Vergilius Vaticanus* (Vat. Lat. 3225). (See Wright 1992: 25–34 and 2001: 44–7.) The cost of materials alone made the Roman Virgil perhaps one of the most expensive copies of a classical Latin author available at that time. This is to say nothing of the expense of the skilled labor that provided the color illustrations (on which, see Rosenthal 1972). The Vatican Virgil, while luxurious in its own right, was less exorbitant than the Roman Virgil (Wright 1993b: 75). Exquisite codices like these were as much showpieces and status symbols as anything else, for they flaunted their owners' discriminating tastes in literature as well as their profligate spending on a cultured pastime.

The oldest surviving edition of Terence's complete plays is the Codex Bembinus (also known as A; see further chapter 18, this volume), named after the Venetian politician and humanist Bernardo Bembo (1433–1519), its first recorded owner. Bembo treasured this book and called it “dearer to

me than gold" (*mihi carior auro*) (Giannetto 1985: 201). Produced in Italy in the fourth or fifth century, this elegant parchment codex was written in rustic capitals, a formal Roman bookscript used for luxury editions of classical texts until around the early sixth century. The Bembine Terence originally consisted of 140 folios, but only 113 of these have survived. It is missing parts of *Andria* (1–887), *Hecyra* (1–37), and the conclusion to *Adelphoe*.

The other known major late antique edition of Terence's plays is no longer extant. It was manufactured in Rome around the year 400 in the scriptorium of an otherwise unknown book publisher (and corrector) named Calliopius, and its contents can be reconstructed from a copy that was made of it in Aachen around 825 and that has been in the Vatican Library (Vat. Lat. 3868) since about 1475 (also known as C; see further chapter 18, this volume, on the γ -class). Like the Bembine Terence, it was a parchment codex of exceptional quality whose text was (probably) written in rustic capitals. It was far more sumptuous than the Bembine Terence: it was enriched with 147 magnificent color illustrations which depicted scenes from the plays. Even though it is conceivable that Terence was occasionally revived on stage around the time the codex was produced, these illustrations do not represent actual contemporary performances (*pace* Dodwell 2000) but are based primarily on the text and the actions described therein (Varwig 1990). Furthermore, even though the characters' clothing for the most part reflect trends in style at Rome around the year 400 (Wright 2006: 217–21), it is possible that some aspects of the portraiture vaguely reflect earlier traditions about costumes and masks (Duckworth 1952: 88; Weitzmann 1959: 85), though the suggestion by Weston (1903: 54) that the originals can be traced back even to Terence's producer Ambivius Turpio seems outlandish. One of the most fascinating features of this codex that is recoverable from its ninth-century copy is the painted medallion-style portrait of Terence that graces the frontispiece (for a color facsimile reproduced at 93 percent of its actual size, see opposite the title page of Wright 2006). He wears a tunic with a dark brown clavus and a gray toga, and he has a somewhat elongated face and thick brown hair combed forward, a full beard, and a moustache. This, needless to say, is a far cry from the description given by Suetonius (see Introduction, this volume), who was drawing from an earlier literary source of unknown reliability. There were established iconographic traditions in antiquity for Terence's fellow poets Virgil (Wright 1993b: 60–1) and Menander (Charitonidis, Kahil, and Ginouvès 1970: 28–31, 103, and pl. 2; Bassett 2008), but there does not seem to have been one for him, or at least none that pre-dated the late fourth century. The illustrator of the Calliopian edition embellished his portrait, basing it perhaps on iconographic models for Greek writers (Wright 2006: 212; see also Richter 1984: 73–5, 108–13, 212–15).

We do not know the identities of the wealthy patrons who commissioned these two luxury editions of Terence, but we nevertheless can be sure that they were connoisseurs of classical literature who continued to relish Terence's comedies later in life, long after these works ceased to be, for them, compulsory titles in the educational curriculum of their youth. They were connoisseurs also of fine books as material objects, as we infer from the sumptuousness of the editions. But what about their religious affiliation? It used to be assumed that in the post-Constantinian fourth-century Empire pagans were essentially the only ones who assiduously edited and copied the great classical texts and thereby insured their continuing survival (e.g., Bloch 1945: 240–1). According to this view, the owners of our two Terence codices would almost certainly have been pagans. However, it is now acknowledged that many late Roman aristocrats, be they pagan or Christian, were conscientious about preserving the classical literary tradition and spared no expense when it came to stocking their personal libraries with deluxe editions of the Latin classics (Bagnall 1993: 104; Cameron 1999: 119) and even sacred literature (Jer. *Ep.* 22.32 criticizes senatorial Christians for purchasing luxury Bibles with purple-dyed parchment and gold lettering while letting the poor die hungry outside their doors; see further Adkin 2003: 307–8 and Williams 2006: 181–2). Accordingly, it is no more likely that the owners were pagans than that they were Christians.

3 Terence in Late Latin Literature

In the vast and varied corpus of late antique Latin literature Terence is named, quoted, and paraphrased with greater frequency than any other classical Latin poet besides his fellow school author Virgil. Of the many masks he wears in these literary cameos, the one he sports most prominently is that of sententious sage. When Jerome introduced a quotation from Terence with the comment that the comic poet's chief objective is "to be familiar with and describe the human state of affairs," *humanos mores nosse atque describere* (*Ep.* 54.9), he was referring to Terence's ability to encapsulate timeless truths in succinct, proverbial formulations. The playwright's often-quoted aphorisms in late antiquity included: "nothing in excess," *ne quid nimis* (*An.* 61); "there are as many opinions as there are people," *quot homines tot sententiae* (*Ph.* 454); and, "compliance breeds friends, and truth, hatred," *obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit* (*An.* 68; see Otto 1890: 368). These and scores of other Terentian maxims had such wide currency that often they lost all nominal association with their author. Thus, Augustine characterized the saying *obsequium amicos, veritas odium parit* as a "common proverb" (*vulgare proverbium*) (*Ep.* 82.31), and Sidonius introduced a quotation of the line *domi habuit unde disceret* ("he had someone to learn from at home," *Ad.* 413) with the words "to put

it as the proverbial expression goes,” *ut proverbialiter loquar* (*Ep.* 7.9.19). As free-floating phrases, they could be made to fit virtually any situation of an author’s choosing. Few of the *sententiae* were as misapplied in antiquity as Chremes’ statement, “I’m human, and I regard no human business as other people’s,” *homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto* (*Hau.* 77). Both pagan and Christian writers almost uniformly took this comment to refer to the virtue of humane feeling or compassion (*humanitas* and *misericordia*) (Jocelyn (1973) 37–46; Lefèvre 1994: 26–57 and chapter 13, this volume), but in fact Chremes is referring to a meddlesome curiosity in others’ affairs (*periergia*) (see Mette 1962).

Several of the characters who populate Terence’s plays became as proverbial as the memorable lines they uttered, and at least a few of them had become iconic even within a century of their first appearance on stage. The slave-dealer Sannio (*Brothers*), for instance, was cited as the epitome of buffoonery (Cic. *de Orat.* 2.251; cf. Amm. Marc. 14.6.16), and Chremes (*Heauton Timorumenos*) became synonymous with angry outbursts (Hor. *Ars* 94; see also Jer. *Ep.* 54.2). Later writers followed suit in taking individual characters as embodiments of specific behaviors or attitudes, and they often exploited these characters for satiric purposes, giving a veneer of classical literary sophistication to what was in fact name-calling. Paulinus of Nola referred to the obnoxiously haughty monk Marracinus as Thraso (*Ep.* 22.2), after the swaggering soldier in *Eunuchus*. Sidonius cast Paconius, an opportunistic provincial upstart who arranged for his daughter to marry into a family of higher social rank, as *both* the father-in-law Chremes and the son-in-law Pamphilus from *Andria* (*Ep.* 1.11.5). The stock character of the parasite proved to be particularly rich in its satiric potential. Ausonius lampooned Philo, the former bailiff of his estate, as a parasite in the grand tradition of Phormio (*Ep.* 26.7–12) (although in the play bearing his name Phormio is clearly identified as a parasite, Moore 2001 argues that his actions actually make him quite an *unparasitic* character). Gnatho (*Eunuchus*) is the name Sidonius assigned to the chronically unvirtuous ne’er-do-well of whom he draws a grotesque character-sketch in a literary exercise for his son (*Ep.* 3.13.1). In a letter to his Roman friend Domnio, Jerome, one of Latin antiquity’s greatest masters of satire (Wiesen 1964; Cain 2009b), called an unnamed rival in Rome a latter-day Gnatho and a Phormio for allegedly pandering to aristocratic ladies (*Ep.* 50.4).

In the late Empire it was the Christians who made the most prolific and varied use of Terence. Perhaps not surprisingly, he was cited most frequently in moralistic contexts. On the feast of Christmas sometime between 353 and 356, Marcellina, the older sister of Ambrose, who was bishop of Milan from 374 until his death in 397 and himself a great admirer of Terence (Courcelle 1972), took the virgin’s veil from Pope Liberius in a public ceremony held in

the new basilica of St. Peter. In a sermon to mark the occasion, which is preserved by Ambrose (*De virg.* 3.3.13), the pope outlines the virtues that Christian virgins must display in public and private. At one point, he says: “How much better it is that a certain young man is ordered not to reveal his meretricious loves through coarse gestures while at his father’s banquet. As for you, virgin of God, refrain from groaning, clearing your throat, coughing, and laughing when you are at the Mystery. Are you not able to act at the Mystery like he acted at the banquet?” Liberius is directly quoting *Hau.* 373 (“Refrain from groaning, clearing your throat, coughing, and laughing,” *gemitus, screatus, tussis, risus abstine*). These words were spoken by the trickster slave Syrus, who in this particular scene is coaching Clitipho, Liberius’ “young man” (*adulescens*), on how to conceal from his father Chremes his love for the courtesan Bacchis. None of the characters’ names is mentioned, nor is Terence’s play identified as the source; Liberius assumes that the educated among his audience will instantaneously recognize his reference. The implied correspondence that is made between Chremes’ banquet and the Eucharist, a figurative “banquet” in its own right, makes this a cleverly executed allusion. The lesson is this: if pagans can restrain their true emotions at a banquet for the *wrong* reason, then surely Christian virgins can behave themselves at their own “banquet” for the *right* reason. Moreover, this invocation of Terence in the pulpit shows that he had a viable role to play in the sphere of Christian ethics, even if for Liberius—to judge from this lone occurrence, that is—this role involves providing an example of how *not* to act.

Another fine illustration of how resourcefully Terence was adapted to Christian purposes can be found in a versified letter that Paulinus of Nola, an extraordinarily wealthy ex-governor of Campania (Trout 1999), wrote to his former teacher, the pagan poet Ausonius. Paulinus, now a devout ascetic Christian, defends the decision he made to renounce the writing of secular poetry:

Quid abdicatas in meam curam, pater,
 redire Musas praecipis?
 negant Camenis nec patent Apollini
 dicata Christo pectora.
 fuit ista quondam non ope, sed studio pari
 tecum mihi concordia
 ciere surdum Delphica Phoebum specu,
 vocare Musas numina
 fandique munus munere indultum dei
 petere e nemoribus aut iugis.
 nunc alia mentem vis agit, maior deus,
 aliosque mores postulat.

(Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 10.19–30)

Why, father, do you bid the deposed Muses return to my charge? Hearts dedicated to Christ reject the Latin Muses and have no place for Apollo. You and I used to be united in the common cause (our zeal was equal but not our poetic resources) of summoning deaf Apollo from his cave at Delphi, invoking the Muses as deities, and seeking from groves or mountain ridges that gift of utterance bestowed by divine gift. But now another power, a greater god, inspires my mind and demands another way of life.

The final couplet has been inspired by a line from a famous scene in *Andria*, in which Simo declares that his son Pamphilus' days of dallying with mistresses are over and that he must now become serious about marriage: "this very day marks a new way of life and demands [of Pamphilus] a change in behavior," *nunc hic dies aliam vitam adfert, alios mores postulat* (*An.* 189). Paulinus echoes this line, and subverts its original dramatic context, as part of his ceremonious display of rejecting his pagan past to his proudly pagan addressee, who certainly would have recognized the allusion (Ausonius, as we saw above, knew his Terence well). Paulinus is receiving orders from two different "fathers." Ausonius, whom he calls *pater* in the first line, is beckoning him back to their joint pursuit of secular poetry under the auspices of pagan deities. Paulinus turns down the offer and listens instead to his heavenly Father, a "greater god" than Apollo or the Muses who demands from him a profound religious transformation of both *mens* and *mores* that is infinitely more significant in the grand scheme of things than the comparatively trivial lifestyle change that Simo requires of Pamphilus.

Paulinus similarly invokes Terence in a (prose) letter to his Christian friend Romanianus. At the end of the letter he announces that he will insert a few words of greeting to Romanianus' son Licentius, "so that he may not claim that what I have told you about him was not communicated to him; for Aeschinus is informed of what Micio hears" (*Ep.* 7.3). This reference to Micio the longsuffering father and Aeschinus his unruly adopted son from *Adelphoe* is an oblique rebuke of Licentius for his incorrigible paganism (on which, see Paul. Nol. *Ep.* 8). Immediately after making this witty allusion, Paulinus retracts it: "But why should I speak in the language of foreigners, since our own store is adequate for all things, and to speak the language of strangers is not the act of a sane mind?" For an upper-class Roman in the late Empire, an intensive education in Latin grammar, rhetoric, and literature was the symbolic membership card for an elite "club," and to pepper one's discourse with quotations from the Latin classics was to speak the idiom of this pagan *haute culture*. Paulinus repudiates this culture, with all of its pretensions, yet ironically he does so with his own pretentious reference to Terence!

Augustine was one of the most famous quoters of Terence in late antiquity. Twenty-eight passages are represented by thirty-eight *testimonia* spread out

over a surviving literary corpus that spans four and a half decades and encompasses more than five million words. The references are concentrated principally in his correspondence from all periods, his theological writings (most of all, *City of God*, see O'Daly 1999: 234–6), and his earliest surviving works, a series of philosophical dialogues he wrote not long after his conversion to Christianity in the summer of 386 in a garden in Milan. Augustine's thorough familiarity with Terence's dramatic corpus came not only from the solid classical education he had received in his youth but also from his experience teaching Terence as a *grammaticus* in 373–4 in his North African hometown of Thagaste (following this post he was a professor of rhetoric in Carthage, Rome, and Milan, up until his conversion, whereupon he renounced his teaching career). Augustine had a lifelong admiration for Terence's observations on the human condition; for him, the poet's "charming genius is not devoid of the splendor of truth," *luculentis ingeniis non deficit resplendentia veritatis* (*Ep.* 155.14). When highlighting the complications of human existence (*C. D.* 19.5), for instance, he couples lines from two different plays—Demea's complaint about the burdens of marriage and fatherhood (*Ad.* 867–8) and the slave Parmeno's enumeration of the vicissitudes of love affairs ("wrongs, suspicions, quarrels, war, peace again," *iniuriae, suspiciones, inimicitiae, bellum, pax rursus*, *Eu.* 59–61). He also appropriates Terentian language in order to give voice to contemporary Christian realities, such as when he speaks of lay monastic communities in Rome in which women "live together in great numbers as widows and virgins, *earning a living by spinning wool (lana ac tela victum quaeritantibus)*" (*De mor. eccl. cath.* 1.33.70). The italicized portion is a witty adaptation of *An.* 75 (*lana et tela victum quaeritans*), where Simo describes how Chrysis of Andros lived virtuously before becoming a courtesan.

Notwithstanding his deep respect for Terence's pithy moralizing, Augustine, evidently in the years following his conversion, came to reject the conventional pedagogical wisdom of his day, that Terence's comedies were entirely appropriate tools for schooling young students in Latin language and literature. In his *Confessions*, which he wrote around 400, after he had become a bishop, the former professional educator criticizes secular poetry, and Terence in particular, for authorizing immorality. In *Conf.* 1.16.26, he quotes from an episode in *Eunuch* (580–91), in which Chaerea tells his friend Antipho about how he disguised himself as a eunuch in order to gain admittance into the home of Pamphila, a girl with whom he was madly in love. Once there, Chaerea relates, he gazed at a wall painting depicting Jupiter's seduction of Danaë (the god transformed himself into a "golden shower" (*imbris aureus*) and rained down through the ceiling into Danaë's chamber), until he became emboldened by Jupiter's example to give in to his lust and rape Pamphila (on the episode, see the analysis of James and Christenson in this volume).

Augustine's principal objection to this incident is that Chaerea, a "good-for-nothing youth" (*nequam adulescens*), justifies his behavior by appealing to the pseudo-authority of a mythological fiction, and Augustine is concerned that readers of the play may be tempted to follow the lead of Jupiter and especially Chaerea and compromise their own morals in one way or another. He also blames the educators of his day for valuing this scene because it teaches certain Latin words and expressions (e.g., *imbris aureus*) that might not otherwise be known, and he argues that one should not have to be subjected to such "vileness" (*turpitudine*) just for the sake of learning vocabulary and eloquence. Augustine's argument that certain aspects of Terentian drama could have a harmful influence on impressionable young students made a formidable impression and was later taken up by some Renaissance moralists and pedagogical theorists (McPherson 1981 and Hardin 2007).

Of all imperial Latin authors, whether pagan or Christian, none (to judge, of course, by the surviving literary record) quoted Terence or referenced his comedies as often, or with as much creative license, as Jerome—biblical translator and commentator, Hebrew and Greek philologist and textual critic, hagiographer, epistolographer, and the greatest polymath of Latin Christian antiquity. Jerome's passion for Terence's drama was probably first kindled in the late 350s and early 360s when he studied in Rome, as a young teenager, under the renowned Terentian scholar Aelius Donatus (Brugnoli 1965), whose commentary on the plays he had carefully studied in school (see Jer. *Apol. c. Ruf.* 1.16). Terence was Jerome's favorite Latin poet after Virgil, and Jerome even ranked him as one of the greatest of all poets in Greek and Latin, alongside Homer, Virgil, and Menander (*Ep.* 58.5). Sometimes his quotations of Terence serve as little more than decorative embroidery to enhance the aesthetic quality of his prose, but most often they perform a specific rhetorical function within the narrative. Terentian lines surface on numerous occasions in his biblical commentaries, which he wrote in the latter half of his literary career, between the mid-380s and the mid-410s. In many cases he uses Terence to gloss a biblical text. For instance, when he comments on the verse, "there is nothing new under the sun" (Ecclesiastes 1:9) in his *Commentary on Ecclesiastes*, he refers the reader approvingly to *Eu.* 41, "nothing is said now which has not been said before," *nullumst iam dictum quod non dictum sit prius*.

Jerome did not hesitate to enlist Terence as an ideological ally when the need arose. Thus in one of his diatribes against marriage he cites, in support of his own position, Micio's statement that people reckon him fortunate because he never married (*quod fortunatum isti putant, / uxorem numquam habui*, *Ad.* 43–4), though for greater rhetorical effect Jerome attributes this sentiment not to a fictitious character but to the poet himself (*Adv. Iovinian.* 1.48). Jerome found a still more novel way to appropriate Terence's legacy in comparable apologetic contexts. In the prefaces to several of his works of

biblical scholarship he follows the example set by Terence in his own prologues and dispenses with a traditional expository narrative (i.e., an outline of the contents and methodology of the work) and replaces it with a polemical response to critics. In these very same prefaces Jerome, a master at crafting compelling literary identities for himself (Cain 2006 and 2009a), also typecasts himself as a Christian Terence, and his enemies, as Terence's *bête noire*, the dramatist Luscius Lanuvinus (Garton 1972: 41–139), who had accused him of (among other things) *contaminatio*, the literary “crime” of using elements from more than one Greek play to make one comedy of his own, as opposed to modeling a given comedy exclusively on a single Greek play. In the preface to Book 2 of his *Commentary on Micah*, Jerome lashes out at unnamed critics who claimed that he plagiarized the works of the third-century biblical commentator Origen of Alexandria:

Moneo autem tauros pingues, qui circumdederunt me, ut quiescant et desinant maledicere, malefacta ne noscant sua [*An.* 22–3], quae proferentur post, si pergent laedere [*Eu.* 18]. nam quod dicunt, Origenis me volumina compilare, et contaminari non decere [*An.* 16] veterum scripta, quod illi maledictum vehemens esse existimant, eandem laudem ego maximam duco, cum illum imitari volo, quem cunctis prudentibus, et vobis placere non dubito [cf. *Ad.* 17–19]. si enim criminis est graecorum benedicta transferre, accusentur Ennius et Maro, Plautus [cf. *An.* 18–19], Caecilius et Terentius, Tullius quoque et ceteri eloquentes viri, qui non solum versus, sed multa capita et longissimos libros ac fabulas integras transtulerunt ... quorum omnium aemulari exopto neglegentiam, potius quam istorum obscuram diligentiam [*An.* 20–1].

Moreover, I warn the fat bulls who have surrounded me to cease and desist from slandering, lest they be forced to acknowledge their own shortcomings, which will then be publicly disclosed if they persist in their attacks. For they say that I plunder the books of Origen and that it is not fitting for the writings of the ancients to be contaminated. What they regard as a serious reproach, I take as the greatest praise, since I desire to imitate that man, whom I do not doubt finds favor with all who have good sense and with you as well. If, then, it is reprehensible to translate the noble writings of the Greeks, let Ennius and Maro, Plautus, Caecilius and Terence, and even Cicero and other eloquent men, stand accused, who translated not only verses, but many chapters and extremely long books and entire plays ... I choose to imitate the carelessness of all of these men rather than the dreary pedantry of those (critics).

As is clear from the underscored references, this portion of the preface is a densely packed pastiche of Terentianisms. Ironically, by passing off Terence's words essentially as his own, Jerome responds to plagiarism allegations by committing plagiarism of sorts. Yet Jerome is co-opting more than just the playwright's words; he takes over his polemical *persona* wholesale and fuses it

seamlessly with his own. Thus, in order to give his own controversial labors an air of legitimacy Jerome yokes them with those of Terence. By way of a finishing touch, he explicitly inducts himself into a literary hall of fame that includes *bona fide* immortals of Latin literature such as Cicero, Virgil, and, above all, Terence. Jerome thereby insinuates that his own critics are fated to be villains—and *anonymous* villains at that—for all time to come, for Jerome, like Terence before him, refrains from actually naming them and thereby legitimizing them any more than is necessary. They will live on in infamy, to be sure, yet posterity will not even know their names.²

4 The Making of a “Classic”

Terence never became quite the cultural icon for imperial Romans that Virgil, their national poet, was (Horsfall 1984 and 1995b; Rees 2004). By the same token, he was for them, after Virgil, the most revered and the most quoted classical Latin poet. Terence’s popularity throughout Roman antiquity, and indeed his very survival *out of* antiquity, was tied directly to the fact that he was a staple of the school curriculum during the late Republic and the whole of the Empire. His impressive longevity as one of the “Great Books” of Roman civilization can in turn be attributed to several factors. Above all, his Latinity—especially the elegant dialogue put into the mouths of his upper-class characters (see Karakasis 2005: 90–100)—was praised by ancient critics for its beauty and charm. Cicero cited Terence’s choice speech (*lectus sermo*), graceful manner of expression (*come loquens*), and mellifluous idiom (*omnia dulcia dicens*), and Caesar lauded him as a lover of pure speech (*puri sermonis amator*) (see Introduction, this volume; cf. Goldberg 1986: 170–202 and Müller 2007). Elsewhere Cicero praised his *elegantia sermonis* (*Att.* 7.3.10), and Sidonius (*Carm.* 23.147) elevated him to the top tier of the masters of Latin eloquence. Moreover, Terence was held up to students as an exemplary model of urbane conversational Latin. He was famous for his sententiousness (Georgescu 1968), and his aphorisms taught Roman youths important life lessons and civic virtues (though some late Romans, such as Augustine, questioned his reliability as a moral compass). Terence’s plays also served as a training ground for budding orators, who studied his characterization techniques (according to Varro, Terence bested every other Roman comic playwright in his masterful characterization (*poscit palmam in ethesin Terentius*, *Men.* 399)), the rhetorical anatomy of the characters’ speeches (Anderson 2003–4), and the forensic subtleties of his prologues (Focardi 1972 and 1978).

Beyond the considerable educational utility that his drama was perceived to have, Terence’s stable position in the imperial school curriculum, and therefore

in the canon of Latin literature *writ large*, was based on the longstanding general consensus among grammarians and rhetoricians that he represented the pinnacle of Roman drama, and of *palliata* in particular. Indeed, Terence and the other three authors in Messius' *quadriga* were regarded as being the Latin representatives *par excellence* of their respective literary genres (oratory, historiography, epic poetry, dramatic poetry) and also as being on a par with their eminent counterparts on the Greek syllabus: Cicero was the Latin Demosthenes; Sallust, the Latin Thucydides (cf. Vell. 2.36.2; Quint. *Inst.* 10.1.101); Virgil, the Latin Homer; and Terence, the Latin Menander. Our author was fortunate in that no Roman comedian came after him who, in the collective judgment of the *litterati*, eclipsed him in prestige, and at any rate there would have been only a very limited number of playwrights capable of rising to the occasion, given that the great "creative" period of Roman literary comedy (both *palliata* and *togata*) was essentially over by the end of the second century BCE (Duckworth 1952: 70; Goldberg 1986: 203). Terence evidently never faced any legitimate threat of extinction during the Empire—if anything, he pushed *others* into extinction, or at least into desuetude. Needless to say, his centrality to the curriculum, which was reinforced by a rich tradition of academic commentaries (see chapter 18, this volume), became increasingly secure as time went on and as the cumulative weight of tradition lent his name ever more cachet and likewise insulated him from the caprice of fluctuating fashions, which doomed more than a few classical authors to the dustbin of literary history.³

FURTHER READING

Terence's *fortuna* in Latin late antiquity has been treated, from various angles, by Herrmann (1962: 131–48), Jürgens (1972: 107–45), Marti (1974), and Ronconi (1970); see also Theiner (1974) for an overview of his reception in the Latin middle ages. For studies on the ancient editions of the comedies and their illustrations the reader may consult Byvanck (1938), Danese (1989), Jones and Morey (1930–1), Prete (1970), Varwig (1990), and especially Wright (1993a) and (2006). Because Terence's renown throughout the imperial period hinged upon his status as a school author, an understanding of the nature of Roman education, on which see Bonner (1977) and Marrou (1948), is vital to appreciating the nuances of his authority in the educational sphere. Terence was quoted, and his stock characters referred to, by a broad range of late antique pagan and Christian authors, and a good representative sampling of these has been given in this chapter. The greatest quantity of references in the surviving literature is found in the works of Jerome and his younger contemporary Augustine. For Jerome's indebtedness to Terence, see Lübeck (1872: 110–15), Hagendahl (1958: 270–4), Adkin (1994) and (2006). The seminal study of Augustine's use of Terence is Hagendahl (1967), but see also O'Donnell (1980),

Rosa (1987), Alexander (1993), Burton (2007: 35–62), and Schultheiß (2007). On ancient Christian attitudes toward staged drama more broadly, see Jürgens (1972), Weismann (1972), Sallmann (1990), and Barnes (1996).

NOTES

1. Similarly, most of the eighteen papyrus fragments of Virgil's works were instructional texts that had interlinear or juxtalinear translations into Greek (Knox 1988: 550). On such bilingual textbooks, see further Marrou (1948: 59–61).
2. Terence suppresses Luscius Lanuvinus' name in his prefaces and sardonically refers to him only as the *vetus poeta* (*An.* 7; *Ph.* 1). We know the identity of this "old poet" not from Terence but from Aelius Donatus. Donatus gleaned this information from a much older written source, probably an annotation that could be traced back to Terence's lifetime or shortly thereafter. As for Jerome's unnamed opponents, Layton (2002: 519) makes the sensible suggestion that one of them, and perhaps the principal target, was Rufinus of Aquileia, a former friend with whom Jerome had a bitter falling out over a theological controversy.
3. E.g., Ennius' *Annales* had been Rome's national epic for more than a century until the appearance of Virgil's *Aeneid*, whereupon it began to fade slowly into obscurity, until it was virtually obsolete in the late Empire (Jocelyn 1967: 56).

CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

Hrotsvit of Gandersheim Christianizes Terence

Antony Augoustakis

In twentieth-century criticism and performance practices, Terence remained a fairly marginalized playwright compared to his predecessor Plautus, even though he clearly was a canonical author for a long period in literary history from the early to late Middle Ages, as Müller and Cain have discussed in their essays in this volume (on performing Terence and Hrotsvit, see chapter 25, this volume). Terence was highly regarded and widely read. According to Villa (1984: 294–454), some 730 medieval manuscripts of Terence survive (100 of them dating from the ninth to the thirteenth century), including some with famous miniature illustrations (see Weston 1903; Jones and Morey 1930–1; Pächt and Alexander 1981; Wright 2006; and Muir and Turner 2012); over 450 printed editions were published before 1600 alone (Blänsdorf 2009: 287). In addition to Hrotsvit’s *Plays*, the subject of this study, Terence’s *Comedies* exerted influence on the Fleury Liturgical Dramas, Boccaccio, Chaucer, and Dante, to name just a few (on Terence’s popularity in medieval drama on account of the “ethical nuggets which could be readily extracted from his writing,” see Young 1933: 2). Moreover, Terence’s plays were performed in the Latin schools in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries (on Terence as school author and translations, see chapter 24, this volume; on Terence in England, see chapter 22, this volume). As Julia Bolton Holloway observes (2002/2010), “it was Terence who gave to Latin a human face, the voice of the slave, the voice of the woman, Christ preaching to publicans and prostitutes, Christianity being the ‘religion of women and slaves,’ and it was Terence’s *Comedies* which were

used in medieval monasteries and in Renaissance grammar schools for teaching Latin to men and women both.”

The morality of Terence’s plays was a topic hotly debated in antiquity, but at the same time offered an indisputably attractive problem to be reworked by Christian authors through the late Middle Ages. Even though Augustine, for instance, had a lifelong admiration for Terence’s observations on the human condition, as Cain points out (chapter 20, this volume), in the years following his conversion, Augustine evidently came to reject the conventional pedagogical wisdom of his day. In his *Confessions*, he criticizes secular poetry, and Terence in particular, for authorizing immorality. A well-known example comes from his *Confessions* (1.16.26), where Augustine criticizes the episode of the rape in the *Eunuch* (580–91). Accordingly, in various periods many felt the need to expurgate Terence’s comedies by rewriting them or “cleaning” their content and language. Ignatius Loyola (1551), for example, was of the opinion that expurgation was necessary, but then decided that Terence’s plays should be banished altogether. Likewise, Erasmus was of two minds but defended the content as an example of how not to behave (Fantham 1989b: xxxiv–xxxv; see also chapter 22, this volume), while Luther thought the plays could be used for the instruction of children at school (*Luther’s Works: American Edition*, vol. 40:317; 47:228).

Monasteries showcase this trend best. Terence’s plays were used to teach young oblates to read and write in Latin, an otherwise forbidding language. In this instance comic laughter *was* considered the best pedagogical practice! This led to a proliferation of manuscripts that were then carefully preserved and copied for educational purposes. As Paul Mayvaert (1973) notes, we can imagine young oblates sitting in the cloister with their novice master studying as a group the Terentian corpus, perhaps even reading performing parts of the plays. Julia Bolton Holloway correctly observes (2002/2010) that “it is also clear that these plays, which are about prostitutes, pimps, parasites, eunuchs, farmers, landlords, lawyers, slaves, nurses, midwives, slave floggers, freed slaves, wives, virgins, soldiers, sailors, old men and boys, could afford the oblates a glimpse of the real world beyond their cloister, a past world beyond their present, a world in which the lust they had abandoned held sway. In doing so it presented a drama that could make sense of the Gospels in Latin which they read alongside their Terence, of a world similarly filled with soldiers, prostitutes, beggars, lawyers, seamen, merchants, tax collectors, and publicans, which likewise for the young oblates would have been a counter culture foreign in space and time to their monastic cloistering.” The coexistence of Terence’s plays, which parade a plethora of pagan themes, such as unwed mothers, prostitutes, young girls in trouble, parasites, and slaves, with the liturgical dramas of the period, inspired from the Bible and celebrating

Jesus, the holy family, Mary Magdalen, the disciples, the Passion and Resurrection, is indeed intriguing.

In this chapter, I will examine the appropriation of Terentian comedy by Hrotsvit and her transformation of the ancient plays into a “Divine Comedy” of sorts, a precursor of Dante’s drama. The tenth-century German nun appropriates Roman Comedy to turn it into tragedy with a happy ending—except that here the happy ending has nothing to do with what we traditionally associate with the “happily ever after.” Hrotsvit refashions the comastic ending of Terentian comedy, that is, the finale that often involves a marriage, into a reunion in heaven with the creator of humankind, God himself, where the martyrs win the crown of eternal glory and the promise of future life in paradise.

An important precursor to Hrotsvit’s Christianization of Terence’s plays appears in the anonymous *Terentius et Delusor*, a dialogue (Segal 2001: 221) or spoken play (Dronke 1994: xvii), preserved in a twelfth-century manuscript and edited together with Hrotsvit’s works in Paul von Winterfeld’s (1902) edition. Here the persona of Terence’s critic interacts in a dialogue with the author and chastises him for creating boring plays (*me taedia multa capescunt*, “much boredom overtakes me”), works which are now out of style (*dic, uetus auctor, in hoc quae iacet utilitas?* “Tell me, ancient author, what usefulness is there in these?”). Even though the date of this anonymous piece is uncertain (it has been variously dated, from the fifth to the ninth century and the Carolingian renaissance), the criticism leveled at Terence is one that concerned Hrotsvit too: what is the advantage of reading an author who cannot speak to a contemporary audience’s needs, especially their spiritual needs? This is the gap which Hrotsvit’s adaptations of Terence’s plays aim to fill.

This tenth-century canoness of the Benedictine monastery of Gandersheim in Saxony is known to us by several alternative spellings of her name, which was Latinized to *Hrotsvita*, *Hroswitha*, *Roswitha*, or *Hrotswitha*. She gives the nominative case of her name as *Hrotsvit* (Berschin 2001: 134; the genitive *Hrotsvithe* occurs three times in the *Legends: Maria* 18, *Ascensio* 148, and *Gongolfus* 12; the accusative *Hrotsvitham* occurs at *Pelagius* 3). Most importantly, in an imitation of the phrase of John the Baptist, the canoness calls herself the *clamor ualidus Gandersheimensis*, “the strong voice of Gandersheim,” which was in the early nineteenth century recognized by Jacob Grimm as a pun on her Saxon name deriving from the words *bruot* (“voice”) and *suid* (“strong”). To be sure, Hrotsvit’s name makes a striking reference to her “forceful testimony, i.e., God” and to her “vigorous attestation, i.e., of her earthly, Christian mission” (Wilson 1998: 4).

Hrotsvit was born between 912 and 940 CE and died some time after 973. The abbess and teacher of Hrotsvit was Gerberga, the niece of the Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire, Otto I (912–973). Hrotsvit became a canoness

in the convent of Gandersheim, which, founded about the middle of the ninth century by Duke Liudolf of Saxony and his wife Oda (consecrated in 881), became quite famous during the tenth century. We can infer that Hrotsvit came from noble stock, but we do not know much else about her family background. Hrotsvit first wrote eight legends in verse (*Maria, Ascensio, Gongolfus, Pelagius, Theophilus, Basilius, Dionysius, Agnes*). The legendary stories are inspired by the Apocryphal Gospels and the vast corpus of hagiographical texts of late antiquity and beyond. Then Hrotsvit embarks upon her second project, six short dramas in rhymed prose, her major and best known literary achievement (on the combination of Christian content and pagan poetic form, see Gärtner 2004). Finally, Hrotsvit composed two historical epics, the *Gesta Ottonis* and the *Primordia Coenobii Gandeshemensis*, the first being a panegyric in honor of the emperors, Otto I and Otto II (955–983), while the second chronicles the history of the founding of the monastery in Gandersheim in 856.

Of her six plays, modeled after Terence's six *Comedies*, the *Gallicanus* and the *Calimachus* recount the conversion of pagans into Christians, two of them address the salvation of prostitutes (*Abraham* and *Paphnutius*), and two, the *Dulcitius* and the *Sapientia*, celebrate the resistance of two groups of heroic virgins whose martyrdom constitutes a victory over the repressive pagan Roman emperors, Diocletian and Hadrian, respectively (Wilson 2004: 4). In the *Preface* to her six plays, Hrotsvit explains her choice of subject and the relationship between her work and Terence's plays:

plures inveniuntur catholici, cuius nos penitus expurgare nequimus facti, qui pro cultioris facundia sermonis gentilium vanitatem librorum utilitati praeferunt sacrarum scripturarum. sunt etiam alii, sacris inhaerentes paginis, qui licet alia gentilium spernant, Terentii tamen fingmenta frequentius lectitant et, dum dulcedine sermonis delectantur, nefandarum notitia rerum maculantur. unde ego, Clamor Validus Gandeshemensis, non recusavi illum imitari dictando, dum alii colunt legendo, quo eodem dictationis genere, quo turpia lascivarum incesta feminarum recitabantur, laudabilis sacrarum castimonia virginum iuxta mei facultatem ingenioli celebraretur. (Hrotsvit, *Praefatio* 1–3)

There are many Christians, and we cannot entirely acquit ourselves of the charge, who, attracted by the polished style of pagan writers, prefer their works to the holy scriptures. There are others, who, although they are deeply attached to the sacred writings and have no liking for most pagan productions, make an exception in favor of the works of Terence, and fascinated by the charm of the manner, risk being corrupted by the wickedness of the matter. Wherefore, I, the strong voice of Gandersheim, have not hesitated to imitate in my writings a poet whose works are so widely read, my object being to glorify, within the limits of my poor talent, the laudable chastity of Christian virgins in that

self-same form of composition, which has been used to describe the shameless acts of licentious women. (trans. Wilson 1998 with modifications)

The author's emphasis here lies with *Terentii fingmenta*, the fabricated stories, we could say, one encounters in Terentian drama. Look at her insistence on the corrupting influence of Terence's language on people: *dulcedine sermonis delectantur, nefandarum notitia rerum maculantur*. One can easily detect the direct derivation of this claim from the similar disparagement in Augustine's *Confessions*. Terence's language was censured there too as corrupting. To this corrupting *sermo*, Hrotsvit juxtaposes her own *clamor*: what follows, in other words, is not going to be an exhibition of well-crafted poetry, she says, but the rough, uncouth shout, the cry that comes out of the lungs of a nun who now becomes the direct descendant of John the Forerunner. Terence may have been the *puri sermonis amator*, according to Caesar (see Introduction, this volume), whereas Hrotsvit is going to become the "lover" of purity in themes and actions. In Terence, she says, we find *turpia lascivarum incesta feminarum*, while in her plays, we will read about the *laudabilis sacrarum castimonia virginum*. As Wilson observes, "Hrotsvit presents herself as a privileged, capable, sophisticated reader, willing to brave the dangers of corruption in order to fulfill the programmatic mission of her name and give effective, persuasive, but also pleasing testimony for Christ, Christianity, and the world of monasticism" (2004: 4; for a dismissal of Hrotsvit's claims in the preface, see Dronke 1984: 68–9: "she says little of what she really means and means almost nothing of what she says"; on the *Praefatio*, see also chapter 25, this volume).

And yet, as critics have pointed out, Hrotsvit's claim to be following Terentian drama is disingenuous, as very few direct allusions to Terence can be found in her six plays (Newlands 1986: 370; cf. also De Luca 1974; Dronke 1984: 66–75). "The predominant language of her plays is ecclesiastical rather than classical" (Newlands 1986: 370). To be sure, Hrotsvit employs her learnedness, having immersed herself in the classical texts, such as Terence, and is able to transform those very texts and make them speak to the audience in her monastery, in a new, unique way. As Karakasis has correctly surmised, "the monastery had a very good library and possibly Donatus also" (2002: 280 and n.8), which allowed Hrotsvit to acquaint herself not only with Terence but the exegesis of Terence as well (in a way that resembles Christian texts and their exegesis). Therefore, the influence of Terence's plays is not superficial, as has been contended (Roberts 1901 or Coulter 1929), but is rather integrated in the wider vision of Hrotsvit's program: she reforms and recreates the pagan archetypes by exploiting their Christianizing aspects. As Karakasis notes, "Hroswitha chose her sources with care, looking for motifs and character types that could allude to Terence's comedies—rape, *senex* as helpful friend, love at first sight—and, what is more important, she inverted

the function of many Terentian motifs, handling them in such a way that she could achieve her goal, to chasten Terence" (2002: 292–3). And as Talbot correctly maintains, "if Hrotsvit rereads Terence allegorically through her plays, then she and her readers need not read Terence in the same way again; their minds will be diverted from the sinful content toward a higher Christian meaning" (2004: 149).

As becomes evident from the choice of themes for her plays, Hrotsvit showcases the role of women, Christian virgins or converts, who ultimately triumph in winning admission to the eternal kingdom of God. Her purpose goes beyond celebrating "the amplitude of God's mercy; she also wishes to glorify those who triumph over sin ... [and] seems to be suggesting that women have an important spiritual advantage over men, for, being physically weaker, they can achieve an even greater spiritual victory" (Newlands 1986: 371); in other words, women "serve as channels of divine grace" (Frankforter 1979: 314). When it comes to metamorphosing Terence to fit the needs of a tenth-century audience in the tenth century (see Gold 1997 on Hrotsvit's audience), however, Hrotsvit, has to face a rather troubling issue: the treatment of young girls in Terence. How could she exploit the troubling side of Terentian comedy that has preoccupied critics, ancient and modern alike, namely the rapes? Ancient attitudes, of course, differ from our modern perceptions and sensibilities (see chapters 9, 14, and 25, this volume). In fact, in both *Hecyra* and *Adelphoe*, the young hero has raped a girl nine months before the beginning of the play, while in *Eunuch*, the young man rapes the girl offstage and then describes his escapades in tones of exuberant triumph. Hrotsvit rewrites these scenes, especially the one from *Eunuch*, and turns them into scenes of martyrdom, acts that ultimately make a fool out of the person who attempts the rape, that is, the pagan persecutor. In Hrotsvit's plays, failed rape leads to Christian triumph through martyrdom, inasmuch as the virgin-warrior-saint ultimately reunites with Christ in a figurative marriage, after preserving her chastity; in Terence rape becomes a justifiable medium for the script's final recognition and resolution scene, the convenient marriage between the young man and the girl. As Carole Newlands has pointed out, "Hroswitha transforms Terence's passive virgins and noble prostitutes into heroic women who fight for their beliefs and eventually triumph over their male exploiters" (1986: 391). To this I would add that the final product *is* a comedy, not a comedy of pagan errors, but a comedy of Christian triumph, a Divine Comedy of sorts, an ascent from the Inferno of torture and martyrdom to the Paradise that is symbolized by the ultimate reunion and marriage of God and the church.

Let us pay closer attention to one of Hrotsvit's plays in particular, the *Dulcitius*, and contrast it to Terence's *Eunuch* (for a similar treatment of *Abraham* and *Eunuch*, see Newlands 1986: 373–8; on *Paphnutius*, see chapter 25, this volume). The story of the passion of the virgin saints Agape, Chionia,

and Hirena dates to the beginning of the fourth century CE, during the persecution of Diocletian in 303–4 (similarly the three daughters of Sapientia—Fides, Spes, and Karitas—suffer martyrdom in the last play of Hrotsvit; on *Sapientia*, see Brown 2004; for a recent treatment of *Dulcitius*, see Classen 2010: 175–81). As is the norm in hagiographical and martyrological texts, the three girls defiantly disobey the emperor's order to abandon their faith and sacrifice to pagan idols. Diocletian imprisons them under the guardianship of a certain Dulcitius, who plans to satisfy his urges by raping the virgin girls in their cell:

- CHIONIA: Quid sibi vult collisio ollarum caccaborum et sartaginum?
 HIRENA: Lustrabo. Accedite quaeso, per rimulas perspicite.
 AGAPES: Quid est?
 HIRENA: Ecce iste stultus mente alienatus. estimat se nostris uti amplexibus.
 AGAPES: Quid facit?
 HIRENA: Nunc ollas molli fovet gremio, nunc sartagine et caccabos amplectitur, mitia libans oscula.
 CHIONIA: Ridiculum.
 HIRENA: Nam facies, manus ac vestimenta adeo sordidata, adeo coinquinata ut nigredo quae inhaesit, similitudinem Aethiopis exprimat.
 AGAPES: Decet ut talis appareat corpore qualis a diabolo possidetur in mente.
 HIRENA: En parat egredi. intendamus quid illo egrediente agant milites pro foribus expectantes. (*Dulcitius*, Scene IV)
- CHIONIA: What is he doing banging about the pots and pans?
 IRENA: I will check it out. Come here and look through the crack!
 AGAPE: What is it?
 IRENA: Look, that man is out of his mind! He really thinks he is in our arms!
 AGAPE: What is he doing?
 IRENA: Now he is fondling the jars in his soft lap! He's put his arms around the pans and pots, giving them soft kisses!
 CHIONIA: Crazy!
 IRENA: His face, hands and clothes are so completely dirty and polluted that the soot from the pots and pans he clings to, makes him look like an Ethiopian!
 AGAPE: It is fitting that his body should appear just like his soul, possessed as it is by the devil.
 IRENA: Oh, he is leaving. Let us see what the soldiers who wait for him do when he comes out. (trans. Daniel Abosso)

Dulcitius' attempt to rape the three sisters results in his complete metamorphosis into the devil, blackened by the soot of pots and pans in the kitchen (the story is also related by Christine de Pizan in her *Book of the City Ladies*, Part III, 14, published in 1405). Correctly, Helene Homeyer calls this part

of the play a “farce” (1970: 266). Dulcitius’ “buffoonery” takes central stage and is sharply contrasted to the heroic martyrdom of the three virgins (*pace* Wailes 2001: 9–11 who insists that Dulcitius’ escapade is just a complement to the theme of the play). Hrotsvit presents the three girls enjoying Dulcitius’ delusions; as Classen observes, “Not content with one glimpse, they watch Dulcitius and his performance with great interest and gusto and follow all his moves, as if they were Peeping Toms. But along with them, we, as the audience, also gaze into the dark room of the kitchen and are invited to join in the erotic enjoyment, watching the governor’s absurd actions, because the virgins and, through them, God triumph over the worldly powers that are expressed, significantly, through male obsession with sex” (Classen 2010: 177). Upon exit from the room, the soldiers are made to believe that Dulcitius is possessed by the unclean spirit of Satan (*uel magis ipse diabolus? ... imago diaboli*, “or rather the devil himself? ... the face of the devil,” *Dulcitius*, Scene V; on Christian symbolism in the *Dulcitius*, see Sticca 1970; on the general presence of the devil in Hrotsvit, see Silber 2004). In the following scene too, Dulcitius’ unholy efforts make him an object of scorn to everyone present (*vile ac detestabile monstrum scissis et nigellis panniculis obsitum, pugnīs tundamus de gradu praecipitemus*, “this filthy and disgusting creature covered with black tattered rags? Let us give him a blow with our fists and throw him down the stairs,” *Dulcitius*, Scene VI). Dulcitius of course maintains the delusion that nothing has changed in his appearance (*nonne splendidissimis vestibus indutus totoque corpore videor nitidus. et quicumque me aspicit velut horribile monstrum fastidit?* “Am I not clothed in the most glittering clothing? And does my whole body not seem to shine? Why does whoever sees me treat me as though I were a horrible freak?”). The meeting with his distraught wife reveals the extent of Dulcitius’ delusions:

- CONIUX: Heu heu, mi senior Dulciti. quid pateris? non es sanae mentis.
factus es in derisum christicolis.
- DULCITIUS: Nunc tandem sentio me illusum illarum maleficiis.
- CONIUX: Hoc me uehementer confudit hoc praecipue contristavit quod
quid patiebaris ignorasti. (*Dulcitius*, Scene VII)
- WIFE: Oh no! My old Dulcitius, what’s happened to you? You are out of
your wits—you have been made a mockery by those good-for-
nothing Christians!
- DULCITIUS: Finally, I get it! They fooled me with their sorcery!
- WIFE: You know what really upsets me and makes me sad? That you
were oblivious to what you were subjected to!

The wife’s lament underscores Dulcitius’ ignorance, certainly attributed to his paganism and to his persistent refusal to recognize the true faith. The wife’s derogatory reference to the girls as *christicolae* increases her husband’s anger:

- DULCITIUS: Mando ut lascivae praesententur puellae et abstractis vestibus publice denudentur. quo versa vice quid nostra possint ludibria experiantur. (*Dulcitius*, Scene VII)
- DULCITIUS: I command that those lust-laden girls be brought here and stripped of their clothes in public! Then they will feel what it is like to be made a mockery of!

In the following scene, however, the crucial distinction between the purity of the virgins' bodies and the impurity of the devilish Dulcitius, who is equally stained both inside and outside, is finally revealed:

- MILITES: frustra sudamus. in vanum laboramus. ecce vestimenta virgineis corporibus inherent velut coria. sed et ipse qui nos ad exspoliandum urgebat preses stertit sedendo. Nec ullatenus excitari potest a somno. (*Dulcitius*, Scene VIII)
- SOLDIERS: We sweat for nothing! We slave for nothing! Look at how their clothes cling to their virginal bodies as if it were skin! Yet even the guard himself, who ordered us to strip them, snores while he is sitting there, and in no way can he be roused from sleep.

Dulcitius' sleep is surely meant as the metaphorical slumber of ignorance: he is incapable of understanding the miracle performed before his eyes, which remain stubbornly closed. The girls' cheap clothes of poverty are radiant, just as their virginity, whereas Dulcitius' own expensive, imperial clothes have been besmirched by the soot in the kitchen. An invisible protection binds the three sisters and makes their clothes and bodies inseparable.

Agape and Chionia are then put to death: their souls leave their bodies, but no traces of injury can be found. Neither hair nor clothes nor bodies have been burned—or even slightly touched by the fire!

- MILITES: O novum o stupendum miraculum. ecce anime egresse sunt corpora et nulla laesionis reperiuntur vestigia sed nec capilli nec vestimenta ab igne sunt ambusta quo minus corpora. (*Dulcitius*, Scene XI)
- SOLDIERS: Amazing! A mystifying miracle! Look, their souls have left their bodies, but no traces of injury can be found! Neither hair nor clothes nor bodies have been burned by the fire!

Then the commander Sisinnius attempts to bend Hirena's stubbornness by threatening her with prostitution, but she does not surrender. When she is also put to death, Hirena exclaims these final words in the play:

- HIRENA: Hinc mihi quam maxime gaudendum tibi vero dolendum. qui pro tui severitate malignitatis in tartara dampnaberis. ego autem martirii palmam virginitatisque receptura coronam. intrabo

aethereum aeterni regis thalamum cui est honor et gloria in saecula.
(*Dulcitius*, Scene XIV)

IRENA: For me this brings the greatest joy, but for you the greatest sadness, because of the severity of your cruelty, you will be condemned to Tartarus. But I will receive the martyr's palm and the crown of virginity. I will enter the bridal chamber of the Eternal King, to Whom glory and honor are everlasting.

In her introduction to this play, Homeyer claims that Hrotsvit's use of language betrays some reminiscences from Terence, such as *eccam, rectum, ignorabam, ut quid eo loci, cuius, hoc ... hoc, producite ... producite, frustra ... frustra, papae, heu, uae* (1970: 266), but overall the lexical borrowings and the language do not reveal a close relationship between the two authors. To be sure, Hrotsvit's adaptation of Terentian comedy extends beyond the strict confines of language and intertextuality. As Classen has correctly identified, "[i]rrespective of the religious framework and intentions *Dulcitius* still operates on the basis of considerable theatrical strategy and delightful sexual comedy. Both the actresses in the play and the audience have to laugh about the foolish governor who mistakes the pots and pans for the imprisoned virgins. Moreover, the hilarious moments in the stage performance also derive from the voyeuristic perspective when the three women gaze through the crack in the wall and laugh about the incredible behavior of the deluded governor, who believes he is enjoying sex with the virgins when in reality he is only hugging sooty pots and pans" (2010: 180). If we contrast this scene of attempted and failed, ridiculed rape to Terence's comedies, a startling opposition arises, and this must have been Hrotsvit's ultimate goal: to juxtapose her drama of virgin martyrs with the immoral pagan relationships as portrayed by the classical authors of the Roman past.

Let us look at an example from *Eunuch*. As Christenson has already discussed in his analysis of the play, a young man named Chaerea falls in love with Pamphila. When he finds out that the soldier Thraso intends to present Pamphila to the prostitute Thais as a gift, he disguises himself as a eunuch and thus replaces the eunuch his brother, Phaedria, purchased to give to Thais. Both Phaedria and Thraso are madly in love with Thais. Once inside Thais' house, Chaerea rapes the girl and then proudly recounts his exploits to his friend Antipho:

CHAE. vix elocutast hoc, foras simul omnes proruont se,
abeunt lauatum, perstrepunt, ita ut fit domini ubi absunt.
interea somnus virginem opprimit. ego limis specto
sic per flabellum clanculum. simul alia circumspecto,
satin explorata sint. video esse. pessulum ostio obdo.

ANT. quid tum? CHAE. quid "quid tum," fatue? ANT. fateor. CHAE. an ego
occasionem

mi ostentam, tantam, tam breuem, tam optatam, tam insperatam
amitterem? tum pol ego is essem vero qui simulabar. (Ter. *Eu.* 599–606)

CHAE. She had scarcely said that when they all rushed out of the room together and went off for their bath, making quite a noise—which is what happens when slaves are on their own. Meanwhile the girl was overcome by sleep. I stole a glance at her sideways behind the fan, like this (*imitates the action*), surreptitiously. At the same time I looked round to make sure everything else was safe. I saw that it was. I bolted the door.

ANT. What happened next? CHAE. What do you mean “what happened next?,” you joker?

ANT. OK, I give in. CHAE. Was I going to lose the chance offered to me, so great an opportunity but so brief, so hoped for but so unexpected? If I had, then I really would have been what I was pretending to be.

As Christenson notes (see chapter 14, this volume), “the rape itself is described with stark brevity and casualness ... Rather than following the New Comedy tendency to elide (pre-play) rape and (post-play) marriage, Terence has subordinated all to a disturbingly vivid presentation of rape at the center of the play.”

Thais’ maid, Pythias, recounts the rape and the wretched state in which she found Pamphila:

PY. quin etiam insuper scelus, postquam ludificatus virginem,
vestem omnem miserae discidit, tum ipsam capillo conscidit ...
rogas me? eunuchum quem dedisti nobis quas turbas dedit!
virginem quam eras dono dederat miles, vitiauit ...
virgo ipsa lacrumat neque, quom rogites, quid sit audet dicere.
(Ter. *Eu.* 645–6, 653–4, 659)

PYTH. The scumbag! It just wasn’t enough for him to have his way with her!
He had to rip up the poor girl’s clothes and tear her hair out on top of it all! ...
What’s the matter! That eunuch you gave us has created complete mayhem
inside!

He’s raped the girl the soldier gave to Thais as a present! ...
The girl’s all in tears, and can’t even say what happened when you ask her.

Pamphila at the end is found to be of a respectable Athenian family, kidnapped as a small child and sold into slavery. Chaerea can now marry her. But, as Christenson rightly concludes (see chapter 14, this volume), “even when the formal engagement is announced by Chaerea (1036), it is presumptuous to assume that all discomfort surrounding the foregrounded rape in *Eunuchus* instantly dissipates amid the cloud of a conventionally happy ending, and that no one left the theater on the Palatine wondering about the prospects for a marriage whose foundation is a violent sexual assault such as Chaerea’s.” And as James has correctly observed on rape in Terentian comedy (see chapter 9, this volume), “if Terence allows a vision of a happy and loving marriage to such couples in *Andria* and *Adelphoe*, he takes it away in *Hecyra*

and *Eunuchus*, where the outrage and distress that rape causes all kinds of women—mothers, sisters, slaves, prostitutes—is neither addressed nor redressed, and where the redress to the daughters, in the form of marriage to the rapist, is felt by many to be dubious at best.”

What, then, does Hrotsvit’s reconstruction of these scenes indicate? Karakasis has correctly pointed out that “in Terence, sensual love is the basis for the typical characteristics of the young man. In Hrosvita sensual love is always associated with pagans and the pagan period of her protagonists’ life ... There is in Hrosvita’s plays another kind of love that motivates her characters. It is the love for the Heavenly Bridegroom.” In the tenth-century monastic context of Hrotsvit’s plays, the socio-cultural context of rape, as presented in Hellenistic New Comedy and subsequently transferred into Roman Comedy, is completely ignored. What is underscored, however, is the powerlessness of the victim and the transformation of the rapist into the defeated, ridiculed loser. Dulcitius becomes the demon-possessed guard, who comes out of the prison-cell smeared in black, whereas all three girls, Agape, Chionia (as her name indicates in Greek, “snow-white”), and Hirena die assuming a white robe of martyrdom and so gain entrance to heaven with a crown of glory. Whereas Pamphila never assumes a speaking role in the *Eunuch*, all three girls in Hrotsvit’s play vociferously oppose and defy the orders of Diocletian, Dulcitius, and Sisinnius. Newlands rightly concludes, “Hroswitha transforms Terence’s passive virgins and noble prostitutes into heroic women who fight for their beliefs and eventually triumph over their male exploiters ... [The plays] show a sympathetic insight into the problems faced by women who, in a society dominated by male authority, seek to overcome their *feminea fragilitas* (*Praef.* 5) and triumph over the men who exploit them” (Newlands 1986: 391).

I believe that what Hrotsvit reads in Terence’s comedies is the silencing of women, whose bodies are used, abused, and vilified. Subsequently she metamorphoses the body into a symbol of chastity. If we ask whether the play *Dulcitius* is actually a tragedy or comedy, the answer is neither: it is a tragicomedy, a Divine Comedy, wherein the victim ultimately triumphs. It is not an earthly victory, of course, but rather a heavenly triumph. Terence uses tragic discourse in *Eunuch*, as Sharrock points out, “in the scene in which Chaerea is persuaded by Parmeno to dress up as the eunuch slave, who has been promised as a gift for the courtesan whose house is the centre of the action, and so to infiltrate the site of his desire ... [T]his shows a structural relation with the very well known scene in Euripides’ *Bacchae* where Dionysus persuades Pentheus to dress up as a woman in order to infiltrate the Bacchic rites in which his mother and the other women of Thebes are engaged” (2009: 221). Likewise Hrotsvit exploits Terence’s tragicomic elements to produce a play in which both comedy and tragedy are fused to create a

Christian didactic play about the power of virginity, monasticism/asceticism, and the church. In the process, she transforms Terence's love for the *purus sermo*, undefiled language, into unstained virginal bodies, who transcend the temporal and spatial boundaries of this world. As Carlson notes, Hrotsvit "makes it quite explicit that her virgins are protected from the experience of bodily pain" (1998: 487). And as Wailes maintains, Hrotsvit's "originality resides in her interpretation of human life as a contest between the principles of flesh and spirit" (2001: 27; cf. also Wailes' 2000 study on spirituality and politics in Hrotsvit). Thus Terence's language is recast and refashioned as Hrotsvit's *clamor*, a strong voice that reaches up high and enters into the kingdom of her Creator.

FURTHER READING

Pascal (1989) has produced a student edition of *Dulcitius* and *Paphnutius*. Homeyer's commentary of Hrotsvit's works (1970) is still indispensable, and the Teubner edition by Berschin (2001) provides a reliable Latin text and *apparatus criticus*. Bibliography through 1965 can be found in Haight and through 1984 in Dronke. Newlands (1986), Wilson (1988), and Brown, McMillin, and Wilson (2004) can be consulted for recent additions to the growing bibliography on Hrotsvit. Readable translations of the plays can be found in Bonfante (1986), Wilson (1989) and (1998), and Damen (1997); cf. also Damen (2002) for a translation of *Calimachus* for performance purposes. The question of the actual performance and performability of Hrotsvit's plays is addressed by Newlands (1986: 369 and n.3), with an emphasis on recitation as opposed to staging (Butler 1960). In addition to Hrotsvit, another famous example of the Christianization of Terence after Hrotsvit comes from the Low Countries: Cornelius Schonaeus' (ca. 1541–1611) *Terentius Christianus*, seventeen comedies (including one tragicomedy) on biblical themes, in the style of Roman Comedy and Terence in particular. See Verweij (2004) and Herrick (1962: 16–62) on the tradition of Christian Terence in Europe from the sixteenth to the seventeenth century and, in particular, plays produced by school masters such as Schonaeus (Macropedius and Cornelius Crocus).

CHAPTER TWENTY-TWO

“Thou shalt present me as an eunuch to him”: Terence in Early Modern England

Martine van Elk

It seems appropriate to start a chapter on the presence of Terence in the culture of early modern England with the famously enigmatic line said by Viola to the Captain in William Shakespeare's *Twelfth Night* (1601), “Thou shalt present me as an eunuch to him” (1.2.52 Greenblatt 2008; all references to Shakespeare taken from this edition). Editors have long claimed that Viola's intent to disguise herself as a eunuch is abandoned at some point, as she does not sing in the play and is never referred to as a eunuch again. If so, the allusion to Terence's *Eunuchus* is made only to be suppressed almost immediately. This Terentian vanishing act suggests something of the difficulty of assessing the influence of Terence on the early modern stage and on early modern culture in England more generally. Critics like T.W. Baldwin (1963), Richard Hosley (1966), and Robert Miola (1994) have traced how the Terentian dramatic structure came to dominate early modern drama, noting many instances of quotation, verbal borrowing, or uses of Terentian stock characters and devices. However, their accounts of Terence's influence in early modern England run up against problems. How, for instance, do we know what elements of early modern plays derive from Terence as opposed to Plautus or from ancient comedy as opposed to their continental, and especially Italian, rewritings? Beyond the issue of explicit use of Roman New Comedy, the drama of Terence had a variety of immeasurable effects on early modern writing because of its pervasive use in the school curriculum, making his work important not only as a model of playwriting but also as a way of looking at the world that had been inculcated into grammar school boys from a relatively

early age. Finally, the specific and often contradictory contexts in which Terence's plays were absorbed themselves transformed what those texts could mean. In other words, determining the importance of Terence to early modern England is not merely a matter of detecting his presence as an explicit source in plays, but rather requires reading historically, socially, and intertextually, with an awareness that the different histories in which Terence is involved, including dramatic, theatrical, educational, and social histories, are frequently in tension with each other.

1 Terence in Theory

The first problem in ascertaining how Terence was received in early modern England has its origins in the textual and scholarly transmission of his plays. Cicero, Quintilian, Horace, and Aristotle offered humanists particular approaches to drama that predisposed readers to read these plays in certain ways. Editions of Terence, which were at first mostly continental, tended to feature extensive prefatory material as well as commentaries that were themselves influenced heavily by ancient theory. Late classical commentaries, in particular by Aelius Donatus and Evanthius (see chapter 18, this volume), along with Renaissance commentaries by Philipp Melanchthon, Desiderius Erasmus, Jacobus Latomus, as well as by editors of Terence's plays like Jodocus Badius, surrounded the early sixteenth-century play texts with instructions on how to read them. Bruce Smith cites an edition of Terence printed by Benedict Prévost in Paris in 1552, *P. Terentii Afer poetae lepidissimi comoediae*, which includes arguments, annotations, textual notes, treatises and essays on comedy, and running commentaries by no fewer than thirteen ancient and early modern authorities (Smith 1988: 30–1). All of this favors a scholarly reading experience, making an unmediated encounter with Terence's plays especially unlikely.

Although Terence was widely read, no edition of his work was published in sixteenth-century England until 1583. Like previous editions, this was a reprint of continental versions, showing the continuing international and scholarly character of the transmission of Terence at this time. Translations of Terence also did not appear until the later part of the sixteenth century, with the exception of one translation of *Andria* (*Terens in englysh: The translacyon out of latin into englysh of the first comedy of Tyrens callyd Andria*; London, 1520–30) and Nicholas Udall's *Floures for Latine Spekyng* (1534), which translated phrases from Terence's plays (see chapter 24, this volume). In 1588, Maurice Kyffin published a translation of *Andria*, and in 1598, Richard Bernard published his famous *Terence in English*, which included Latin and English versions of all six plays. These translations did not feature quite as

much paratextual material as the Latin editions, but the commentary and introductory material is nonetheless clearly influenced by Donatus and other scholarly writers.

It would be difficult to overestimate the deep impact that comic theory and Terentian commentaries had on humanist readers of ancient plays, who, as educators, in turn presented these texts to students at grammar schools and universities. Smith shows that in spite of fundamental differences between the commentators, in terms of their own situatedness in history, their worldviews, and their approach to drama, they do not themselves remark on these differences. Thus, he writes, sixteenth-century readers of ancient texts would have felt that “the philosophical aspects of the plays themselves seemed timeless and perfectly compatible with Renaissance experience” (Smith 1988: 37). Such perceptions of compatibility were a product of the emphases found in these commentaries.

In *The Tudor Play of Mind*, Joel Altman distinguishes between the two ways commentators read the plays: for moral edification and as tools for teaching rhetoric. From the former perspective, the plays of Terence, unlike the more controversial plays by Plautus, could be incorporated into a system of ethics derived from Aristotle, Cicero, and Horace that emphasized decorum and treated Terentian characters as examples of a variety of virtues and vices, confirming broader moral rules or *sententiae*. Altman shows that these *sententiae* were usually formulated in disregard of the specific dramatic context and were highly reductive. By contrast with this universalizing impulse, he argues, the commentaries tended to offer detailed and specific analyses of the rhetoric of the plays, treating them as deliberations on particular questions and using them to detect types of argument and rhetorically effective proof (Altman 1978: 145).

Alongside these two ways of reading Terence, scholarly treatment of Terence concentrated on his dramatic construction and style. Much comic theory and commentary was devoted to the sophisticated Latin style of Terence’s plays and especially to the subtleties of their five-act structure and integration of multiple plots. Donatus and Evanthius had laid out the three-part dramatic development in comedy on the basis of Terence’s plays, which included, after the prologue, the *protasis* (“the first action of the drama, where part of the story is explained, part held back to arouse suspense”), the *epitasis* (“the complication of the story”), and the *catastrophe* (“the unravelling of the story, through which the outcome is demonstrated,” Hardison 1987a: 47–8). T.W. Baldwin’s famous 1947 work *Shakspeare’s Five-Act Structure* shows how the Terentian plot structure came to dominate English drama, and especially Shakespeare. Indeed, it is in the area of dramatic form that Terence’s pervasive influence in England is most apparent (Baldwin, cited here in the 1963 edition). As Leo Salinger explains, the “natural order” of medieval plays, which tended to tell stories from their beginning in “a loose chronological

sequence” was abandoned in favor of the “artificial order” of New Comedy, which begins at a climactic moment in the narrative (*in medias res*) so that gradually key information can be conveyed as necessary and other information can be withheld to create suspense or surprise (Salingar 1974: 76–7). Richard Levin stresses the significance of the double plot, which early modern readers would have found in Terence’s plays, rather than in Plautus’, to dramatic practice in the early modern period (Levin 1971: 226–33).

Moral concerns about the content of Terence’s plays or the behavior of individual characters conflict with this concentration on dramatic structure, style, and rhetoric in part because dramatic decorum does not always match general notions of decorum and social etiquette in real life. As Marvin Herrick observes: “Dramatic decorum, in the eyes of Renaissance critics, meant keeping tragic and heroic characters out of comedy and keeping plebeian characters out of tragedy; it meant assigning to every person the characteristics that properly belonged to his condition, rank, age, sex, and nationality” (Herrick 1964: 131). An instance of the way in which the investment in structure, dramatic decorum, and rhetoric overrides the importance of ethics is its treatment of error. Salingar shows that Donatus and others assimilated Aristotle’s morally neutral sense of ἀμαρτία (or tragic error) to comedy by considering comic plots as driven by errors, which were defined as “confusions” and “agreeable mistakes,” subsuming trickery and deception under this heading (Salingar 1974: 84–5; also Hardison 1987b: 45 for Evanthius). The lasting impact of Terence’s drama, then, can be seen as a product of the prominence of rhetorical, structural, and stylistic analysis in the theories of and commentaries on the drama. His formal dramatic model could also be readily applied to other dramatic forms, including tragedy and tragicomedy, which came to adopt the five-act structure and double plot. Terence, thus, can be said to have made his strongest mark early on as the so-called “cunning Craftsman” (Kyffin 1588: Sig. A1r) of drama, who provided scholars, students, and playwrights with practical examples of fine rhetoric, style, and form.

2 Terence in the Schools

Even if comic theory and commentary thus proposed a universalizing reading of Terence’s plays, in schools they were much more controversial sites of cultural exchange and practice. Terence had been studied in schools throughout the Middle Ages, but from the late fifteenth century onwards, his plays were given a position of unquestioned prominence in the grammar school and university curriculum. Terence was seen as exceptionally useful to teaching Latin, still the language of international scholarship and diplomacy, as well as rhetoric, in spite of reservations about the content of his plays. In his influential tract *On the Method of Study* (1511), Erasmus proposed an ambitious six-step program for

teaching Terence: first the teacher had to discuss briefly “the author’s circumstances, his talent, the elegance of his language”; this was followed by a mention of “how much enjoyment and instruction may be had from reading comedy”; third, the teacher would give a theoretical lecture on the genre of comedy and its meter; next, the teacher turned to the diction and language of Terence, including anything that deviated from standard Latin; fifth, the teacher compared passages by Terence with those by other authors, showing “differences and similarities,” as well as any use of allusions and borrowings from the Greek. At the very end, Erasmus stipulates, “he should turn to philosophy and skillfully bring out the moral implication of the poets’ stories, or employ them as patterns.” Possible unethical passages may thus be converted to good: “if some passage is encountered which may corrupt the young, far from its harming their morals it may in fact confer some benefit, namely by concentrating their attention, partly on annotation of the passage, partly on loftier thoughts.” Thus, Erasmus recommends diverting students’ attention or converting their thoughts whenever immoral materials are encountered, something that requires, he admits, “mental agility on the teacher’s part” (McGregor 1978: 683; all translations taken from this edition).

While the lengthy discussion proposed by Erasmus may have been common at universities and good schools, ordinary grammar schools usually focused heavily on the linguistic aspects of Roman plays, having students memorize phrases and do double translations (into English and then back into Latin) of excerpts. Rebecca Bushnell examines the fragmentation of texts in early modern schools, which used textbooks such as Udall’s *Floures* that contained fragments and sentences out of Terence and also encouraged students to compile *sententiae* and quotations in their commonplace books. This meant that the plays were engaged with not so much as dramatic wholes but as fragments: “The transformation of the text into notebooks converted these pieces of writing into counters or currency, spatially distinct, usable, and exchangeable” (Bushnell 1996: 133). The effect of this can be seen in Terence’s pervasive presence in margins and in quotations in early modern books of all kinds. Baldwin cites a number of prominent churchmen, for instance, who used quotations from Terence’s *Eunuchus*, including Thomas Becon, John Hooker, Roger Hutchinson, Hugh Latimer, Matthew Parker, and others, showing the extent to which the habit of reading Terence as a storehouse of wisdom from which one could gather material at will was ingrained through early modern education (Baldwin 1963: 387–91).

While reading, translation, and imitation of ancient plays was expected, performance of ancient plays, both Latin and Greek, became a statutory requirement at the university and in most grammar schools. Performances were often part of festive occasions, such as the Christmas season, and in some cases, as at the famous Westminster School, were even attended by the monarch.

The fact that Terence's work was performed meant that fragmentary and reductive moral readings became more difficult to sustain. Although ancient comedy always had its enemies, humanist writing on education in the schools in the sixteenth century showed increasing discomfort with the subject matter and ethics of Terence's plays, especially as a tool for teaching younger boys. It is a discomfort that gained cultural prominence with the Reformation and the subsequent rise of Puritanism in England (cf. chapter 21, this volume).

David McPherson usefully distinguishes three different responses among humanist educators to ancient comedy: there were those who advocated its teaching to all; those who opposed any teaching of ancient comedy; and those who favored a compromise. The compromise vision argued for teaching ancient comedy only to older children and university students, teaching only excerpts or expurgated versions, or teaching only Latin plays by Renaissance educators (McPherson 1981: 20). Erasmus was undoubtedly the most influential proponent of the first position, arguing that Terence's plays are morally useful in telling the student how not to act. This argument for the negative exemplarity of Terence's work, which ultimately derived from Cicero's notion of plays as an imitation of life, was repeated frequently in later works by educators. Richard Bernard, the translator of Terence, who was himself a Puritan, reassured his readers in the same way: "[Terence] will tell you the nature of the fraudulent flatterer, the grimme and greedie old Sire, the roysting ruffian, the minsing mynion, and beastly baud; that in telling the truth by these figments, men might become wise to avoid such vices, and learne to practise vertue" (Bernard 1598: Sig. 2v). (On Bernard, see chapter 24, this volume.)

Yet such catalogues of vices in defense of Terence hint at a lingering unease about exposing children to his plays. In his famous *Scholemaster* (1570), Roger Ascham claims Terence is "to be embraced above all that ever wrote in hys kinde of argument" due to his pure style. When it comes to ancient comedy, he writes, teachers must address, the "matter, the utterance, the words, the meter." The matter is of course what poses problems:

The matter in both [Plautus and Terence], is altogether within the compasse of the meanest mens maners, and doth not stretch to any thing of any great weight at all, but standeth chiefly in utteryng the thoughtes and conditions of hard fathers, foolish mothers, unthrifty yong men, craftie servantes, sotle [subtle] bawdes, and wilie harlots, and so, is moch spent, in finding out fine fetches [tricks], and packing up pelting matters, soch as in London commonlie cum to the hearing of the Masters of Bridewell. Here is base stuffe for that scholer, that should be cum hereafter, either a good minister in Religion, or a Civill Gentleman in service of his Prince and contrie: except the preacher do know soch matters to confute them, whan ignorance surelie in all soch thinges were better for a Civill Gentleman, than knowlege. And thus, for matter, both Plautus and Terence, be like meane painters, that worke by halves, and be cunning onelie, in

making the worst part of the picture, as if one were skilfull in painting the bodie of a naked person, from the navell downward, but nothing else. (Ascham 1570: Sig. R3r)

Stock characters especially did not seem to fit the terms of dramatic decorum and moral edification for educators like Ascham. He does not resolve his deep anxiety about Terence's ethics in any other way than by suppressing it in favor of praise of his language, meter, and prosody. Even though Ascham was an advocate of teaching ancient comedy, his ambivalence about the "base stuff" of ancient comedy is not far removed from the anti-theatrical sentiments of Puritans like John Rainolds. He admits in *Th'Overthrow of Stage-Playes* (1599) that Terence is a good poet, but relies on all kinds of authorities, including Catholic ones, to argue that Terence and Plautus should either be purged of their "filthy matters" and "wantonnesse" or, preferably, not taught at all (Rainolds 1629: Sig. R2r-v).

Such anxieties remind us of the contested place of Terence in the early modern school curriculum. One response to this ambivalence was for schoolmasters and educators to write their own plays in Latin and English. Reformers in England had been inspired by the so-called Christian Terence plays produced on the continent, which fused ancient comedic practices with biblical or other Christian subject matter, such as the narrative of the prodigal son. These plays, many felt, could be more safely taught. They were both a tribute to Terence's style and form and a rejection of his content. Yet, these attempts to purge ancient comedy of its more unethical material did not diminish Terence's continued importance in the schools throughout the early modern period.

Although Terence was always more central in the textual study of drama than any other playwright, Plautus' plays were generally favored in performance (Hosley 1966: 131; Riehle 1990: 14–23). Nonetheless, the work of Terence was fairly frequently put on in grammar schools, at universities, and at Inns of Court, and the first record of a production of an ancient play in England was of a play by Terence, performed at King's Hall, Cambridge, in 1510–11 (Smith 1988: 138). School performances were thought to have the triple purpose of edifying performers and audiences morally, enriching their linguistic skills, and enhancing their rhetorical awareness and abilities. Considering the presence at such performances not only of students and teachers, but also of dignitaries and even in some cases the monarch, we might see these school productions as situated on a spectrum between the closed, private performances at great halls and the open, public performances in London theaters. At universities and Inns of Court, they were usually organized by Christmas Kings or Lords of Misrule and constituted part of the general play-acting that went on during times of revels. According to Smith, these carnivalesque occasions were very serious training

grounds. In what was increasingly becoming a highly theatrical culture, role-playing was thought to be a good preparation for later careers in law, at court, and even in the church. As Smith explains, performances of ancient plays “taught future statesmen about the structure of Elizabethan society” and the Lord of Misrule usually “ruled over no lawless utopia, but a copy, in miniature, of the kingdom at large” (Smith 1988: 106–7).

Yet, accounts of revels that featured performances of plays, such as the famous account of the performance of Shakespeare’s *The Comedy of Errors* at the Gray’s Inn in 1594, show that along with or perhaps as part of the ideological function of such performances, a good deal of disorder was tolerated and even cultivated. At that first recorded production of Shakespeare’s Plautine play, there were so many people in the audience, which included students from another Inn and female guests, that chaos ensued, to which the actors only seem to have contributed. Afterwards, the night was named, “The Night of Errors.” The degree to which the ideological effect of school performances on the performers and audiences could be controlled, therefore, has to remain questionable: scholarly approaches to Terence, however strong in their impact on teaching and writing, had limited purchase on the effect of his plays in practical social and theatrical settings.

3 Terence in Early English Drama

In light of the strong association between Terence and education in early modern England, it should be no surprise that the first English comedies that used his model should come out of educational settings. The school statutes that required performances of ancient comedy also required performances of English plays. What are often taken as the first three comedies in English, *Ralph Roister Doister* by Nicholas Udall (1551–3), *Gammer Gurton’s Needle* (1550–3?), probably by William Stevenson, and *Jacke Jugeler* (1550–8), all came out of educational environments. Udall was an educator at Eton and other schools, though *Ralph Roister Doister* was probably not written during his tenure at any specific school (see chapter 24, this volume); Stevenson was a fellow at Christ’s College, Cambridge, which is where *Gammer Gurton’s Needle* was probably first performed; and although we have little information on either the author or the first performance of *Jacke Jugeler*, the title page of its 1565 edition describes it as “A new Enterlued for Chyldren to play” (Sig. A1r). Yet, perhaps contrary to expectation, these comedies by educators did little to purge Roman Comedy of its immorality.

While *Jacke Jugeler* uses Plautus and *Gammer Gurton’s Needle* is Terentian, critics of *Ralph Roister Doister* remain divided on whether it is predominantly based on Pyrgopolinices in Plautus’ *Miles Gloriosus* or on Thraso in Terence’s

Eunuchus. The braggart soldier tradition is one where the separation of Plautus and Terence seems to be an especially difficult and, perhaps, ultimately pointless exercise. Udall, in any case, was unquestionably inspired by both. As Jill Levenson has pointed out, Udall self-consciously blends traditions in both the braggart soldier and the parasite in the play, merging the Roman stock characters with medieval traditions such as the knight from romance and the Vice from morality plays (Levenson 1990: 267–8). This “hybridization” proved central to early modern drama’s relationship to ancient comedy, which, in the process of being “Englished,” underwent crucial transformations by virtue of its juxtaposition, fusion, and confrontation with all kinds of other literary and non-literary material. Thus, individual playwrights would, as Udall showed, be able to encourage audiences to reflect on the larger philosophical, political, social, and cultural implications of such combinations. In Udall’s case, as in *Gammer Gurton’s Needle* and *Jacke Jugeler*, the placement of Terence’s stock figures into an English setting, peopled with ones from English folk tradition and medieval plays as well as contemporary stereotypes, leads school audiences away from Terence’s potential moral advice by generating humor out of the disparity between the homely English setting and elevated dramatic tradition.

More specifically, all three of these plays were written during the mid-Tudor crisis, a time of economic upheaval, inflation, a series of rebellions, and religious controversy. *Gammer Gurton’s Needle*, in current criticism the most prominent of the three plays, has come to be recognized as more than a scatological work of farce that blends Roman Comedy with folklore. The play is now appreciated as a sophisticated reflection on a range of political, social, and religious developments. Thus, on the face of it, the play is a burlesque, centered on the confusion that follows the loss of Gammer Gurton’s needle (which is eventually found in the breeches of her servant Hodge), creating comedy out of the unlikely combination of a rustic English setting and the Terentian sophistication of plot structure and form. But critics have found deeper significance in this combination. For instance, Douglas Duncan reads the play as a parody of humanist commentary on and curricular treatment of Terence, in the Saturnalian spirit in which the play was probably staged during Christmas revels (Duncan 1987). In line with Smith’s argument about the social cohesion that was promoted by academic performances, we could also see the play’s focus on poor characters and the beggar as trickster as a way of distancing the male student audience from the disorder represented by the lower classes. The fact that there is a woman in charge of the chaotic household on which the play centers also suggests a gendered aspect to the laughter of the male audience (see Wall 2002: 59–93).

Moreover, considering that scholarly circles in Cambridge in the 1550s were dominated by Protestant reformers, the play also seems to make light of the Catholic ignorance and superstition of its country characters, who engage

in scatological versions of Catholic ritual, such as Hodge's kissing of the trickster Diccon's breeches, rather than the breeches bible. For Frank Ardolino (2010), the play not only satirizes Catholic practices, but also teaches proper reformed reading to its audience, which comes to reflect on and reject the Catholic materialism of the country characters. Robert Hornback makes the argument that Stevenson's play should be seen as anti-Terentian, not only offering a parody of Terence through "vulgarizing" his drama, but also associating Terence with Catholicism, as "Stevenson's parody of the authority of fellow humanists' Roman dramatic idol may actually complement his iconoclastic burlesque of the authority of Roman Catholic ritual" (Hornback 2010: 316). Thus, for Hornback, the play is evidence of the ways in which reformers were distancing themselves gradually from ancient sources. That such distancing would occur in a perfectly Terentian comedy suggests the cultural ambivalences that characterized England at this mid-century juncture. However we read these English versions of ancient comedy, we should note that at this point, the heyday of academic drama, reformers and educators saw vital ways in which they could make use of Terentian comedy, whatever their relationship to it, to teach Protestant thinking, showing a connection between two discourses, drama and Protestantism, that would be increasingly in conflict with each other as the public theater rose to prominence.

4 Terence and Shakespeare

The variety of uses to which ancient comedy could be put in early modern drama was already apparent in the mid-century school drama, but dramatists' engagement with Terence became much more complex with the emergence of the public theater in the 1570s and 1580s. As a social institution, the public theater, driven by concerns of profit and entertainment, is a very different setting than an educational institution. From the relative privacy of schools and university halls, we move into a space that allows in anyone who can pay a small fee, including women, beggars, and prostitutes, but also courtiers and, whenever the plays were performed at court, the monarch. Playwrights could not expect the kind of literacy in their audiences that schoolmasters could, and they also did not use drama as an educational tool. The effect was that the universalizing moralism of the Terentian commentaries was pushed even more to the background than in academic drama, and instead, the other aspects of Terence's legacy—his form, structure, style, and rhetorical richness—were foregrounded. As Miola puts it, in what is the most up-to-date book-length discussion of the influence of classical comedy on Shakespeare, "they constitute a rhetorical and symbolic vocabulary, a treasury of signifying capacities, a dense and expressive dramatic code that played variously in later generations" (Miola 1994: 2).

On the public stage, imitations of ancient comedy or even plays that used large portions of Terence and Plautus explicitly were uncommon. Hosley lists six plays that take large segments of plot from Plautus, but only one that uses Terence in this substantive way, George Chapman's *All Fools* (1605). He detects limited use of Plautus (for a device or scene) in thirteen plays; in the case of Terence, he finds only five plays of this kind (Hosley 1966: 131–2). His conclusions may be arguable, but his survey shows nonetheless that, as explicit source texts, the plays by Plautus and Terence were much less important than we would expect, considering their prominence in educational settings. Indeed, in Geoffrey Bullough's famous *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare* (1957–75), not a single text by Terence is included.

Yet early modern playwrights, including Shakespeare, were deeply invested in ancient comedy, and their plays would not have been possible without it. Terence's influence on early modern drama took a number of forms, and he inspired not merely comedies but also plays in other genres, including histories, tragedies, and tragicomedies. First, as we have noted, Terence was used as a model of perfect dramatic plot structure, with his five-act division, his three-part dramatic development, his double plots, and his unity of time and place. The double plot, which early moderns encountered not only in Terence but also in Italian comedy, became a major source of dramatic invention in every genre in early modern drama, including tragedy. Over the course of his career, Shakespeare would use the double plot, like Terence, for the purpose of establishing thematic contrasts. He interweaved his double plots with increasing sophistication, culminating in the masterful juxtaposition of the two plots in *King Lear* (cf. Levin 1971 for elaborate discussion of this topic).

Second, Terence presented early modern playwrights with a dramatically effective stage setting that could readily be used in public or hall theaters, featuring a street or marketplace in front of a set of doors that led into a variety of houses. Shakespeare uses this setting in *The Comedy of Errors*, but it also inspired other plays, such as *Twelfth Night*. Like Terence, Shakespeare was interested in the implications of movements between public and private spaces and the ways in which the public impinged on the private. Terence features the encroachment of the marketplace onto the household as so strong that monetary concerns and status frequently override or come to determine personal emotions like love. He often allows married women, female servants, or courtesans to move freely outside of the house and join in conversations with men, while young women who are or will prove to be eligible marriage partners either remain offstage or enter the street at the risk of becoming an object of fascination and sexual desire for someone. Historians have come to see the early modern period in England as a time in which the separation between public and private and the association of women with the domestic space were beginning to develop. For this reason, Terence's "threshold" staging inspired

Shakespeare, who moves female, at times cross-dressed, characters between locations, thus contrasting the ideal of domesticated femininity with the actual, subversive movement between spheres. Part of the chaos in *The Comedy of Errors*, for instance, is caused when Adriana begins to follow what she thinks is her husband around town. In *The Taming of the Shrew* (ca. 1590), Katharina is pointedly left out in the street by her father, facing public exposure and male mockery on her own. In *Twelfth Night*, Viola, as Cesario, moves between households but also through the streets, exposing her to both sexual advances and potential violence, while Olivia and Orsino both remain largely confined in their own houses until the end of the play. Miola calls attention to the ways in which the “conventional setting of Roman comedy ... suggests in *Twelfth Night* interior states of characters” (Miola 1994: 41), which is one way in which Shakespeare deepened the use of Terentian settings. Terence thus provided Shakespeare with a model of stage practice that could be complicated in meaningful ways to address the particular social developments of the early modern period.

Third, Terence provided playwrights with a treasure trove of stock figures, such as the young lovers, the blocking father figure, the braggart soldier, and the parasite-trickster, to name the most important ones (Hosley 1966: 137–42). Characters like Benedick in *Much Ado About Nothing* (ca. 1598), Sir Toby Belch and Sir Andrew Aguecheek in *Twelfth Night*, Sir John Falstaff in the *Henry IV* plays (ca. 1596–9) and *Merry Wives of Windsor* (ca. 1597), Parolles in *All's Well That Ends Well* (ca. 1604), Stephano in *The Tempest* (ca. 1611), and even Iago in *Othello* (ca. 1604) can be seen as complex and sophisticated variations on the braggart soldier. Shakespeare, like Udall, gives the braggart soldier features of the medieval Vice and uses the character to reflect on such divergent concerns as models of masculinity, the redundancy of the early modern knight in a post-feudal state, and the nature of political power. Similarly, the trickster-servant in ancient comedy morphs into a range of characters in all of Shakespeare's genres, from more traditional trickster servants like Tranio in *The Taming of the Shrew* and Autolycus in *The Winter's Tale* (ca. 1611) to half-magical tricksters like Puck in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (1594–6) and Ariel in *The Tempest* or even authority figures like Don Pedro in *Much Ado About Nothing* or the deceptive Duke in *Measure for Measure* (ca. 1603). But while these particular tricksters, like Terence's, promote marriage, however inadvertently, for various complex reasons of their own, there are others, like Richard in *Richard III* (ca. 1591) and Edmund in *King Lear* (1603–6), who show the destructive possibilities inherent in the role. Each of these tricksters may be said to owe a debt to the clever servants of ancient comedy in their ability to observe habits and customs from a position of marginality, to reflect on how and why people make decisions, to manipulate personal and communal narratives, and to use performance to achieve their ends.

Such incorporation of Terence on a larger scale helped playwrights establish what Hans Robert Jauss calls a “horizon of expectations” in the audience (Jauss 1982). Introducing characters, plots, and settings that refer to or derive from ancient comedy establishes expectations in the audience; the playwright can confirm those expectations, subtly transform the model, or radically shift directions, all of which may get the audience to reflect on its own relationship to the drama. In this way, Shakespeare was able to formulate, in Miola’s words about *The Taming of the Shrew* and *Much Ado About Nothing*, “a sophisticated critical response to New Comedy” (Miola 1994: 62). Terentian stock characters form a kind of short-hand for a whole set of assumptions and ideas that can be enriched by blending them with other traditions, such as those deriving from medieval morality plays or from myth and English folklore. This hybridization disabled the kind of ideological control to which educators aspired, creating instead endless possibilities for interpretation.

On a smaller scale, Terence can be found in early modern plays in the form of quotation and allusion, with various degrees of explicitness, reminding us of the fragmented presence of Terence we have noted in early modern texts more generally. For Colin Burrow, the emphasis on a fragmented encounter with ancient texts in early modern education means we might even argue that “the way in which Shakespeare learned to read and imitate the classics had the effect of ultimately making the classics almost invisible in his work” (Burrow 2004: 18). Burrow concentrates on the use of phrases from a variety of ancient authors by individual characters, some of which are misremembered or misquoted. Together, these allusions and quotations point to the different uses characters make of ancient texts. Ultimately, then, the plays for Burrow suggest the interpretive instability of ancient literature in Shakespeare.

Keir Elam (1996) has taken the fragmentary presence of Terence in a very different direction. His discussion of Viola’s reference to herself as eunuch is exemplary of the ways in which theoretically and historically informed critics can go about tracing classical allusions intertextually, rather than as uncomplicated source material. Taking his cue from Viola’s line, Elam charts the development of the eunuch trope through Terence and Italian comedy to Shakespeare. Beginning with Terence’s paradoxical use of the eunuch as both a public sign of castration and a private sign of sexual prowess (since Chaerea’s disguise as a eunuch allows him to deflower Pamphila), Elam relates the figure to ancient festival rites and to the idea of the actor himself, apparently an empty signifier on stage but capable of generating a multiplicity of meanings and thus interpretively “fertile.” The eunuch for Terence is a symbol of castration and powerlessness, but also a comment on a culture in which human beings can function in an economy of gift-exchange. Terentian commentators, according to Elam, neutralized the comedy by treating it as a warning to stay away from prostitutes and bawds and ignoring the role of Chaerea as rapist

entirely. In Italian comedy, the young-man-as-eunuch was transformed into a cross-dressed female. Although the actual eunuch thus disappeared from the Italian stage, he continued to be important both as a source for the use of disguise and cross-dressing and as a metaphor for various kinds of social “castration.” Unlike Italian comedies, which maintained the sexual energy of Terence, early English comedies followed the line of Terentian commentary partly by projecting the image of the eunuch onto the braggart soldier and partly by emphasizing the chastity of the lovers. In Shakespeare, the idea of the eunuch is similarly bereft of its strong sexuality, but it also has larger cultural, theatrical, and especially social implications. After all, Viola’s disguise, like Chaerea’s, means dressing down in social terms. The decision to be presented “as an eunuch,” a phrase that can be read metaphorically as well as literally, represents for Elam both her voluntary social demotion and a move towards the privatization of desire, since Viola’s disguise means she must repress her sexuality. It is this presentation of herself as sexless that, ironically, leads others to desire her, just as her position as a social inferior allows her access to and a kind of power over Orsino and Olivia. Paradoxically, then, both her interiorization of desire and her social demotion make her more powerful. Elam’s argument shows how a trope from Terence “travels” through a range of texts to gather increasingly complex meanings over time. When we get to Shakespeare, a single line can establish a whole range of themes intertextually, situating his fleeting allusion to Terence at the intersection of dramatic, social, and cultural history.

While critics have found numerous echoes and parallels in language, the only direct quotation of Terence in Shakespeare occurs in *The Taming of the Shrew*. Tranio quotes Parmeno’s advice to Phaedria in Latin from Terence’s *Eunuchus* (74): *Redime te captum quam queas minimo* (“Ransom yourself from captivity at the lowest possible price,” 1.1.156). This particular quotation comes as he addresses his master Lucentio, who has just fallen in love with Bianca. Tranio is about to offer the advice that the two of them switch places so that Lucentio can enter Baptista’s household in the guise of a schoolmaster. As Miola argues, the quote is “a self-conscious use of repetition to establish difference” (Miola 1994: 71), creating a new version of the New Comedy intrigue plot in which the beloved female has far more of a voice and the young man achieves his goal of marriage, only to find out that he must learn how to establish a mutually satisfactory relationship with his wife.

The quotation matters both on the level of plot and on larger thematic levels. Tranio’s ability to quote Terence is suggestive of the improper power relationship Lucentio has to his inferior, who is clearly his intellectual equal, referring the audience to the kind of young man–servant relationship familiar from Terence. In terms of establishing a “horizon of expectations,” then, the quotation encourages the audience to imagine that this love plot will play out

in specific ways, featuring a blocking father figure and ending with marriage. To be sure, the Lucentio plot follows the Terentian plot closely in this way. At the same time, the Latin quote is addressed to those members of the audience who have attended grammar school and are familiar with the rhetorical readings on Terence, which recommended using isolated quotations as a means of persuasion. Together with Lucentio's disguise, that of a schoolmaster, the quote is part of the play's larger interest in education and its comic juxtaposition of the Bianca plot, including its disguised tutors and famous Latin lesson, with the Katharina plot, which derives from folklore and involves a much more physical type of schooling. Lucentio's learning, which is subversively passed on to both Tranio and Bianca, is combined comically with a lack of male discipline and proper authority.

Moreover, Tranio's quotation equates love with a "captivity" from which one can be released through money. Since in Terence Phaedria's desire is for Thais, the courtesan, this mercenary view of love is not a surprising one. Parmeno treats male desire as an entrapment from which one can only be released by possessing the love object and in which money functions as a mediator. The blatant materiality of the line is of course rejected by the passionate, but also pathetic, Phaedria, and Parmeno's kind of advice is far more readily accepted by Chaerea. Unlike Phaedria, Lucentio is eager to hear what Tranio means, and Tranio's advice is not to pay money to Bianca's father but to offer up his master in disguise as a eunuch-like gift to Baptista, in order to acquire the same access to Bianca that Chaerea gains to Pamphila. Shakespeare thus replaces the eunuch with the Latin tutor, while, crucially, servant and master are interchangeable.

Thus, *The Taming of the Shrew* explores the Terentian interest in the social and economic value of human beings and the substitutability of men and women. In Terence's world, which includes slavery, the treatment of people as objects and gifts is a given, but it also leads to the subversive possibility, for Chaerea, of performing a part. Substitutability drives the comic "error" in many of Terence's comic plots and is central to their resolutions, with their moments of reversal and recognition, when a seeming slave can turn out to be a citizen or a husband turns out to be a former rapist. While the desire of young men is intensely fixed on one female, usually purely for her outward appearance, the shifting nature of social status is generally central to the resolution, which shows that marriage needs only outward respectability to be generally accepted and may be initiated by violent acts of rape.

The vast economic and social changes of the early modern period, including the gradual shift from a land-based to a money-based economy, meant for Shakespeare that the theatrical device of substituting individuals was an effective means to examine received notions of identity. Socially, the possibility of substitution suggests the tenuousness and performativity of hierarchies, as

well as the failure of true individuality and interiority as markers of identity, as the many mobile performers of Shakespeare's plays reveal, from Tranio in *The Taming of the Shrew* and Viola in *Twelfth Night* to Autolycus in *The Winter's Tale*.

Tranio's line follows the Induction to the play, in which Sly is persuaded through social and material means that he is not a beggar but a lord. Shakespeare has already, in other words, begun to question the fundamental basis of social and personal identity before he initiates the Terentian narrative. The materiality of social status as well as love is brought further to the forefront by Tranio's advice to Lucentio. Whereas the romantic Lucentio sees love as a matter of spiritual union of two individuals who are irreplaceable, the rowdy Petruchio treats it as materially based, taming Katharina through altering her physical circumstances and along with it her sense of self and her proper position. With the ending, which shows the consequences of Lucentio's failure to establish himself as in charge of both his wife's and his servant's material conditions, the play seems to side firmly with a material view of the self and love. Tranio's quotation is an early pointer in this direction that is foolishly ignored by Lucentio. It functions, therefore, on multiple levels, to create certain plot expectations, to refer to the theme of education, and to explore the larger idea of human substitutability and the materiality of identity.

For Salinger, one of the fundamental aspects of Shakespeare's comedies is their combination of ancient comedy and medieval romance, a combination that is often used to explore the conflicts in the worldviews espoused by each genre (Salinger 1974; see also Perry 2003 and Van Elk 2009). In part, this fusion of opposing genres is made possible by a shared interest in substitutability and error, which in romance comes to be defined as wandering and the consequent temporary loss of identity. Although ancient comedies also featured elements we now associate with medieval romance, such as the sea storm, the identification of the foundling, and the recognition scene, medieval romance Christianized such features into a plot of sin, fall, and redemption. Unlike New Comedy, romance is more invested in the final recognition scene, which establishes true selfhood with more certainty than ancient comedy does. In Shakespeare, substitutability—of one twin for another, of a young woman for a man, of one Duke for another, or of a chaste wife for a sexually loose one—leads to social chaos and inversion, but of a kind that comes perilously close to violence, tragedy, death, and an uprooting of an entire society, until the recognition comes about in a moment of staged wonder. Tragedies feature substitutability as deeply threatening, with death ensuing even in spite of a final recognition. Iago's substitution of himself for Cassio (or even for Desdemona) in *Othello*, Claudio's substitution of himself for the older Hamlet, and Edmund's substitution of himself for Edgar in *King Lear* all point to the importance of this theme, not just in comedy and romance but also in other

genres. It was a theme that Shakespeare found in Terentian drama and to which he would return almost obsessively throughout his career.

5 Terence in Later English Drama

Terence can thus be found in English plays on micro- and macro-levels. While the section above has concentrated on Shakespeare, other playwrights, especially those working in comedy, were also deeply indebted to Terence. Ben Jonson, known for his classical learning, referred to Terence repeatedly in his work and used both Terence and Plautus throughout his career, even though in *Timber* (1640), his commonplace book, he professed a preference for the latter, writing, “In the Greeke Poets, as also in *Plautus*, wee shall see the Oeconomy, and disposition of *Poems*, better observed then in *Terence*” (Herford, Simpson, and Simpson 1947: 618). In his *Poetaster* (1601), Virgil presents the ailing Crispinus with a wholesome diet of ancients, telling him: “taste a piece of *TERENCE*, sucke his phrase / In stead of lycorice; and, at any hand, / Shun *PLAUTUS*, and old *ENNIUS*, they are meates / Too harsh for a weake stomacke” (5.3.540–3, Herford, Simpson, and Simpson 1932). Reflecting on the status of Terence in education, Jonson’s *The Magnetic Lady* (1632) has a boy working in the theater respond contemptuously to two men, who assume he does not understand Latin, by finishing their Latin quotation and claiming, “I understand that, sin’ I learn’d *Terence*, i’ the third forme at *Westminster*” (Induction 46–7, Herford, Simpson, and Simpson 1938). Censure in *The Staple of the News* (1626) complains of such education, “*They make all their schollers Play-boyes! Is’t not a fine sight, to see all our children made Enterluders? Doe wee pay our money for this? wee send them to learne their Grammar, and their Terence, and they learne their playbooks?*” (Third Intermean after the Third Act, 46–9, Herford, Simpson, and Simpson 1938). Jonson, then, was well aware of the contested status of Terence in schools and made comic light of it for his more educated audience.

In general, Terence’s influence was central to Jonson’s most famous comedies, including *Every Man in His Humour* (1598), *Volpone* (ca 1605), *Epicoene* (1609), *The Alchemist* (1610), and *Bartholomew Fair* (1614), which are all self-consciously and conspicuously classical in their construction and form, but also use a range of other genres and forms to create a sophisticated hybrid. As Levenson says of *Every Man in His Humour*, these plays tend to feature “tripartite comic structure, unity of time, economical staging, symmetrical arrangements of characters, and recurrent situations” (Levenson 1990: 283), all mainstays of Terence’s work. *Epicoene* capitalizes, like *Twelfth Night*, on the cultural importance of *Eunuchus* and its transmission through

Italian comedy. There, the disguised intruder is not a cross-dressed female but a cross-dressed male, the central character Epicoene, who is presented as a “gift” from Dauphine to his uncle Morose, as the perfect silent woman. Once the two are married, she is first revealed to be talkative after all. After an extended humiliation of Morose, who even confesses to impotence (in a rehearsal of the castration trope) in order to get the marriage annulled, the recognition scene has her revealed as male (cf. Elam 1996: 19, n.53). Frequently, Jonson expands the scope of his plays well beyond the central story of trickery and marriage he found in ancient comedy. In *Bartholomew Fair*, for instance, the story of young lovers blocked not by a father but by the laws that allowed courts to determine marriage partners for wealthy orphans, is only one of many stories that come together on the marketplace. Moreover, the love story is treated cynically by Jonson, who presents the eventual marriages as a clear-cut consequence of society’s failure to recognize individual identity as anything but a matter of materiality and status. Grace Wellborn’s marriage partner is chosen for her by a madman, and the authority over her marriage is left to the trickster Quarlous by virtue of his appropriation of an empty warrant with the signature of Justice Overdo. Marriage, then, is even further undermined than in Terence and Shakespeare by becoming a product of theft, random selection, and the substitutability of names and signatures on documents.

Jonson’s use of Terence was vital to the early seventeenth-century development of the genre of city comedy, a genre that was inspired by ancient comedy’s urban, domestic narratives. Plays set in London by John Marston, Thomas Middleton, and others included the kind of expansive tendency seen in *Bartholomew Fair* and featured a satirical view of city life, to comment on the vast economic, social, and geographic shifts of the early modern period. Brian Gibbons argues in his *Jacobean City Comedy* that these works combined morality plays and ancient comedy, to produce “a dialogue in which high-minded theory confronts low-life experience of the city” (Gibbons 1980: 5). Thus, Jonson and others highlighted ancient comedy’s subversive and satirical characteristics, using them to counter the kind of abstract moralism that was a hallmark of Terentian commentary. In these seventeenth-century plays, then, we can see that the moral approach to Terence was gradually abandoned on the public stage in favor of a satirical reading, a reading that embraced what Ascham had dismissed as the “base stuffe” of Terence and Plautus as an accurate vision of London life at a time of general upheaval. From the mid-sixteenth to well into the seventeenth century, then, Terence’s work influenced early modern drama on every level and represented a tradition that could be juxtaposed, placed in conversation with, and contrasted with the traditions of medieval drama and folklore, as part of the exciting hybridization that characterizes early modern drama.

FURTHER READING

Readers who want to explore the presence of Terence in sixteenth-century comic theory will find Herrick (1964) still very useful. A more specific and up-to-date account of the cultural impact of classical education and humanism in general can be found in Bushnell (1996), while Altman (1978) has looked especially at how a rhetorical education led to plays that offered arguments on both sides of a question. Smith (1988) carefully examines productions of ancient drama in a variety of settings, including educational institutions, courts, and the public stage, to consider how audiences experienced these plays. T.W. Baldwin's work (1963) is old (originally published in 1947) but still useful when it comes to providing an overview of Terence's impact on dramatic theory, education, and early modern drama, including especially Shakespeare. In a broader approach, Salinger (1974) explores how various comic traditions merged in Shakespeare's work. Riehle (1990) argues forcefully for the importance of Plautus over Terence in early modern drama, but for a more recent and more balanced view, see especially Miola (1994), whose discussion of the influence of both ancient playwrights on Shakespeare is enlightening as well as theoretically informed. Finally, readers who want to know more about city comedy should consult the key work on the genre by Gibbons (1980).

CHAPTER TWENTY-THREE

Mulier inopia et cognatorum neglegentia coacta: Thornton Wilder's Tragic Take on The Woman of Andros

Mathias Hanses

When Thornton Wilder's third novel, *The Woman of Andros*, rolled off the printing presses in February of 1930, what must have been a quick read left a few reviewers disappointed. Literary critic Henry Hazlitt voiced his regret that Wilder had not tapped his full stylistic potential (Hazlitt 1930), and the prominent Marxist Michael Gold decried the author's disinterest in specifically American contexts and the class struggles that were intensifying during the Great Depression (Gold 1930). Consequently, the novel's initially strong popular appeal was short-lived, and it engendered a relatively small number of scholarly studies. We may note, however, that Thornton Wilder (1897–1975) ironically found himself in a position similar to the one faced almost 2,100 years earlier by Publius Terentius Afer, whose *Andria* of 166 BCE served as a model for the 1930 CE novel. Terence, after all, had to defend his own work against a *malevolus vetus poeta* (see chapter 12, this volume). This detractor berated the debuting playwright for “contaminating” the integrity of *Andria*'s two Greek archetypes by fusing them into one.

Even this seemingly trite similarity between Terence's and Wilder's reception can yield some insights. If we contrast the different sets of accusations that each author had to deflect, we can bring into sharper relief the divergent concerns of their respective audiences. A U.S.-American novelist, not only in the age of fascism and communism, can get into trouble for favoring the Old World past over the New World present; yet a Republican Roman comic

playwright accrued criticism for his *lack* of deference to his predecessor Menander, a poet of the foreign “Old World” of Athens; after all the Romans envied and coveted Greek high culture of previous centuries. The difference between the two authors has thus unveiled temporal and geographical facets of their times’ poetic discourses that might otherwise not have been the primary focus of an inquiry into the nature of Terentian *contaminatio* or Marxist polemic. Along these lines, we can also note that in defense of his disputed poetics, Terence aligns himself specifically with more recent authors who speak his own language, like Naevius, Plautus, and Ennius (*An.* 18–19). In his own day, his position would have been the more progressive. If we do not take ourselves too seriously, we could call it “more American.”

It is with methods similar to the one just applied that this chapter will delve further into the intertextual connections between Terence’s *Andria* and Thornton Wilder’s *The Woman of Andros*. An analysis of Wilder’s novelistic reworking of the play will deepen our understanding of how his aesthetic, ethical, and poetical convictions manifest themselves in his prose. At the same time, an awareness of what Wilder saw in Terence’s *Andria* can help broaden our appreciation of elements within the comedy that may be subtle, but can still be detected in its original Latin. This approach is indebted to the work of such reader-centered scholars of intertextuality as first despaired of reconstructing the original purpose of a Greek or Roman writer’s composition and then came to privilege the modern reader’s perception over ancient authorial intention (e.g., Pucci 1998 and Edmunds 2001). We will gain insights into Terence’s *Andria* not primarily through our own observations, but by focusing on Thornton Wilder’s take on the play (cf., e.g., Stephen Hinds’ 1998: 104–7 reading of Ovid’s “Aeneid” as a foregrounding of metamorphic elements already present in Virgil’s earlier epic). This, of course, only removes the danger of misconstruing authorial intention by one step; we are now running the risk not only of doing Terence’s original objectives a disservice, but also of misinterpreting Wilder’s own intertextual intentions. In this case, we can only take recourse to the assumption that “if [we] can perform a coherent reading of intertextual phenomena, [...] we] have in effect discerned what [we] were intended to discern” (Farrell 2005: 100).

The fact that Wilder did intend us to “perform a coherent reading of intertextual phenomena” becomes apparent in a brief clarification he prefixes to *The Woman of Andros*:

The first part of this novel is based upon the *Andria*, a comedy of Terence who in turn based his work upon two Greek plays, now lost to us, by Menander. (Wilder 2006a: 136)

Raimund Borgmeier was the first to read this introductory note as designed “to draw the reader’s attention to the principle of *imitatio*. In a manner akin

to contemporary theoretical discussions under the rubric of *intertextuality*, the reader is to be aware of the fact that the text of Wilder's novel must be understood against the background of Terence's text and that it can receive additional elements of meaning by reading it in this way" (Borgmeier 2001: 348). Terence's text too receives "additional elements of meaning" through this juxtaposition; we can now apply the language of "contemporary theoretical discussions under the rubric of *intertextuality*" and call Wilder's remark a self-reflexive signpost of allusion. Stephen Hinds defines this term as "a mannerism, by no means peculiar to Roman literature, whereby alluding poets exert themselves to draw attention to the fact that they are alluding, and to reflect upon the nature of their allusive activity" (Hinds 1998: 1).

Wilder wrote two millennia after the death of the last Alexandrian "intertextualist" and more than ten years before Giorgio Pasquali's "Arte Allusiva" of 1942 provoked modern research into ancient allusions (cf., e.g., Pasquali 1951: 11–20). Yet although intertextuality had not yet been thoroughly theorized by the 1930s, self-annotating allusivity is older than Callimachus and much longer lived than the Hellenistic scholar-poet. Furthermore, Wilder worked in surroundings that produced interpretations of ancient allusion similar to the one posited by Pasquali (Gian Biagio Conte points to preliminary work done at American and British universities; the earliest article dates to 1931; cf. Rand 1931; Kellett 1933; Edwards 1933; Knight 1971; Conte 1986: 25, with n.5). This "school of thought" would therefore not have been too alien to the author of *The Woman of Andros*. As we inquire into the "nature" of Wilder's allusions, we can then go on to assume that like Pasquali, he may have seen an element of competitive *aemulatio* in his engagement of ancient sources via *imitatio*. And we are indeed invited to see this "polemical" or, to use an adjective better suited to Wilder's gentle style, "corrective" (for these terms, cf. Thomas 1986: 171, 185–9) aspect of his intertextuality already in the introductory note.

The "imitative" element comes into focus if we observe that Wilder's exposition of his sources mirrors Terence's own introductory disclosure of his work's origins in two works by Menander. Part of Wilder's note essentially constitutes a paraphrase of Terence's disclaimer ("who in turn based his work upon two Greek plays ... by Menander") and it is placed in the same position as its Terentian counterpart, i.e., in a *prologus* disconnected from the main plot. Moreover, Wilder's emphasis that only "the first part of this novel" is based on Terence gives *The Woman of Andros* a twin heritage akin to the one identified for *Andria*. Yet, this last-mentioned portion of Wilder's "prologue" also points out the necessity for "ameliorative" additions by an author who did not find himself in complete agreement with his models. Had he concurred entirely, no second part would have been required.

There is thus clearly a request contained in the opening of *The Woman of Andros* to "reflect upon the nature of [Wilder's] allusive activity" and to explore

in what his improvements consist. For the remainder of this chapter, we will be heeding this call, and we will find that Wilder indeed is not solely concerned with modern America, nor with ancient Greece, for that matter. Instead, he is positing universal maxims that unite the two. It is a truism of scholarly inquiries into Wilder's works that he seeks to portray truths about the human experience that are applicable to all time periods. By appealing in his prologue to the authority of both Greek and Roman predecessors, yet hinting at modern American ingredients that have been added to the mix, he has already begun to work his own distinctive poetics into *The Woman of Andros*.

Let us delve into a more detailed analysis of the changes Wilder found necessary as he read Terence's comedy. Wilder may, incidentally, have done so by consulting the play's original Latin. Born in Madison, Wisconsin, he received part of his education in German and English expat schools as he followed his itinerant father to Hong Kong and Shanghai; the rest, as he lived with his mother in California, participating in Berkeley stagings of Greek tragedies in their original language. Oberlin College in Ohio was his first undergraduate institution before he earned a B.A. from Yale University in 1920, where his nephew Tappan Wilder later unearthed his grades in classical languages. The younger Wilder speaks guardedly of an "excellent Latin student [who with] the exception of one real and one near disaster in grammar courses ... received grades of no less than B+ in four of six Latin courses" (Wilder 2003: 249). Although his record may not have been stellar, Thornton Wilder did follow up with eight months as a paying student at the American Academy in Rome. Out of this stay grew his first novel, *The Cabala* (1926), already rife with classical allusions (cf. Putnam 2010) and soon to be followed by the Pulitzer Prize-winning *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* (1927). By the time he finished *The Woman of Andros*, he had earned an M.A. in French from Princeton in 1926 and gone on to teach that language at Lawrenceville, New Jersey. His next job would be at the University of Chicago, from 1930 to 1936, where he taught Comparative Literature and laid a heavy emphasis on Greek and Roman works, albeit in translation (biographical information pertaining to Wilder's classical education is assembled in Borgmeier 2001: 346–7; cf. also Koutsoudaki 1994: 13–19). Wilder thus found himself thoroughly grounded in classical languages and cultures as he approached Terence in the late 1920s. Particularly in light of the Catullus translations he later produced for his Caesar novel, *The Ides of March* (1948), there is no doubt that Wilder could have accessed *Andria* in Latin.

In Terence's play, Pamphilus, a young Athenian, had frequented the banquets hosted by Chrysis, a resident prostitute from the island of Andros, before she died a premature death. At one of these dinner parties, Pamphilus fell for Glycerium, a young woman then assumed to be the courtesan's sister. Glycerium is now pregnant and destitute, and Pamphilus is already engaged to the daughter of Chremes, a friend of his father's. Yet as the play proper

unfolds, Pamphilus remains committed to his girlfriend and unborn son. The ensuing confusions make up the main body of *Andria* and are typical of the genre. After many misunderstandings Pamphilus accepts his child and the lovers are reunited (see chapter 12, this volume). They are even permitted to marry. We learn that Glycerium is not only an Athenian citizen after all, but she is the sister of Pamphilus' original fiancée. He can thus marry her without breaking his promise to marry Chremes' daughter.

As Wilder engages this framework, he does not aim at a mere reproduction of the play, but endorses, rejects, or simply expands various elements he uncovered in *Andria*. Some of the conceptual changes Wilder introduced in his dialogue with Terence are more telling than others. His removal of the carnivalesque confusions that form the main part of Terence's plot, for example, may owe as much to his different choice of genre as it does to differences in worldview. The same holds true for his expansion of the plot's time frame from a day to about a year and his exclusion of various supporting roles, like the cunning slave Davos or the young lover Charinus, who happily inherits Pamphilus' original fiancée. Since some believe that Charinus was a Terentian addition to Menander's original (Shipp 1960: 20; see also chapter 12, this volume), Wilder's omission of this latter character may well constitute a return to the plot's more "universal" core. The larger picture, however, is one of a rebranding from play to novel, at the expense of features that would only have been convincing on a stage (Borgmeier 2001: 349–50 points to this necessity of "formal realism" in a novel).

Yet the scope of these modifications could lead us to believe, at first glance, that Wilder ignored everything but the few explanatory lines of *Andria* that sum up the backstory and prefigure the wedding of Pamphilus and Glycerium, in order to deliver his own, unrelated message. We should note, however, that Wilder tends to magnify elements already present in Terence's *Andria* rather than contradict them. Note, for example, his change of setting from Athens to the remote (and fictional) island of Brynos. This adds to the sense of "universality" he desired, as does his introduction of this locale. The novel's opening (Wilder 2006a: 137) sweeps across what was then the whole known world, including three continents (Asia, Europe, Africa), different geographical regions (from coasts to mountain ranges) and meteorological conditions (storms, calm, and breezes), and even a temporal range reaching from ancient Egypt to the "present" day of the Hellenistic era, before singling out the islet. Ultimately Wilder here just reaffirms the almost space- and timeless setting that made Menander's and Terence's brand of comedy so successful with expanding non-Athenian audiences, whether they were Greek or Roman (for this evaluation of New Comedy, cf., e.g., Duckworth 1952: 30; Shipp 1960: 1–2).

Furthermore, he retains the play's expository dialogue, although he does change the participants. Where Terence had Pamphilus' aging father Simo

discuss past events with his freedman Sosia, Wilder supplants the latter with Simo's coeval friend Chremes, who insists Pamphilus behave like a suitable husband for his daughter. Still, the two old men are taken straight out of Terence (*pace* Borgmeier 2001: 350). When Simo first urges Chremes to let Pamphilus "play about a little longer. Why must they become husbands and fathers so soon?" (Wilder 2006a: 159), this is true to his character in the play, where he also lets his son discover himself—within reasonable bounds—before he arranges a marriage:

nam is postquam excessit ex ephebis, Sosia, et
liberius vivendi erat potestas ...
quod plerique omnes faciunt adulescentuli,
ut animum ad aliquod studium adiungant, aut equos
alere aut canes ad venandum aut ad philosophos,
horum ille nil egregie praeter cetera
studebat et tamen omnia haec mediocriter.
gaudebam. (Ter. *An.* 51–2, 55–60)

After he'd finished his military service and had the opportunity to live with greater freedom ..., he behaved as all young lads tend to do, involving themselves in some pursuit like breeding horses or hounds or studying philosophy. However, he didn't pursue any of these things in particular but all of them in moderation. I was delighted.

When trying to keep Pamphilus from overindulging in his love affair with Glycerium, Simo even imagines his son as objecting: *prope adest quom alieno more vivendumst mihi. sine nunc meo me vivere interea modo* ("The time has almost come when I have to adapt my life to suit another's. In the meantime let me live in my own way," Ter. *An.* 152–3). Wilder's Chremes, too, resembles his Terentian counterpart, who is outraged at his future son-in-law's supposedly amoral behavior (e.g., Ter. *An.* 144–9; note, however, that Terence's Chremes objects to Pamphilus' association with Glycerium, while Wilder's dislikes Chrysis).

Even Pamphilus, arguably the most three-dimensional of the novel's male characters, is fleshed out according to cues given by the Roman playwright. Wilder repeatedly describes him as a kind of proto-Christian filled with sensitivities otherwise uncommon in this era (e.g., "This is something new in the world, this concern for the unfit and the broken," Wilder 2006a: 167). At the same time, Wilder's Chremes observes that "there's a strain in Pamphilus of the ... the undecided, the procrastinating" (Wilder 2006a: 143), and it is largely the young man's indecisiveness that—in the novel—initially keeps him from marrying Glycerium (after his father had uttered cautionary remarks about the inclusion of a courtesan's sister in a respectable household). More than a hint of these contradictory traits is already apparent

in Terence's troubled youth. Note, for example, Pamphilus' hesitation and helplessness when told that he has to go through with the original marriage arrangement:

obstupui. censen me verbum potuisse ullum proloqui? aut
 ullam causam, ineptam saltem, falsam, iniquam? obmutui.
 quod si ego rescissem id prius, quid facerem si quis nunc me roget:
 aliquid facerem ut hoc ne facerem. sed nunc quid primum exsequar?
 tot me impediunt curae, quae meum animum divorsae trahunt:
 amor, misericordia huius, nuptiarum sollicitatio,
 tum patris pudor, qui me tam leni passus est animo usque adhuc
 quae meo quomque animo lubitumst facere. (Ter. *An.* 256–63)

I was flabbergasted. Do you think I could get out a word? Or produce any argument, even a silly, untrue, unreasonable one? I was struck dumb. If anyone now asked me what I would be doing if I'd known about it before, (*lamely*) I would be doing something so as to avoid doing it. But as it is, what's my best course of action? There are so many concerns weighing me down and pulling my heart in different directions—love, pity for her, anxiety about this wedding, and on the other side respect for my father, who has up to now been so generous and allowed me to do whatever took my fancy. (Cf. also Ter. *An.* 896–8.)

As in the novel, this indecisiveness is a facet of a personality that is described as admirable, overall (*bonum ingenium narras adolescentis*, “you make him sound a very nice young man,” Ter. *An.* 466).

Wilder may have devoted more space to characterization than his ancient antecessor, but we have so far not found any irreconcilable contradictions between the play and the novel. Yet as we first encounter the Andrian prostitute, Wilder gets looser with his models. To start with, he calls Chrysis the “Woman of Andros,” whereas the reader (or the audience) of Terence might have been left with the impression that her pregnant sister is the title-heroine (so Koutsoudaki 1991: 258, n.26 and 1994: 57, but note the correction at Borgmeier 2001: 351). After all, Glycerium is called *Andria* three times in the later parts of the play (Ter. *An.* 215, 461, 756). However, the benefits of a bi-directional intertextual reading become apparent as we discover that Wilder is pointing us to an ambiguity already present in Terence's Latin. At the beginning of the play, Chrysis too is repeatedly referred to as, simply, “the Andrian woman” (Ter. *An.* 73, 84–6). As we revisit Terence after Wilder, we discover that the former may indeed have named his play after two women rather than one. (See also chapter 12, this volume.)

The “other” woman of Andros, Chrysis, becomes the central character of Wilder's version, and it is the many words of wisdom she utters at her banquets

that are most likely to impress the reader. Her sage insights permeate the entire novel, and they are echoed in the statements of a number of other characters ranging from Simo via Chrysis' friend Philocles (Wilder's invention: a formerly impressive sea-captain now reduced to helpless dementia) to a priest of Aesculapius and Apollo, and finally to Pamphilus. It is in this extension of the Terentian guidelines that Wilder's agenda is at its most apparent. A number of scholars have noted that Chrysis serves as a not-too-veiled stand-in for the author (Goldberg 1977: 16–18; Koutsoudaki 1991: 258–9 and 1994: 48–9). A parable she tells of a young man, recently deceased, who asks to spend one more day among the living only to be crushed by the beauty of everyday experiences he had previously overlooked (Wilder 2006a: 148–9), clearly prefigures the experiences of Emily Webb, who would return from the dead in *Our Town* (1938). We might add that another opinion voiced in the same context ("Pamphilus remembered that on one evening the conversation had turned upon the wrong that poets do in pretending that life is heroic," Wilder 2006a: 148) anticipates a thesis developed further by Wilder's Clodia in *The Ides of March* (Wilder 2003: 78–81) and that a more fleeting comment of Chrysis' foreshadows Wilder's as yet undeveloped *The Alcestiad* ("If only the gods were sometimes among us," Wilder 2006a: 155).

Wilder renders Chrysis as part female Jesus—the novel is rich in the aforementioned Christian imagery, including Glycerium as a prefiguration of St. Mary (Haytock 1999: 211)—and part female Socrates (Castronovo 1986: 53; Haytock 1999: 209; Borgmeier 2001: 351). He underlines the latter aspect of her personality through intertextual means by having her refer to the Platonic corpus ("She cited often the saying of Plato that the true philosophers are the young men of their age," Wilder 2006a: 148). The most noteworthy instance of this phenomenon would be her quotation from *Phaedrus* (Pl. *Phdr.* 230b–c, 279b–c):

Then followed the description of the walk that Socrates and Phaedrus took into the country. ... From there she passed to the close: ...

SOCRATES: *Would it not be well before we go to offer up a prayer to the gods of this place?*

PHAEDRUS: *It would, Socrates.*

SOCRATES: *Beloved Pan, and all ye other gods who haunt this place, grant that I may become beautiful in the inner man and may whatever I possess without be in harmony with that which is within. May I esteem the wise men alone to be rich. And may my store of gold be such as none but the good may bear. Phaedrus, need we say anything more? As for myself I have prayed enough.*

PHAEDRUS: *And let the same prayer serve for me, for these are the things friends share with one another.* (Wilder 2006a: 159–60)

Firstly, this extended citation underscores Chrysis' learning and thereby serves as a means of authenticating the opinions held both by Wilder (the author in search of universal truths who implies that Plato's dialogue is one basis of his insights into life and, notably, love) and by his literary *altera ego*. In addition, it contains in Socrates' address to Pan an endorsement of (un)conventional sagacity that hints at the nature of the beliefs Wilder's Chrysis seeks to communicate. One of these is expressed by the very fact that a female philosopher is here citing from the Socratic teachings. Among the changes Wilder, a lifelong supporter of women and their fight for suffrage and equality, deemed necessary in Terence's *Andria* is the addition of a strong female presence to a play that had allotted only one offstage line to Glycerium as she gave birth behind the backdrop (Ter. *An.* 473) and never allowed Chrysis to be heard on the stage, at least not in her own voice. As he remedies this shortcoming, Wilder not only fleshes out the personalities of Chrysis and timid, fragile Glycerium, but even focuses for a while on Pamphilus' original fiancée, his mother, and his sister. Furthermore, public opinion about Chrysis' banquets comes to be expressed by the island housewives' gossip rather than by Simo's raised eyebrow.

In the very passage that is heaviest in assertions of female aptitude, intellectual and otherwise, Wilder directly points us to his role as a literary advocate of women's rights. A brief exchange sets the tone for Chrysis' next parable:

Niceratus, one of the more assured of her guests, asked her what life would be like in two thousand years.

"Why," she said at once, "there will be no more war."

"I should not wish to be alive in a world where there was no war," he replied.

"That would be an age of women."

Now Chrysis was jealous of the dignity of women and lost no occasions to combat such hasty disparagements. She leaned forward and asked encouragingly:

"You wish to serve the state, Niceratus?"

"I do."

"And you admire courage?"

"I do, Chrysis."

"Then go bear children," she replied, turning away. (Wilder 2006a: 155–6)

In an homage to Socrates' maieutic technique, Chrysis is here asking suggestive questions that subvert her guest's misogynist assumptions. With the scene thus prepared for a more figurative and metapoetical tale about "combatting hasty disparagements of the dignity of women," Chrysis goes on to reflect on her own calling in the following allegory:

Once upon a time the great army of women came together to a meeting. And they invited to this meeting one man, a tragic poet. They told him that they wished to send a message to the world of men and that he was to be their

advocate and mouthpiece. “Tell them,” said the women eagerly, “that it is only in appearance that we are unstable. Tell them that this is because we are hard-pressed and in bitter servitude to nature, but that at heart ... we are as steadfast, as brave and as manly as they.” The poet smiled sadly, saying that the men who knew this already would merely be ashamed to be told it again, and the men who did not know it would learn nothing through the mere telling; but he consented to deliver the message. The men at first were silent, then one by one they broke out into laughter. ... “We should never have spoken to them,” they [= the women] said. They went back to their mirrors and started combing their hair and as they combed their hair they wept. (Wilder 2006a: 156–7)

Of course we do not have to emphasize the “tragic poet’s” male gender to arrive at the conclusion first posited by Jennifer Haytock (1999: 210–11) that Wilder is here reflecting on his own role, in writing *The Woman of Andros*, as a defender of women’s dignity (for Wilder’s treatment of *Andria*’s female element, cf. also Goldberg 1977: 12–13; Borgmeier 2001: 251). As a matter of fact, we can regard Wilder as more progressive than Michael Gold’s accusations would have led us to believe. As Haytock put it, “Gold clearly failed to recognize the class conflict in the novel, perhaps because the conflict centered on the roles of women” (Haytock 1999: 212, cf. also 207–8). We can also follow her in adding that the stronger emphasis Wilder puts on his female characters’ foreignness—his Glycerium is never found to be Athenian (or “Greek,” as Wilder puts it, most notably at Wilder 2006a: 174) but remains an outsider till the end—reflects on the concerns faced by the millions of non-WASP immigrants who had flooded into the United States around the turn of the twentieth century (Haytock 1999: 213–14; cf. also Koutsoudaki 1991: 255).

Moving our focus back to antiquity, we can note that Wilder’s vision ultimately does not do violence to Terence’s play. Rather, his development of Glycerium as young, naïve, and vulnerable does not technically leave the constraints of *Andria*, in which she—in agreement with generic conventions for an unmarried free woman—remains exclusively indoors. We often hear of her helpless worries about Pamphilus’ loyalty (“The poor girl’s in pain from her labour, and she’s anxious because your marriage was originally fixed for today. On top of that, she’s worried that you are going to abandon her,” Ter. *An.* 268–70; cf. also 683–98), and the problem of her foreignness, while less developed than in Wilder, is also explicitly addressed (“Is he quite out of his mind? A foreign woman’s child?” Ter. *An.* 469–70). Nor is what Wilder’s Chrysis calls “the development she [= Chrysis] brought to the institution of the hetaira’s banquet” (Wilder 2006a: 151) in complete contradiction to the ancient literary type of the Athenian courtesan. There was indeed a group of self-supporting prostitutes, often foreigners, whose popularity among sympotic audiences depended on their ability to provide both sensual and intellectual pleasures.

However grim their lives would have been in reality, authors like Athenaeus turned them into coveted dinner companions whose entertainment skills ranged from obscene puns to clever parodies of the Greek literary classics (Kurke 1997; Davidson 1998: 73–136; McClure 2003; see also chapter 9, this volume). Laura McClure has pointed out that Athenaeus' decision to have *hetairai* make fun of the teachings of Socrates or demonstrate a knowledge of the tragedies of Euripides that was superior to that of male symposiasts already constituted an act of empowerment (McClure 2003: 79–83). It may be that Wilder is guilty of stark embellishments, as James Davidson observed for many of his contemporaries: "In the early years of [the twentieth] century, when such subjects as Women and Sex were first considered worthy of attention, the hetaera exercised a strong fascination on male historians. She was represented as a sophisticated lady, a cultured woman of the world, witty, philosophical and flirtatious ... That the hetaeras who associated with the leading men of the period ... also sold their bodies for sex, was an uncomfortable fact, readily pushed into the background" (Davidson 1998: 74–5). Yet we should at least concede that Wilder picked up on certain empowering tendencies inherent in the ancient literary stereotype and developed them into a character who is no longer a victim but very much in intellectual and emotional control of the people around her.

However, the full extent to which the attention Wilder pays to women's plight is based on his reading of Terence's *Andria* only comes into focus if we notice a second central theme of *The Woman of Andros*. Besides working out the play's female characters in greater depth, Wilder also adds a strong sense of impending (and actual) tragedy. He marks this intertextually by having Chrysis repeatedly refer to Euripides. She speaks of *Ion*, of *Alcestis* and *Medea*, and—in another assertion of female presence—turns Euripides' *Hippolytus* into a *Phaedra* (Wilder 2006a: 156; also 141, 148, 167–8, 176, 178, with Koutsoudaki 1991: 256–7). Moreover, we should not forget that Chrysis had spoken of a tragic, not a comic, poet in the parable that had implicitly cast Wilder as the women's ambassador to the world of men.

At first, the tragic elements Wilder introduces in *The Woman of Andros* seem irreconcilable with its comic ancestry, even to the eponymous *hetaira*. Chrysis reflects in an overtly metapoetic passage:

She had intended to recite to them *The Clouds* of Aristophanes that evening, but she now changed her mind. She felt the need to nourish her heart and those watchful eyes with something lofty and deeply felt ... "What shall I read?" she asked herself as the tables were being removed. "Something from Homer? ... No ... Nor would they understand the *Oedipus at Colonus*. The *Alcestis*? The *Alcestis*?" (Wilder 2006a: 158)

In the end, Chrysis and her listeners reject even this—actually quite appropriate—comic-tragic hybrid (a Euripidean tragedy originally staged in

lieu of a satyr play) and decide on Plato's *Phaedrus*. Yet although she at this point quite explicitly rejects comedy for the sake of loftier themes, Chrysis returns to Aristophanes at the end of the night. Overwhelmed with sudden feelings of unrequited love for Pamphilus, she grows despondent:

It was true, true beyond a doubt, tragically true, that the world of love and virtue and wisdom was the true world and her failure in it all the more overwhelming. ... After a few moments she collected herself and quieted the guests who had risen in concern about her. "Sit down, my friends. I am ready now," she said smiling. "I shall read you *The Clouds* of Aristophanes."

But it was some time before the laughter rose among the couches, the laughter that was a just tribute to the divine wit of the poet of *The Clouds*. (Wilder 2006a: 160)

In spite of the guests' delay in appreciating witticisms in sad contexts, we should notice that Wilder here claims a "divine" status for the comic genre. There is a tension, then, in *The Woman of Andros*, between two equally valid approaches toward representing the human experience, comedy and tragedy. The barrier between the two is broken down twice, as the novel's tragic overtones come to a climax. Chrysis, stricken with a disease that will claim her life, first sums up her philosophy as follows: "Remember some day, remember me as one who loved all things and accepted from the gods all things, the bright and the dark. And do you likewise" (Wilder 2006a: 180). Later on, as Pamphilus has to cope with a second tragedy, he reiterates her demand to integrate life's tragic side with its more upbeat, "comic" elements. He asserts: "I praise all living, the bright and the dark" (Wilder 2006a: 203, cf. also 198). The melting together of comic foundations and tragic additions into a comprehensive representation of human life, then, constitutes a main impetus of Thornton Wilder's novelistic endeavor.

As we now revisit Terence, we notice, once more, that it is only at first sight that Wilder seems to have contradicted his Roman forerunner. There are, in fact, several instances in which the possibility, and the reality, of tragedy shine through the lines of *Andria* (on the use of tragic models, see chapter 3, this volume). It is particularly if we realize that most of these *loci* specifically emphasize the threats women face to their moral and physical security that we have to revise our initial impression of an absence of "female" and "tragic" elements in this particular Latin comedy. Most importantly, when Terence's Simo sets the scene by retelling the life of Chrysis—by then already deceased—he does so with much hostility toward the *hetaira*. His explanation of how she entered her profession, however, hints at a deeper understanding of women's plight (cf. chapter 10, this volume), if not on Simo's part, then at least on Terence's:

interea mulier quaedam abhinc triennium
 ex Andro commigravit huc vicinae,
 inopia et cognatorum neglegentia
 coacta, egregia forma atque aetate integra ...
 primo haec pudice vitam parce ac duriter
 agebat, lana et tela victum quaeritans.
 sed postquam amans accessit pretium pollicens
 unus et item alter, ita ut ingeniumst omnium
 hominum ab labore proclive ad lubidinem,
 accepit condicionem, dehinc quaestum occipit.
 (Ter. *An.* 69–72, 74–9)

Meanwhile, about three years ago, a woman moved into the neighbourhood from Andros, driven here by poverty and the indifference of her family, a most beautiful woman in her prime ... At first, she lived a virtuous life, sparing and thrifty, earning her living by spinning wool. But when a lover approached her offering money, first one and then another, human nature being always inclined to prefer pleasure to toil, she accepted the offers and took up the profession.

Terence's Chrysis wants to improve her troubling lot. We learn that this "flaw" is not just hers, but common to every single human being (*ut ingeniumst omnium hominum*). These lines' conciliatory tone had its effect already on Aelius Donatus, who seconds our interpretation: *defendit ... vitam Chrysidis* ("[Terence] is defending Chrysis' life choice," Donat. ad *An.* 74; cf. also comment. ad *An.* 71 for Donatus' larger point that a positive depiction of Chrysis will rub off on Glycerium). There are certainly far more disparaging statements in the play about women of the Andrian's profession (e.g., Ter. *An.* 755–6), and these too are mirrored in comments of a more critical nature in Wilder's rendition (e.g., Wilder 2006a: 157, 180). The overall impression of Chrysis' lot as profoundly tragic, however, is confirmed in Pamphilus' recollection of her deathbed speech:

"mi Pamphile, huius formam atque aetatem vides,
 nec clam te est quam illi nunc utraeque inutiles
 et ad pudicitiam et ad rem tutandam sient.
 quod ego per hanc te dexteram et genium tuom,
 per tuam fidem perque huius solitudinem
 te obtestor ne abs te hanc segreges neu deseras.
 si te in germani fratris dilexi loco
 sive haec te solum semper fecit maxumi
 seu tibi morigera fuit in rebus omnibus,
 te isti virum do, amicum, tutorem, patrem;
 bona nostra haec tibi permitto et tuae mando fide."
 hanc mi in manum dat. mors continuo ipsam occupat.
 (Ter. *An.* 286–97)

"My dear Pamphilus," she said "you see her [=Glycerium's] youth and beauty, and you are well aware that both of these are now useless to protect her honour or her property. By this right hand of yours and by your own better self, by your good faith and her lonely state, I beseech you not to turn your back on her or abandon her. If I have cherished you like my own brother, if she has always honoured you above all others, if she has obeyed you in everything, I give you to her to be her husband, friend, protector, father. I entrust these possessions of ours to you; I commit them to your good faith." She put Glycerium into my hands, and at that moment death overcame her. I accepted the charge.

This scene is recreated (though slightly modified to allow for Chrysis' philosophical advice) in *The Woman of Andros* (at Wilder 2006a: 177–80), and it provides a basis for Wilder to have his Chrysis fall in love with Pamphilus (*te in germani fratris dilexi loco*). Unlike Simo's skeptical tale of the *mulier inopia et cognatorum neglegentia coacta*, it seems impossible to read this monologue as anything but a serious expression of grief on Pamphilus' part. After all, it is here that Terence clarifies the real depth of Pamphilus' commitment to Glycerium, which motivates the entire play. Whatever suspense we feel as the happy ending is delayed is ultimately created by these lines. Toward the end of *Andria*, Crito (another character eliminated by Wilder) expresses his grief at Chrysis' death as well (Ter. *An.* 803–5), and there is no reason to mistrust the sincerity of his feelings either (see chapter 12, this volume).

These are just the most obvious expressions of the comedy's tragic side. In addition to sharing an awareness of Chrysis' sorrowful lot, the comic characters also testify to the play's darker sub-currents by expressing honest and earnest concern for Glycerium (e.g., Ter. *An.* 683–98). As a result, we come to perceive the threat to her well-being as both real and immediate. Not only does Pamphilus repeatedly assert that he will protect the girl from dangers (cf. Ter. *An.* 272–6), but Glycerium's maid, in a particularly sinister line, worries that their child might die (Ter. *An.* 486–8). And even as Wilder expands Chrysis' threatened family to include a number of social misfits ("She adopted stray human beings that needed her," Wilder 2006a: 152) who are also put at risk by her death, he does not leave the boundaries of a play that emphasizes the hardships befalling not just the *hetaira's* sister, but her entire household (cf. e.g., Ter. *An.* 803–5). Wilder did rework *Andria* quite significantly, as he pointed out in his prefatory note, and what he found in Terence may not have been the main impression the play would have had on its ancient audience. Yet the fact remains that Wilder foregrounded rather than invented a tragic and a female presence that we might otherwise have missed among the blinding plot-twists of Terence's original.

Finally, there is one event in which Wilder's more tragic vision does stray from the path laid out by *Andria*. At the end of the novel, Pamphilus makes up his mind to marry Glycerium and against all expectations the girl is

welcomed into his parents' household. Simo even rescues the helpless mother-to-be and her maid from a slave-trader. It is at this very moment, when the plot of the novel moves beyond the "back-story" of the play to line up with its "actual" plot, that Wilder swiftly defies the readers' anticipation of a happy ending à la Terence: "on the noon of the third day Glycerium's pains began and by sunset both mother and child were dead" (Wilder 2006a: 202).

Even this twist gains from an intertextual juxtaposition with Terence's *Andria*. On the pages preceding this second tragic turn, Wilder is more faithful to his Latin model than ever before. Sander Goldberg has called his rendition of Chrysis' funeral "perhaps the only episode Wilder really lifted directly from the *Andria*" (Goldberg 1977: 13), and the resemblances are indeed remarkable. Terence has Simo narrate the event—which made him realize his son's involvement with Chrysis' sister—at *An.* 117–36:

The body was carried out, and we went along. Meanwhile among the women who were present I caught sight of one young lass ... whose expression ... was unsurpassably modest and lovely. Her grief seemed to me deeper than the others and her appearance more dignified and ladylike than the others. So I went up to the attendants and asked who she was. They said she was Chrysis' sister. The truth struck me at once. Oh no! This is it; this is the explanation of his tears and distress ... Meanwhile the funeral procession continued. We followed and came to the burial ground. The woman was laid on the pyre, and the lamentations began. Meanwhile this sister I was talking about approached the flames with little regard for her own safety and was in real danger. At this point Pamphilus revealed by his alarm the love he'd disguised and hidden so well. He ran forward, grasped the woman round the waist, and said "My dear Glycerium, what are you doing? Why are you risking your life?" She fell into his arms and wept. It was such an intimate scene—you could readily see that they were lovers.

Here follows Wilder's "modernization":

As the onlookers accompanied the procession into the open country, Simo's attention was fixed upon Glycerium ... And he became aware that his son also was watching the girl ... Suddenly Glycerium pushed the older woman away from her and with a loud cry of "Chrysis!" stumbled forward to fling herself upon the body of her sister.

But Pamphilus had foreseen this attempt. Running across the sand, he seized her by her disheveled hair and drew her back and into his arms. The touch of that encircling arm released her tears. She laid her head against his breast as one who had been there before and was returning home.

The scandal of this embrace was felt at once by all the bystanders ... Now he [= Simo] understood the Pamphilus of the last months. (Wilder 2006a: 181–2)

First and foremost, the correspondences between these two funeral scenes show the presence of tragic passages already in Terence's original. Wilder had to meet new generic requirements but did not have to make major adjustments to the events themselves or the tone used to describe them. However, we should also note that Wilder has strategically placed his all-but translation of Terence's funeral scene. By strongly emphasizing his novel's "comic" roots right before his most blatant departure from the Terentian original, he has made the shock of Glycerium's death that much more unexpected. The emotional effect is heightened, as a result, and Wilder uses the end of his novel to get us, once more, to contemplate the nature of his intertextual enterprise. A female presence is foregrounded, tragic elements are reinforced, and the two variant genres merge in yet another appeal to embrace both the good and the bad that life has to offer (Wilder 2006a: 203, quoted above). As for the island of Brynos and the larger world of Wilder's Mediterranean, they receive the cathartic cleansing that to him seems to have been the intended result of a (Greek) tragedy. The final paragraph of *The Woman of Andros* makes this figurative purging literal as a rain shower douses the same landscape we saw in the novel's opening and leaves us in anticipation of a brighter future (symbolized by the end of a drought, radiant moonlight after the sunset of the novel's opening, and smoking mountains) and the advent of Christianity (the stars rise above the Levant, Wilder 2006a: 203).

In closing, we should mention an allusion to ancient literature in *Our Town*, which was published eight years after *The Woman of Andros* and earned its author his second of three Pulitzer Prizes. The play has a passage reflecting on the nature of such artifacts as Terence's *Andria*:

Y'know—Babylon once had two million people in it, and all we know about 'em is the names of the kings and some copies of wheat contracts ... and contracts for the sale of slaves. Yet every night all those families sat down to supper, and the father came home from his work, and the smoke went up the chimney,—same as here. And even in Greece and Rome, all we know about the *real* life of the people is what we can piece together out of the joking poems and the comedies they wrote for the theatre back then. (Wilder 2006b: 35)

This quote supports our thesis that in spite of the challenges posed by the endeavor, Wilder considered it possible to arrive at universal truths by chiseling away the surplus material he found in ancient comedy. Once reduced to what Wilder considered its core, a play like *Andria* required very few outright changes (but rather the shifting of emphases we have examined here) to produce an authentic and comprehensive image of everyday life, be it Greek, Roman, or American.

As he revisited antiquity throughout the rest of his career, Wilder produced several works that deliver a similar kind of foregrounding of subdued elements

already present in ancient literature. To touch only on the most prominent examples, *The Ides of March*, Wilder's post-World War II novel about Caesar's dictatorship (and its modern successors), provides a hypothetical background narrative—and “real life” feel—for Catullus' poems. Moreover, Wilder appends Suetonius' account of Caesar's death to his own idealization of the dictator and thereby brings out tragic tones that might otherwise have gone unnoticed in the ancient biography (a metatextual marker of this process is the reappearance of Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*, which Wilder's Caesar reads to the dying Catullus, cf. Wilder 2003: 183). Last, but not least, *The Alcestiad* of 1955–7 consists of a full tragic trilogy plus satyr play that was originally planned as a framing of Euripides' original *Alcestis* (or, rather, a commissioned translation) in two new pieces by Wilder. Like *The Woman of Andros* and *The Ides of March*, it grants an independent presence to a female character whose voice was more restrained in the ancient sources and portrays her, not unlike Wilder's Chrysis, as a womanly sage (for more of Wilder's later works and their treatment of antiquity, cf. also Koutsoudaki 1994: 65–105; Borgmeier 2001: 352–62). As he did in *The Woman of Andros*, Thornton Wilder used these novels and plays both to propagate a contemporary agenda and to bring into focus those features of ancient literature that he found to be most remarkable, and that are perhaps most easily overlooked.

FURTHER READING

Thornton Wilder's creative appropriation of Greek and Roman literature has fascinated both classicists and Americanists, yet so far, only one brief monograph (Koutsoudaki 1994) has sought to appraise the entire breadth of his “ancient” oeuvre. Borgmeier's (2001) article is even shorter, but its firmer footing in intertextual methodology makes it a more useful introduction. While these scholars of American literature were painting the “bigger picture,” contributions by notable Latinists came to bookend our bibliography on classical allusions in Wilder's individual works (from Goldberg 1977 to Putnam 2010). Tappan Wilder, the author's literary executor, continues to support further studies, and classicist Judith Peller Hallett is currently serving on the Board of Directors of The Thornton Wilder Society. She has encouraged much research into the author's engagement with antiquity, and more publications are therefore sure to follow.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

While composing this chapter, I benefited greatly from the advice and support of Antony Augoustakis, Judith Peller Hallett, David Konstan, Ariana Traill, as well as my co-panelists and our very receptive audience at the 2010 CAAS Annual Meeting in Elizabeth, New Jersey.

CHAPTER TWENTY-FOUR

Terence in Translation

John Barsby

The study of English translations of Terence down the ages is fascinating in two respects. On the historical side, it is part of the study of the reception of Terence and reveals much about the educational and literary milieux of the various eras. On the theoretical side, it inevitably raises the question of what the most appropriate medium is for translating Roman verse comedy into English, to which different ages have produced different responses. Most of the earlier translations are literal rather than literary: what gives them added interest is their often lengthy introductions in which the translators set out their aims and explain their methods.

It may be as well to begin by defining the limits of this chapter in three respects. It is concerned solely with translations into English, not those into other languages. It is not concerned with adaptations, though there will be reference in passing to some of the well-known adaptations for the stage. And it is, perforce, not concerned with one-off translations for stage performances, typically in schools or universities, which have not survived in print. (For Terence in performance, see chapter 25, this volume.)¹

1 Terence for Schoolboys: Udall and Webbe

If we were to ask today for what purposes anyone might undertake the translation of Terence, we might come up with several answers: (i) for production on the stage by a group of actors; (ii) for general reading by a literary public; and

A Companion to Terence, First Edition. Edited by Antony Augoustakis and Ariana Traill.
© 2013 Blackwell Publishing Ltd. Published 2013 by Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

(iii) for academic study, either as an aid for students reading the Latin text or, these days, for Latinless students studying the plays in translation. The very first translations of Terence were made for none of these purposes, but rather to help school pupils to grasp the principles of Latin grammar and style so that they could speak the language with accuracy and fluency. Terence was an obvious choice for this purpose because of the perceived simplicity and purity of his language.

In 1534 Nicholas Udall (1504–1556), headmaster of Eton College and later of Westminster School, produced a book called *Floures for Latine Spekyngge*, which was in fact a phrase-by-phrase translation of selections from three plays of Terence's (*Andria*, *Eunuchus*, and *Heauton Timorumenos*). Udall's *Flouers* was soon acknowledged as a masterpiece and went through several reissues down to 1581, the last two containing Terence's other three plays added by a later hand after Udall's death (fig. 24.1).² The method of Udall's book is set out in its title: "Floures for Latine Spekyngge, selected and gathered oute of Terence, and the same translated in to Englysshe, together with the exposition and settinge forthe as welle of suche latyne wordes, as were thought nedefull to be annoted, as also of dyuers grammatical rules, very profytable & necessarye for the expedite knowlege in the latine tounge." (There are multiple variations in the English spelling in different editions.) This is then amplified in a long Dedicatory Epistle in Latin, in which he urges his pupils to make good use of his labors, explaining that he has provided them with formulae for speaking Latin, well suited "for use and fluency in everyday conversation" (*ad cotidiani sermonis et usum et copiam*), which he has selected from Terence as being "incontrovertibly easily the best Latin author for the purpose" (*citra controversiam facile princeps*).

Given these aims, it might be expected that the translations would serve merely to aid the understanding of the Latin as a prerequisite for learning to speak the language. But there is more to it than this. Udall goes on to explain the rationale of the translations as follows (here translated from the Latin):

Moreover I have myself interpreted the Latin in English, so that you too might learn to render Latin into the vernacular and contrariwise the vernacular into Latin with some degree of method and pleasure and with apposite and suitable words, unlike the quite inappropriate and absurd words that many use. And I would not like you to think that it is not worthwhile for a person to be skilled in translating Latin into the mother tongue.

He then cites Cicero and Terence himself as examples of those who not only thought it worthwhile to translate from another language into their own but also won praise for doing so. The interesting point here is that, though the ostensible aim is to develop fluency in speaking Latin, Udall claims a validity

FLOVRES
FOR LATINE SPE-
KYNGE SELECTED AND
gathered oute of Terence, and the
same translated in to Englysshe, to-
gether with the exposition and set-
tyng forthe as welle of suche la-
tyne wordes, as were thought
nedefull to be annoted, as
also of dyuers gram-
matical rules, very
profytable &
necessarye
for the
expe-
dite knowlege in the latine
tongue: Lompiled by
Nicolas Udall.



Figure 24.1 N. Udall, *Terence: Floures for Latine Spekyng*. London 1533/4 (From the Huntington Library collection, RB 29662. Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.)

for translation in its own right, in particular for what he describes as “translating good Latin into good English” (*ex bonis latinis reddere bona vernacula*). This concept helps to explain why Udall provides not merely a literal translation of Terence’s phrases but alternative English versions, which apart from suggesting the range of meanings of the Latin also encourage students to be discriminating in their choice of English.

It may be noted in passing that Udall shows no interest in the plays as drama. This is in spite of the fact that he was himself a dramatist, being the author of the first known English comedy *Ralph Roister Doister*, performed in about 1552, nearly twenty years after the first publication of his *Flowers*. *Ralph Roister Doister* is set in England and the characters have English names, but the plot is derived from Plautus’ *Miles Gloriosus* with some additions from Terence’s *Eunuchus* (see Drabble 1985: 808–9, 1013; Duckworth 1952: 408–9; and chapter 22, this volume).

This limited pedagogic approach to Terence continued into the seventeenth century. Of later examples, the most notable, and the most curious, are the bilingual editions of *Andria* and *Eunuchus* produced in 1629 by the linguist Joseph Webbe (died ca. 1630), which he described as “clausd for such as

would write or speak the pure Language of this Author.” The *Andria* has an impassioned preface in which, after setting out the merits of Terence as an example of “the puritie of the Romane Tongue,” Webbe makes almost Messianic claims for his particular method, which involves setting out the English and Latin in phrases in parallel columns, based on a complicated system of horizontal and vertical lines and divided up with cola and dicola and other symbols, the theory being that the young scholar, having obtained by repeating this analysis an inbuilt sense of structure and word order, could use this as a template for producing sentences of his own. It may be noted that Webbe lists writing Latin as the object of the exercise as well as Udall’s speaking; both also offer help in reading the Latin (in rather different ways), but neither specifies this as a target skill. Webbe, who was also qualified as a physician, made a living by teaching languages at his own home and wrote several well-regarded treatises on methods of language learning and the translation process.

2 The First Complete Translation: Bernard

Meanwhile, the Elizabethan period had seen a wave of translations of classical authors, as part of what can be seen as a nationalist movement to extend and enhance the prestige of English literature,³ and by the end of the sixteenth century most of the main works of Latin literature had been translated into English. The first complete translation of Terence appeared in the last decade of the century in the edition of the Lincolnshire clergyman Richard Bernard (ca. 1568–1642), published in 1598 and frequently reissued down to 1641.

Bernard’s is not, however, a literary translation in the manner of the great Elizabethan translations of Virgil and Ovid by Douglas, Turbervile, and Golding, all of which were in verse; it is rather a literal prose translation, pleasant enough but of no great literary distinction. The title page proclaims “The plays of that most witty and elegant comic poet Terence all turned into English and edited now for the first time in this new format” (*Fabulae comici facetissimi et elegantissimi poetae Terentii omnes anglicae factae primumque hac nova forma nunc editae*). The words “new format” are significant. The translation, which is printed after the Latin text scene by scene, is part of a wider package, which also includes a plot summary for each scene, marginal interpretative Latin notes on the Latin text, and for each scene a number of maxims (*sententiae*) or moral topics (*theses* or *moralis expositio*), also in Latin, for discussion; the implication of these is that Bernard saw Terence as a source of wisdom about the human condition as well as a model of language (see also chapter 22, this volume). The *Andria* (alone) is further equipped with *formulae loquendi* after each scene, which are alternative English translations of key phrases, much in the manner of Udall.

Bernard dedicates his volume to the “worshipful young gentleman and of vertuous education” Christopher Wray and his brothers and to the Ladies of the family, whom he thanks for their patronage; the Wrays were a powerful Lincolnshire parliamentary family, and Christopher Wray was subsequently knighted. In the dedication Bernard underlines the ethical purpose of the volume but also reveals that he had some sense of the plays as plays, which could be read for pleasure as well as profit:

I offer you here, that which *Fortune* has vouchsafed to favour me withall, a Latin Author taught to speake English; a comicall Poet, pithie, pleasant, and very profitable: as merrie as *Eufrapelles*, as grave as *Cato*, as ethicall as *Plato*: he can play craftily the cousener, and cunningly the clowne: he will tell you the nature of the fraudulent flatterer, the grimme and greedie old Sire, the roylfing ruffian, the minsing minion, and beastly bawd; that in telling the truth by these figments, men might become wise to avoid such vices: & learne to practise vertue: which was *Terence* purpose in setting of these comedies forth in latin, mine in translating them into english: & this end I desire you to propound to your selves in reading them, so shall you use them, & not as most do such autors, abuse them. Accept of him (Gentlemen), read him as you may with pleasure and no small profit: and then shall I thinke my labour not lost, and also recompenced to the full.

The reference to “a Latin Author taught to speake English” is significant in that it raises the translation above the level of a mere “crib.” In the Address to the Reader (*Ad Lectorem*) in Latin which follows the dedication, Bernard makes it clear that his intended readership is not only schoolboys (*puelli*) but also “those who, though of maturer age (*aetate quamvis proveciores*), are still unversed in Latin eloquence” (*rudes adhuc Latini eloquii*). We have clearly moved from the narrow confines of the school classroom to appeal to a more adult audience. Though the volume as a whole is centered around the Latin text, we may perhaps hazard a guess that some at least of its readers would have chosen to derive their “pleasure and profit” from the English version, especially as there was no competing literary translation of Terence available at the time.

The Address to the Reader offers a further indication of the importance of the translation. Like Udall, Bernard feels bound to defend himself against those who decry the practice and, like Udall, he points to Terence himself as an example. But he also makes the point that translations enhance the prestige of a nation’s literature, referring to “the example of the French, Teutons, Germans, Italians and Scots and some of their own compatriots, who had by their translations brought glory not only to themselves but to their own tongues.”

Bernard went on to hold livings in Nottinghamshire and Somerset and followed a prominent and controversial career in the Anglican Church, publishing a large number of books and pamphlets on theological and

ecclesiastical matters and promulgating various nonconformist viewpoints for which he was eventually censured by the Bishop of Bath and Wells. His portrait hangs in the National Gallery in London.

3 Back to the Schoolroom: Hoole

The next major translation of Terence appeared some sixty-five years later at the beginning of the Restoration period, in the form of the edition of the teacher and educationalist Charles Hoole (1610–1667), published in 1663, with six reissues to 1729. This marked a return to the schoolroom: Hoole makes no claim to appeal to more mature readers. On the title page he defines his intended readership as “school students” (*ludi discipuli*), and his aim as “that they may the more readily attain the purity of the Latin Tongue for everyday conversation.” Here we are on familiar pedagogic ground, and the reference to everyday conversation (*sermonem quotidianum*) may again be noted. In format Hoole’s edition resembles Bernard’s, except that in his the English version (another plain prose translation) and the Latin text are presented on facing pages, which is a more convenient arrangement than Bernard’s for those who are using the English as a guide to the Latin.

In his brief “Advertisement to the Reader,” Hoole assumes without discussion the suitability of Terence’s Latin and the benefit of translation for his stated purpose. He does, however, feel the need to justify the publishing of a new Terence translation, inviting the reader to see “wherein I differ from Mr Bernard”; the main advantage that he claims for himself is that he has used the Bembine manuscript of Terence of 1491, which he says has cleared up many uncertainties in the Latin text.

There is also an interesting point on the ethical side. Previous translators had taken for granted the ethical benefits of reading Terence. Hoole, however, shows some awareness that not all of Terence can be regarded as morally edifying to the young. At the conclusion of his Preface he makes this point in no uncertain terms: “Accounting it a Blessing from God if by this or any other my labour I may forward Learning, which hath ever proved a most necessary Mean to the settlement and propagation of Religion and Vertue; *especially where Children are instituted in such Principles as may correct the vitiosities of this and the like Heathenish Authors*” (italics added).

Hoole is described in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* as “one of the most noted of seventeenth-century teachers and educational writers.” He was ordained and held various livings in the Anglican Church, becoming chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln. But he also taught at the free grammar school at Rotherham and in private schools in London, and published numerous educational works, including an important major analysis of the English educational system.

4 Terence and Restoration Comedy: Echard

By far the most notable Terence translation of the Restoration period is that of Laurence Echard (ca. 1672–1730), done in 1694 while he was a student at Cambridge with a little help from his friends and kept in circulation for nearly a century, being revised over the years by various hands and reissued eleven times down to 1791 (see also Graves 1962).⁴ This translation represents something of a milestone in that it was the first literary translation of Terence designed to be read as such. It has no Latin text or other encumbrance, and it recognizes that Terence's plays were actually stage drama by providing full stage directions; the few explanatory notes are relegated to an appendix so as not to distract from the reading.

In a lengthy Preface, like his predecessors, Echard feels it necessary to offer a justification for publishing a translation. In fact he offers two: the excellence and usefulness of the author (Terence), and the honor of the English language, "into which all good Books ought to be translated." In this latter point he is following Bernard's lead: Echard (who knew and used Mme. Dacier's 1668 French translation of Terence) specifically argues that the French have shown the way in this and that the English language should not be outdone by its neighbors.

As for the intended readership, Echard claims that his translation will serve "School Boys and Learners" better than those of Bernard and Hoole, which he dismisses as "very often false, mostly so obsolete, flat and unpleasant, that a Man can scarcely read half a Page without sleeping; the latter is full of Latinisms and both are often more obscure than the Original." Whereas his own version, he claims, will have "the great Advantage of teaching 'em, perhaps not the worst English; and something of the Idiom of our Tongue" (echoes here of Udall). It will also serve "Men of Sense and Learning" (that is, the educated general public),⁵ who may otherwise read Terence "wholly for the Latin sake"; these "must needs receive some pleasure in seeing such excellent fine Latin now speak tolerable good English: and likewise in seeing somewhat of the Conversation, Humour and Customs of the old Greeks and Romans put into a modern dress." In the reference to the pleasure to be derived by the educated reader from an English version Echard is following in the footsteps of Bernard; the pleasure of seeing Greek and Roman social customs served up in a modern setting is a new idea.

Even more interestingly, Echard clearly wants his translation to be read by contemporary dramatists and their audiences. The re-establishment of the monarchy under Charles II in 1660 and the consequent reopening of the theaters (closed by the Puritans in 1642) had given rise to a flourishing Restoration drama, in which adaptations of Terence to the modern age had been successfully staged, notably Sedley's *Bellamira*, based on Terence's

Eunuchus (1687) and Shadwell's *The Squire of Alsatia*, based on *Adelphoe* (1688), in both of which the setting is transferred to London (see Duckworth 1952: 427–30; Kewes 2005: 244). But Echard himself was emphatically not translating Terence with a view to performance. On the contrary he states in his introduction that Terence's plays could not now be staged, in view of the differences between the Romans and themselves in customs and manners and in theatrical fashion. His hope in publishing his translation is rather to influence contemporary stage practice, arguing that Terence still provides a model of composition for modern writers to follow, especially in his observance of the traditional unities of time, place and plot and in his avoidance of obscenities and debaucheries, which "are no ways necessary to make a good Comedy."

Echard chooses to translate Terence's plays not into the verse form of Elizabethan drama but into the mannered prose of Restoration Comedy. The Preface outlines in some detail the principles which he and his collaborators have followed, echoing the lively discussion of translation and imitation among Dryden and his contemporaries (see Hopkins 2005):

'Tis not to be expected we shou'd wholly reach the Air of the Original; that being so peculiar and the Languages so different; We have imitated our Author as well and as nigh as the English Tongue and our small abilities wou'd permit ... A meer Verbal Translation is not to be expected, that wou'd sound so horribly and be more obscure than the Original; but we have been faithful observers of his Sense and even of his words too, not slipping any of consequence without something to answer it.

In practice this makes for an enthusiastic and very lively translation, often with colorful substitutions of contemporary images and expressions and with the occasional anachronism. Here are a few examples from *Eunuchus*:

nisi ut te redimas captum quam queas / minimo. (74–5)
If you can't draw the Stake fairly, make the best of a bad Game.

quae vera audiui taceo et contineo optume; / sin falsum aut vanum aut fictumst,
continuo palamst: / plenus rimarum sum, hac atque illac perfluo. (103–5)
If the Story be true, I am as mute as a Fish, But if it be a Falsity, a Foppery or a Flam, 'twill out in an instant, I'm full of holes and run like a Sieve.

eu, noster, laudo. tandem perdoluit. vir es. (154)
O rare master o' mine! Gramercy say I: He's touch'd now — E'dad thou'rt a Man every Inch of thee.

hoc nemo fuit / minus ineptus, magis severus quisquam nec magis continens. (226–7)
There was never a Gentleman in Town had a better Head-Piece, a graver Carriage and less given to the Flesh than this master of mine.

video sentum, squalidum, aegrum, pannis annisque obsitum. (236)

Seeing such a rough, nasty, and meager fellow, rigg'd out with Rags and Rheumatisms.

ecce autem alterum! / nescioquid de amore loquitur. (297–8)

Heyday! Here's another in the whining and languishing vein, or I'm beside the Cushion.

incurvos, tremulus, labiis demissis, gemens. (336)

With his Chin and his Knees together; his Joynts shaking in his Hide; hanging his Jib like an old Horse, and groaning like a rotten Sheep.

terram intuens modeste. (580)

I looked as if Butter would not melt in my Mouth.

sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus. (732)

If 'twasn't for Meat and good Drink women might gnaw the sheets.

sed tu quod cavere possis stultum admitterest. (761)

But 'tish't for a wise Man to stand behind an Ass when he kicks.

fundam tibi nunc nimis vellem dari: ... facerent fugam. (786–7)

Had we but a Mortar to play upon him, ... one Bomb would make 'em scamper.

The stage directions also are lively. When, at line 90, Thais asks her lover Phaedria not to complain that she has shut him out in favor of the Soldier ("Let these things pass, my Dear"), we have the marvelous stage direction "Clapping him on the Cheek with her Fan," which comes straight out of Restoration Comedy.

Echard, like Hoole, was ordained as a priest, held several livings, and became chaplain to a Bishop (also of Lincoln). But he devoted most of his energies to writing. His main claim to fame was his massive encyclopaedic historical works, which included a *Roman History*, a *General Ecclesiastical History* and a *History of England*, together with a *Most Complete Compendium of Geography*.

5 The Eighteenth Century: Cooke, Patrick, Gordon, Colman

The eighteenth century was something of a heyday for Terence, producing four translations of note as well as a number of adaptations for the stage (for the latter, see Duckworth 1952: 430–1). The first translation was that of Thomas Cooke (1703–1756), published in 1734 in three volumes and reissued in a second edition in 1749 in two. The work, which is dedicated to

Charles, Duke of Somerset, Chancellor of Cambridge University, is in the tradition of Bernard, that is, a scholarly edition of the Latin text with a literal prose translation as a guide to the meaning of the Latin, supported by notes of various kinds. The title page sets out its approach, as follows:

Terence's Comedies translated into English, Together with the original Latin from the best Editions, on the opposite Pages: also, Critical and Explanatory Notes. To which is prefixed a Dissertation on the Life and Writings of Terence, containing an Enquiry into the Rise and Progress of Dramatic Poetry in Greece & Rome, with Remarks on the Comic Measure. The whole adapted to the capacities of Youth at School as well as for the Entertainment of private Gentlemen.

It is clear from the long thirty-five-page Dissertation that Cooke saw himself as in the line of the great scholars of the past (including Faernus and Bentley), and he dismisses previous editors with some scorn: "I hope that I have restored these two great comic Poets ... as near to their primitive Splendor as possible: I have cleared them from the offensive Rubbish with which they have been long covered by officious, injudicious, and tasteless Editors." His notes are mainly concerned with scholarly points (including punctuation, spelling, and meter) rather than (as with Bernard) with any ethical lessons to be learned. Nor are they concerned with the dramatic quality of the plays, even though Cooke dabbled in playwriting himself, including an adaptation of Terence's *Eunuchus* called *The Eunuch, or, the Darby Captain*, published in 1737 "as it is acted by His Majesty's servants at the Theatre-Royal in Drury-Lane."⁶

Cooke belonged to another breed of translators, not a schoolmaster or a cleric but a gentleman of leisure who earned a living by his writing. Among his many publications were translations of Hesiod, Bion and Moschus and Cicero's *De Natura Deorum*; he also planned a translation of Plautus, of which only one volume appeared. In addition he played a full part in the political and literary controversies of the day, including a series of attacks on Pope's translation of the Thersites episode in the *Iliad*.

Cooke's edition was soon followed by that of Samuel Patrick (1684–1748), editor of Anscombe's *Latin Dictionary* and usher (second master) of Charterhouse, published in 1745 and reissued six times to 1829. This is another serious scholarly edition, amounting to over 700 pages with a thirty-six-page index. The title page indicates a different approach from Cooke's, though still with Youth at School and Private Gentlemen in mind:

Terence's Comedies, translated into English Prose, as near as the propriety of the two Languages will admit. Together with the Original Latin from the Best Editions, wherein the Words of the Latin Text are ranged in their Grammatical Order; the Ellipses carefully supplied; the Observations of the most valuable Commentators, both ancient and modern, represented; and the Beauties of the

Original explained in a new and concise Manner. With notes pointing out the Connexions of the several Scenes, and an Index Critical and Phraseological. The Whole adapted to the Capacities of Youth at School, as well as of Private Gentlemen.

The Latin is “printed from the justly celebrated Cambridge Copy, yet not without taking notice of such Alterations and Amendments for the better, as have since been made in subsequent Editions.” As promised on the title page, a second version of the Latin is presented in the margin in small print, rearranged in English word order and with the ellipses supplied. The translation is another worthy literal prose version “not intended as an elegant translation, nor for Proficients in the Language, but [it] may be of some service in removing the Difficulties, that are apt to startle young Beginners, at their first Entrance upon these Studies.” For the notes the best commentators have been consulted (named as Donatus, Mme. Dacier, Eugraphius, and Bentley), but have been found “very defective in pointing out the Beauties of the Poet, especially those that regard the Design and Conduct of the Play.” Patrick’s ample “Annotations” at the foot of each page are in fact one of the strengths of the edition, tracing the development of plot and character as well as explaining smaller linguistic points.

Patrick’s edition was rapidly followed by that of a Mr. Gordon (1752), who offered a plain prose translation with an introductory “Account of the Author and of the Dramatic Poetry of the Antients” but no Latin text or commentary. Gordon returned to the idea of Terence as a source of moral instruction, commenting that “this or any other [translation], tho’ mean and defective, will shew the English reader, that characters founded on the principles of virtue, friendship, humanity, a religious observance of honour between man and man, and a strict discharge of the duties of society, were such only as in those days could presume to hope for the approbation of the public.” Particularly interesting is his praise for Terence’s treatment of women, who are “considered as women, and sometimes with such qualities as make them objects rather of compassion than detestation; and that kind of decency is observed towards them, which will always be by a Gentleman and man of humanity.” (The identity of “Mr. Gordon” is not clear.)

However, the landmark Terence translation of the eighteenth century was that of George Colman (the Elder) (ca. 1732–1794) in blank verse (published in 1765 and reissued some twenty times in various editions to 1854, some with Latin text, and again in 1910). This was the first attempt to represent Terence in English in the verse medium in which he actually wrote. Colman begins his long and spirited introduction by dismissing the efforts of his predecessors, as seems to have become obligatory in the genre:

Bernard and Hoole were obsolete even in the days of Echard; Echard and his co-adjutors, it is universally agreed, presented as imperfect image of

Terence, as Hobbs of Homer, or Ogilvy of Virgil; and those, who have since employed themselves on this author, seem to have confined their labours to the humble endeavour of assisting learners of Latin in the construction of the original text.

His real purpose, though, is to make an impassioned plea for the use of English blank verse, citing not only the practice of Greece and Rome and of Elizabethan drama but also of some recent French translations of Terence. Colman's own version reads very fluently and has the considerable merit of staying very close to the Latin while preserving something of the elegant simplicity of the original. Here is an excerpt from the opening scene of *Eunuchus* (70–80), where the lover Phaedria, jilted by his mistress Thais, is seeking the advice of his slave Parmeno:

Phae. Oh monstrous! monstrous! now indeed I see
How false she is, and what a wretch I am!
Spite of myself I love; and knowing, feeling,
With open eyes run on to my destruction;
And what to do I know not.

Par. What to do?
What should you do, Sir, but redeem yourself
As cheaply as you can?—at easy rates
If possible—if not—at any rate—
And never vex yourself.

Phae. Is that your counsel?

Par. Aye, if you're wise; and do not add to love
More troubles than it has, and those it has
Bear bravely! But she comes, our ruin comes;
For she, like storms of hail on fields of corn,
Beats down our hopes, and carries all before her.

This will almost pass for a word-for-word translation, with no significant omissions or additions and a respect for Terence's own diction and imagery. At the end of the scene there is a rare example of Colman's choosing to interpret or expand Terence's imagery: even so, his "storms of hail on fields of corn" strikes a more appropriate note for Terence's *nostris fundi calamitas* than Echard's "Caterpillar that spoils all our Harvest."

Colman, though trained as a lawyer, was very much a man of the theater, being a friend of Garrick's and a very successful theater manager, first of Covent Garden and then of the Haymarket theater. He was a prolific dramatist himself: among his many plays, *The Jealous Wife* (1761) is based in part on Terence's *Adelphoe* and *The Man of Business* (1774) is a combination of *Phormio* and Plautus' *Trinummus*. (See Duckworth 1952: 430–1; Drabble 1985: 216.)

6 The Victorian Age: Riley and the Bohn Classical Library

The Victorian age saw massive changes in British society and education on the back of the industrial revolution, with the advent of a new wealthy middle class and the founding of a new wave of public (i.e., independent) schools and universities. The prestige of classical literature remained high, and there was a market for translations for those who did not have the Latin or Greek to read widely in the original languages but wished to familiarize themselves with the works of the classical authors, for social as well as educational reasons. Several multi-volume series of translations sprang up in this period, of which the most prominent and enduring was the Bohn Classical Library, which by 1887 had reached ninety-eight volumes, covering all the major authors and a good number of minor ones. The translations are mainly in prose, even of verse originals, and most make some claim to being literal; they may therefore have had a secondary use for students and others who were picking their way through the Greek or Latin texts, though the Greek or Latin text is not normally supplied. (For an overview of translations from Greek and Latin in the nineteenth century and an appreciation of the quality of the Bohn Classical Library, see Currie 1996.)

The Bohn Classical Library produced the one significant nineteenth-century translation of Terence, which was by the prolific editor and translator Henry Thomas Riley (1816–1878), who also translated Ovid, Plautus, Lucan, and Pliny's *Natural History* in the same series, as well as various medieval Latin chronicles of British history. Riley was for a period headmaster of Morpeth Grammar School in Northumberland, but retired from this position to spend his later life on the medieval records of the corporation of London and the monastery of St Alban's. The Terence translation (1853), which was bound together with a metrical translation of the fables of Phaedrus by another hand, was reissued several times to 1909 in various forms, some with accompanying Latin text and commentary and some with Colman's translation added instead of the Phaedrus. This publishing history suggests that there was still a demand for the kind of all-purpose edition offered by Bernard and Patrick and indeed for a readable verse translation.

Riley offers only the briefest introduction to the volume, restricting himself to the traditional claim to be using a better Latin text than his predecessors and the equally traditional disparagement of previous translations:

In this Version of the Plays of Terence the Text of Volbehr, 1846, has been followed, with the few exceptions mentioned in the Notes. The Translator has endeavoured to convey faithfully the meaning of the author, and although not rigorously literal, he has, he trusts, avoided such wild departures from the text as are found in the versions of Echard, Cooke, Patrick, and Gordon.

The translation, into Victorian prose, conveys the meaning of the Latin accurately enough. Rather more interesting are the notes to the translation, which offer a scholarly explanation of points of difficulty and interest, quoting freely from Donatus, Mme. Dacier, and earlier English translators such as Colman, and adding parallels from Shakespeare and the Bible.

The fact that the nineteenth century produced only one Terence translation of note in an era when there was much translation activity from Greek and Latin is interesting. The spate of adaptations of Terence for the stage by leading dramatists had also dried up. The simple explanation is that Plautus and Terence and the kind of comedy that they represented had gone out of fashion. It is a sobering thought that fourth volume of *The Oxford History of Literary Translation into English*, which covers the years 1790–1900, does not have a single mention of either of the Roman comic dramatists in its 594 pages.

7 The Twentieth Century and Since: Expansion and Experiment

The twentieth century saw a further major transformation of the British educational and social scene. Secondary education became universal (for females as well as males) and tertiary education became widespread, while at the same time Latin lost its primary place in the school and university curriculum. This meant that there was potentially a much expanded market among the educated but Latinless general public for translations of Latin authors, while universities, faced with the problem of teaching courses in Classics to students with little or no background in the ancient languages, introduced courses in literature in translation. Translations of the Classics of one kind or another (both Greek and Latin) thus proliferated, and several new “classical libraries” were founded covering a wide range of authors. There was also a new source of translators. Though some of the leading literary figures of the century turned their hands to other genres of classical literature, the translators of Plautus and Terence were now with very few exceptions university teachers.

The Bohn Classical Library, which had been taken over by John Bell and then by Harper, was superseded at the beginning of the century by the Loeb Classical Library, founded by James Loeb in 1912, in which the Greek or Latin text was provided with the translation alongside on the facing page. The Loeb series, which featured reliable texts and fairly literal prose translations, soon became *the* series of bilingual Latin–English editions for consultation by scholars and non-specialists alike. One of the first editions was the Terence of John Sargeaunt (1857–1922) with a translation into Edwardian prose; though not itself intended for performance it contained stage directions based on those used in the regular performances of Terence in Latin at Westminster

School, where Sargeaunt was a much respected form master of the classical sixth. Sargeaunt's edition enjoyed a long life: it was eventually superseded in 2001 by a new edition, edited by John Barsby of Otago University, which offered a much more comprehensive introduction and notes and an accurate plain translation into more contemporary English.

It was not until the second half of the century that Terence featured in the publication list of another major series, namely the Penguin Classics, launched in 1946 with the publication of E.V. Rieu's translation of the *Odyssey*, and intended to provide relatively cheap paperback versions for the general reader. Terence first appeared in 1965 and 1967 in two separate volumes, translated by Betty Radice (1912–1985), an Oxford Classics graduate and teacher, who succeeded Rieu as Editor of the series;⁷ these were revised and collected into a single volume in 1976 after representations had been made to the publishers for a reprint. Radice's is a pleasantly written prose translation, which has aged well, though it inevitably lacks the tautness of the original verse. Radice herself justifies her use of prose on the ground that it "has always been the medium for English comedy where the emphasis is on wit and the nimble thrust and parry of dialogue" but also admits that this means "the inevitable loss of most of Terence's delicate word-play and his enjoyment of alliteration, assonance and vivid asyndeton" (Radice 1965: 21 and 1976: 28). Her version is nonetheless speakable enough to be used as an acting version, as was evidently intended: the preliminary pages include the instruction to apply to the League of Dramatists for permission to perform.

Terence entered the list of the Oxford World's Classics series even later. This series, which was introduced in 1901, originally contained relatively few translations from Greek or Latin authors, but it was greatly expanded when it went into paperback in the latter part of the century, and a Terence volume, by the Oxford scholar Peter Brown, was finally added in 2009.⁸ This has an accurate prose translation with a conscious (but not entirely consistent) modernization of the English, including "in the import-export business" (*mercator*), "bang on about" (*obtundere*), "keep her sweet" (*placare*), "my hot-lips" (*meum savium*), and "feel up his girlfriend" (*amicam subigitare*). Brown's stated aim is to arrest the decline of interest in Terence and encourage stage presentations of his plays; at the same time he admits that some adaptation of his translation might be advisable for public performance (see further Barsby 2007).

Another feature of the second half of the twentieth century has been the number of translations of Roman Comedy published in the United States of America. A forerunner was the 1942 collection *The Complete Roman Drama* edited by George Duckworth of Princeton University. This dismisses Riley's Plautus translation as "unsuitable on every count" and ignores his Terence one, using a rather more elegant anonymous 1900 prose translation instead. The first new Terence translation was that of Frank Copley (1907–1993) of

the University of Michigan (published in 1967), which aims “to preserve [the] charm, [the] natural and easy language and at least in some degree [the] stylistic grace” of Terence’s plays, is also in prose; his versions are lively and speakable without descending into un-Terentian slang.

The 1974 volume of *Complete Comedies of Terence*, edited by Palmer Bovie, broke new ground in that it offered translations in free verse, typically involving five or six stresses to the line. There are three translators: Palmer Bovie himself (died 1999), who taught at Rutgers University and was a prolific translator of classical authors, including Virgil, Horace, Cicero, Martial, and Lucretius, as well as the Greek dramatists; Douglass Parker, who taught at the University of Texas at Austin and also translated Aristophanes and Plautus to much acclaim; and Constance Carrier (1908–1991), who did not hold a university position but was a high school teacher and also a prize-winning poet with three published collections of poems. Parker’s versions of Terence (*The Eunuch*, *Phormio*) are by far the most lively, introducing slang, puns, wordplays, and alliterations of his own for comic effect: examples are *Eun.* 91–2 “Why is our affair so unfair?” (*utinam esset mihi / pars aequa amoris tecum*); 144–5 “Phaedria poopsie, I’ve got to wangle her out of his sweaty paws” (*eam, mi Phaedria, / ... cupiam abducere*); 152 “Of all the unblushing tripe” (*pessume*); 161 “[that] this imported talent will purloin your military paragon (*istam ... / quae advectast ne illum talem praeripiat tibi*); 163–4 “When has my openhandedness been closed for repairs?” (*ubi meam / benignitatem sensi claudier*). Bovie (*The Girl from Andros*, *The Self-Tormentor*) and Carrier (*The Brothers*, *The Husband’s Mother*) are more restrained and more faithful to Terence’s language and style.

Douglass Parker was also involved in the collection *Plautus and Terence: Five Comedies* (1999), this time in collaboration with Deena Berg (also of the University of Texas), in which the translations are again in free verse. The breezy introduction suggests that this volume will be of a rather different character. The expressed aim is “to afford the reader some conception of what the stage experience must have been like, and to present the prospective producer with sufficient materials to revivify that experience by putting the plays on again” (the materials include numerous imaginative stage directions). In fact one suspects, that, though the reader is mentioned in the aim, the translators have more than half an eye on stage production for a popular audience, for which their versions are arguably well suited. As for the language, the translators declare that their first loyalty is to the target language (English), while seeing it as their job “to capture the humor, the pace, and the *sound* of the ancient language. We have tried to make the dialogue seem as natural as possible, while still keeping the high-flying wordplay that crops up: a ‘colloquial rhetoric’ that revels in the possibilities of High and Low American, and especially in their melding.” They also declare a loyalty to the modern

audience, for whose sake they have “taken the liberty to prod the characters into shape, substitute a joke here for a joke there, inflate the rhetoric to achieve the prodigal effect, and to do whatever possible to bring forth the ‘Plautine’ or ‘Terentian’ spirit of the plays.”

In this manifesto there are echoes of modern translation theory, particularly as regards translation for the stage (see Vivis 2000; Anderman 2009). If it all sounds faintly disturbing to the purist (and some of the American colloquialisms will inevitably sound odd to the British ear), Parker takes many more liberties with the three Plautus plays (retitled *Major Blowhard*, *Double Bind*, and *The Wild, Wild Women*) than Berg does with the two from Terence (*The Mother-in-Law* and *The Brothers*). Here is her version of Demea’s final speech in *Adelphoe* (985–95), which would not be out of place in a more conventional volume:

I’ll tell you.

I wanted to show that all of your lovable qualities, Micio, what the boys consider good humor and tolerance—don’t come from sincere, upright, and honest living; they come from being an indulgent, extravagant pushover who simply cannot say no. Now, Aeschinus, if this is why you and your brother hate my way of life, because right or wrong, I don’t cater to all your whims, I give up. Go spend, waste money, do whatever you want. On the other hand, if you’d rather—given you’re young and tend to leap without looking, never giving a second thought—if you’d rather have someone to hold you back, to set you straight, and let you have your way when it’s right, well, here I am, the man for the job.

Several of the translations mentioned above would serve as a basis for studying Terence in “Classics in translation” courses, with readability and faithfulness to the original (however defined) as the main criteria. However, another desideratum for any serious academic study is a decent commentary and most of the translations (with the exception of Brown’s Oxford volume) offer very little in the way of assistance. The one series which has taken academic study as a major aim is the Aris & Phillips series of individual editions which came into being in the 1980s, with the intention of recreating for the translation student something of the experience of the student studying the text in the original language. These editions include both a Greek or Latin text and a facing translation but declare their focus by keying the lemmata of the extensive commentaries to the translation; in fact, many of the volumes are scholarly editions in their own right, comparable to standard editions based on the original text. Four of Terence’s plays have so far been published in the series. Of the translations, all accurate and all in prose, that of *Adelphoe* by

A.S. Gratwick (1987, 2nd edn. 2000) is the most adventurous, with much recasting of the Latin sentences and addition of colloquial touches; those of *Hecyra* (1990) by S. Ireland and *Heauton Timorumenos* (1988) and *Eunuchus* (2000) by A.J. Brothers provide more literal but very readable versions. All three are (or were) teachers in British universities, Gratwick at St Andrew's, Ireland at Warwick, and Brothers at the University of Wales Lampeter.

It remains to say something of three standalone translations which have taken up the challenge of representing Terence in strict verse forms. In 1927 William Ritchie set himself to translate the Latin into parallel English meters, with twelve-syllable iambic lines for Terence's iambic senarii and lines of fifteen or sixteen syllables for his iambic and trochaic "long verse." Two years later, in 1929, F. Perry chose to imitate the style and language of the Elizabethan dramatists, which in practice meant alternating between blank verse and prose. More recently the year 2006 saw the posthumous publication of the translation of former Exeter Classics professor Frederick W. Clayton (1913–1999) into rhyming heroic couplets. All three represent considerable *tours de force*, though none immediately commends itself as an example to follow. Ritchie's version had its origins in a proposed performance of one of the plays by his students at the University of Cape Town, and the translation was subsequently found to be useful in "the illustration of metrical points in reading Terence in class." Perry argued that the style and language of the Elizabethan dramatists was more akin to Terence than any other existing form of literary comedy; his version has the advantage that blank verse is familiar to the English ear and it reads most easily of the three. Clayton's heroic couplets are the least successful, in that in the end the rhymes become just too insistent (see Gratwick 2007).

8 Conclusion

Between the end of the sixteenth century and the end of the nineteenth, English readers of Terence always (except for the briefest periods) had a complete translation of the plays available. Some of these remained in print for a long time (and well after their translators' deaths), creating an almost canonical list, to which the new translators looked back: Bernard, Hoole, Echard, Patrick, Gordon, Colman, Riley. Many were closely connected to the study of the Latin text or addressed to the education of the young and were in relatively plain prose; it was taken for granted that the first loyalty of the translator was to the Latin, which was to be put into English as accurately as the difference between the two languages would allow. At the same time, there was from the beginning a sense that the process of translation had a value of its own: there was something to be achieved by turning "good Latin" into "good English." The

belief also developed that the prestige of English literature was enhanced by the addition of translations from the major European languages. There were, however, in the whole period only two “literary” translations of Terence unaccompanied by the Latin text and designed for the educated reading public. These are the ones which might be regarded as having made a contribution to English literature and they still bear reading today: Echard’s for the exuberance of his language and Colman’s for the elegance of his blank verse. There were no translations at all for the public stage in the period, even though there was a vogue for stage adaptations of Terence in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The whole situation changed in the twentieth century, with a variety of translations becoming available for reading or academic study, some of which were written with an eye also to performance, but the key to presenting Terence on stage to a modern audience has proved elusive.⁹

FURTHER READING

This survey has deliberately been historical rather than theoretical but it has touched in passing on several issues covered in modern translation theory. For detailed discussions, see Classe’s 2000 *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English*, France’s 2000 *Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, Baker’s and Saldanha’s 2009 *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*. Also invaluable for the wider context is Gillespie’s and Hopkins’ 2005 *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English: Volume 3, 1660–1790*, which also contains brief biographies of the main translators. More detailed biographies (often very fascinating) can be found in Matthew’s and Harrison’s 2004 *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*.

NOTES

1. The *Oxford Archive of Performances of Greek and Roman Drama* (<http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk>) records relatively few cases of performances of Terence in translation.
2. Udall’s *florilegium* from Terence was not the first; there were predecessors going back to an Oxford example published in 1483. See Sharrock (2000: 531).
3. “Over the course of the century following Caxton’s, English translation participated in a nationalist fervor nourished by the country’s growing prestige on the European political and cultural stage, effectively folding respected foreign works into the native literary canon” (Martin 2009: 474).
4. It seems likely that the first edition itself was the work of several collaborators, since the title page (unlike that of some later editions) does not mention Echard by name but simply says “By various hands.” Echard also while a student produced a translation of Plautus, but this ran to only two editions. See Barnard (1968).

5. It is interesting that Dryden includes Ladies in the readership of his contemporaneous Juvenal and Persius volume (1693), which is intended for “those Gentlemen and Ladies, who tho they are not Scholars are not ignorant: Persons of Understanding and good Sense, who not having been conversant in the Original or not having made Latine Verse so much their Business, as to be Critiques in it ...” (quoted by Gillespie and Wilson 2005: 47).
6. As Cooke explains in his Preface, the plot is taken from the *Eunuch*, the character of Captain Brag is an amalgam of Terence’s Thraso and the soldier of Plautus’ *Miles Gloriosus*, the parasite Needy is based on the parasites of the two plays, the girl who is ravished is given a speaking part, and Cooke himself has added the songs.
7. Betty Radice was the first prominent English female translator of Terence, though Mme. Dacier had shown the way in France in the seventeenth century.
8. Another series established in the first decade of the nineteenth century was the Everyman’s Library, but this has never included a translation of Terence.
9. For further comments on the practical problems involved in representing Terence’s language, meter, and style in English, see Barsby (2000b: 1386) and (2007) *passim*.

Acknowledgment

This chapter is a revised and much expanded version of the article on Terence in Barsby (2000b).

CHAPTER TWENTY-FIVE

Performing Terence (and Hrotsvit) Now

Mary-Kay Gamel

1 Performance

My manifesto: Roman playwrights wrote for performance, not for reading. In performance, every moment is affected by physical, visual, aural, and temporal aspects: the speakers' and addressees' position on stage, their physical posture and movement, their gestures, their tone of voice, not to mention costumes, light, set, and audience reactions. As Marshall says, "when we read a play, our minds do not present a fully developed world ... The practical concerns of production do not impinge on our consciousness, because our minds can adjust the imagined circumstances instantly. That is not the case with performance ... Performance operates by physical laws, and allows no opportunity for retroactive revision. Stage action presents a diversity of signs, each of which conceivably connotes something different to each spectator ... The composite created in performance is never what was in the playwright's head [or, I would interject, what is in the head of a single reader, however learned] but instead represents the combined actions and decisions made by all involved in the production" (2006: 186–7).

Thus considering texts by Plautus and Terence as scripts for performance reveals aspects which can be understood in no other way. The large majority of scholarship on these texts, however, has been and remains literary and historical. These investigations are certainly valuable, but they pay little attention to the performance dimension, as a quick survey of scholarship in English on Terence over the last sixty years demonstrates. Examples of critics

who focus on text and context include, for instance, Norwood (1923), Duckworth (1952), Wright (1974), Konstan (1983), Forehand (1985), Goldberg (1986), and most recently Karakasis (2005) and Sharrock (2009). Notable exceptions are McLeish (1976) and Marshall (2006).

It is noteworthy that analyses of plays without explicit attention to performance often involve many assumptions about performance and its effects. Sharrock, for example, says “words are the subject of this study ... the primary vehicle through which the reader posits the performance” (2009: 10) but soon starts seeing performance implications in those words—“(with a wink at the audience), Palaestrio calls out his troops” (15)—and rightly so. Why stop there? Why not go on and consider how performance might affect the meaning of *all* those words sitting quietly on the page?

One way to do that is to think about the original performance conditions, and happily good resources are available for that purpose: in addition to Marshall’s indispensable study, Beare (1964), Beacham (1991), Wiles (1991), Csapo and Slater (1995), Moore (1998a), and Slater (2000) are very useful. Online resources include The Whitman Ancient Theater Archive (<http://www.whitman.edu/theatre/theatretour/home.htm>), and the Experiential Technologies Center at UCLA is currently working to build a virtual reality model of the Forum Romanum which Sander Goldberg will use to determine how and where plays were staged in the Forum (<http://www.etc.ucla.edu/research/projects/ancientRome.htm>). Studies of Roman Comedy tend to focus more on the theater of Plautus than on that of Terence, a disparity echoed by the performance history of the two playwrights: records of the Archive for the Performance of Greek and Roman Drama at Oxford indicate that Plautus’ plays received 534 performances from 1476 to the present, as opposed to 348 of Terence’s (<http://www.apgrd.ox.ac.uk/>). Another important resource is filmed performances of Roman Comedy, and here again Plautus outstrips Terence: twelve of Plautus’ twenty plays are available on video (three of them in two different versions) vs. only three of Terence’s six (one in two versions). While studying others’ performances is a very helpful research method, I have found that nothing surpasses creating one’s own performance. In this chapter, I will describe and analyze what I learned in staging *The Eunuch* along with Hrotsvit’s *The Conversion of Thais* in 2003 (fig. 25.1).

2 Hrotsvit

The title of this chapter really should be reversed, since Hrotsvit led me to Terence. From 1985 to 2001, I staged a number of productions of ancient Mediterranean drama, mostly Greek tragedy, often in my own translations



Figure 25.1 *The Conversion of Thais*, Hanjiro Ambrose as Pafnutius and Misha Krepon as Thais. Presented at the UCSC Theater Arts Department (2003). Picture taken by Steve DiBartolomeo.

or adaptations. In 2002, however, I was invited to take part in my university's annual International Playhouse, in which short plays are staged in the original language. I immediately thought of directing a script by Hrotsvit of Gandersheim.

Hrotsvit was a wealthy noblewoman who became a canoness at the Benedictine Abbey of Gandersheim, established for daughters of the Saxon aristocracy. Like the other great medieval monasteries, Gandersheim was a center of intellectual and spiritual activity, functioning as a school, hospital, library, and house of refuge. The abbey was responsible to the king rather than to the Church, and canonesses lived under religious rule but did not take permanent vows; at times the sisters even chose their own Abbess. The abbey's library was rich, and Hrotsvit was very well educated both in the writings of the Church fathers and in classical Latin poetry. She put her education to work as an author of verse legends, historical epics, and six plays, all in Latin. These plays establish her as the first female playwright and the first Christian playwright in Europe (on her life and works, see extensively chapter 21, this volume).

I learned of Hrotsvit in the mid-1990s while teaching a survey course on European drama in which we read her *Dulcitius* and *The Conversion of Thais*; the latter bears the Latin title *Pafnutius/Paphnutius* after the lead male

character, but the first three words of the play's *argumentum* seem a far better title, since the play focuses on Thais. On the surface this play might seem to be a straightforward tale of a saintly monk who gets a harlot to abandon her profession and convert to the true faith (Wilson 1998: 11; Wailes 2000: 181–9); in some versions of the story both she and Pafnutius become saints.

There are many features, however, which do not support this interpretation. The first scene, which runs for a full quarter of the total play, depicts the hermit Pafnutius and his disciples in the Egyptian desert as he lectures them on various points of Christian doctrine, including the music of the spheres and the harmony of body and soul. Pafnutius is a dreadful teacher who cannot succeed in making anything clear; the students keep telling him: “We’re afraid to ask any more. We understand almost nothing of what you’ve said already”; “We didn’t realize how hard these questions are for beginners”; and “The harder we work trying to figure out these ideas, the more difficult are the concepts you lay on us!” But he is brusque and impatient and makes no effort to help them. At the beginning of the scene the students comment that he is sad, and he says he is upset because of a crime against the Creator. In his lecture this crime seems to be that of all mankind, but finally he acknowledges that it is Thais’ behavior that outrages him: “with her body she lures all men to Hell with her ... Herds of lovers rage and fight blindly to get near her ... They drench the door of the brothel with blood!” He then comes up with a plan to disguise himself as a lover, approach her and urge her to repent her sinful ways, and as he departs the students hope that God will grant him triumph.

Once Pafnutius gets to the city (presumably Alexandria) he encounters some young men who ask him where he’s headed and offer to help him. At first he is worried about their possible reaction (perhaps remembering his depiction of Thais’ lovers fighting over her) but they reassure him; when he says he is seeking Thais they say, “she’s the hot fire of us all!” but remain courteous and helpful. When he reaches Thais’ house and she appears and asks who he is he answers, “one who loves you,” to which she replies, “whoever comes to me with love receives an equal share of love in return.” Of course this could be read and performed as a typical harlot’s come-on line, but there are other possibilities: that to Thais the body is not corrupt, and sex not sinful, but a true expression of love. When she invites Pafnutius into her bedroom he asks suggestively whether there is not a place even more secret, and she gives a remarkable answer: there is a place “so secret that its innermost part is known to no one except me and God.” When Pafnutius asks “What god?,” she responds “The true God.” We might expect him to rejoice that this apparently lost soul is already a believer; instead he questions her suspiciously: “Do you think he knows anything?” to which she answers “I know nothing is hidden from Him.” He presses: “Do you think he pays no attention to the actions of wicked people?,” and she responds “In the

scale of His justice each person's worth he weighs, and hands out punishment or reward according to their ways" (the rhymes *pensari* and *servari* are Hrotsvit's). This answer too does not please Pafnutius; he trembles, turns red with anger, and shouts at her: "Because of your arrogance, you will be damned all the more justly! You offended God knowingly!" Never considering the possibility that she has never been told that her life was sinful, and that ignorance is not sin, he terrifies her by describing the tortures of Hell. When she asks if there is any way for her to atone by good deeds he speaks to her only of grief and self-punishment. In Pafnutius' version Christ's message is about pain, not love.

Thais now burns her possessions (onstage) and renounces her lovers. Pafnutius takes her to a convent and takes credit for her conversion: "I convinced her to review her conduct," then adding "Christ assisted too."(!) He demands that Thais be imprisoned in a small cell with no door, only a tiny window through which she will get food "every few days." The Abbess expresses doubts about such harsh treatment, but Pafnutius dismisses them; when she says "you will be the the one to wall her in," he expresses satisfaction with the cell. When he tells Thais to enter, she humbly mentions "a certain unpleasantness"—the cell "will soon be uninhabitable because of the smell." When he scoffs at her, she agrees, "I am so filthy I deserve to live in a filthy place," but asks how in such squalor she can speak to God. Pafnutius sneers "how can you dare to invoke the name of the pure Deity with your tainted lips?" and she asks: "How can I hope for pardon, if I am forbidden to call on Him who alone can save me with His pity? I sinned against Him. He is the One to whom prayers must be offered." Pafnutius tells her she must pray not with words but with tears and groans, and undergo utter degradation; when she asks him to pray for her, instead of reassuring her he says "There's no need to remind me," and returns to his disciples. When they ask what happened with Thais, he says, "Just what I wanted."

Three years pass before the next scene, when Pafnutius goes to visit Brother Anthony (Saint Anthony of the Desert) to see if he can find out what has happened to Thais. He baldly lies in describing how he "converted" the courtesan: he used "flattering praises" and "threatening phrases" until "at long last she yielded." He asks Anthony and his disciples to pray with him to learn Thais' fate; why he does not just return to the convent is unclear. In the following scene disciple Paul describes a vision which came to him as he prayed: a bed in heaven spread with white sheets, guarded by four angels, which he believes intended for Anthony. Anthony humbly says he is unworthy of such honor and Paul continues "A heavenly voice thundered 'It is reserved for the whore Thais!'" Pafnutius immediately decides to return to the convent.

In the final scene Pafnutius urges Thais to come out of her cell. She at first refuses: "I belong in this filth." Anthony has urged him to "promise her the

reward of eternal life” (and presumably to tell her of the disciple’s vision of the heavenly bed) but he says nothing about the vision, only asking about her penitence. Thais seems despairing: “just as the stink never left my nostrils, the fear of Hell was always in my heart. . . . I don’t deserve to be given eternal joy. I hope only that I burn in a less intense fire.” Thais suddenly declares she is dying, and finally Pafnutius prays for her: “May Thais rise again, as perfect as when she was created. May she be gathered among the white sheep and led to the joy of eternal life.”

To me Hrotsvit’s play tells quite a different story from the pious conversion tale some find in it. Wiles (1995: 74) calls Hrotsvit “an ironist” who wrote plays “full of savage humour,” and her remarkable *Praefatio* to her dramas supports this reading. Hrotsvit says that she has imitated the plays of the Roman playwright Terence, and like him she wrote six plays. But she is not paying homage; instead she criticizes the Roman author for his depiction of shameless women and lovers’ madness, and those who enjoy his sweet style but overlook the sinful content. Punning on her own name in the Saxon language she calls herself *Clamor Validus Gandeshemensis*. Her goal in writing, she says, is to glorify God, and “the glory of the Helper on high is proved greater and the victory of those who triumph brighter above all when weak women triumph and strong men are thrown into confusion (*virilis robur confusioni subiaceret*)” (Hrotsvit, *Praefatio* 5).

The Conversion of Thais may seem to demonstrate that because of divine help Thais’ weakness (as a woman, as a nonbeliever) does not stop her from triumphing. But what about “the confusion of strong men”? This obviously applies to characters such as Diocletian, Dulcitius, Sisinnius, and male characters in other plays who have worldly power (see chapter 21, this volume), but does it apply to Pafnutius? What is the point of the playwright’s depiction of the hermit’s failings as a human being and a Christian? Is Hrotsvit using this tale of a much earlier era to criticize the male-dominated Church of her time? Wiles (1995: 73) thinks “the learned Paphnutius demonstrates in the course of the play that he understands none of the truths set out in his lecture,” while Wilson (1998: 121) finds Hrotsvit’s humor “subversive” but “by no means radical. She does not supplant the patriarchal paradigm . . . what she does is to appropriate and invert the paradigm, presenting a hierarchical system of her own in which the young and the female often reign and where the joy of religious devotion is practiced with a smile . . . at the absurd and ludicrous tradition of patriarchal pretensions.” Hence Hrotsvit may be considered the first feminist playwright. Of course, what “feminism” might mean in the tenth century is uncertain; one feminist performance studies scholar who has staged her plays thinks “Pafnutius can find no peace until he has removed this woman from the colonized use of her body in the city to her own repossession of it within a convent” (!) (Case 1983: 539).

3 Performing Hrotsvit

The disagreement between readings of Hrotsvit's plays asks to be tested through performance. All theatrical productions are experiments, and "subsequent productions" (Miller's (1986) useful term) of earlier works test what meanings in these scripts can be conveyed to a later audience, and how. It is not known whether Hrotsvit's plays were ever staged, where or by whom (for a discussion of her plays' theatricality, see Butler 1960). Some think the abbey at Gandersheim is the obvious location, with nuns playing all the roles. This scenario motivated Damen's choice when he staged *Dulcitius* and *Callimachus*; his lively translations are accompanied by detailed stage directions and his discussion is the most detailed account in print of staging Hrotsvit's plays (see also Jeffrey 2004 and Zampelli 2004). Wiles (1999), however, thinks that the plays might have been performed at court with male actors. For the International Playhouse, I decided to follow Damen and stage *The Conversion of Thais* with eight female actors as nuns. Three knew Latin but were not actors (and of course were not accustomed to the ecclesiastical pronunciation of Latin); the other five were actors but did not know Latin. All found the show a challenge, but with dedication, hard work, and high spirits they triumphed.

In 2002 the International Festival plays were performed in a dining hall on a stage about four feet off the ground, with steps down to audience level at each end. The only setpiece was a seven-foot tall cross with wood edges around translucent red cellophane. Hrotsvit gave the prologue (a condensed version of her *Praefatio*) and stayed onstage with a book in her hand; she also played Brother Anthony. In the program the religious names of the other nuns (invented by us: Sister Pudicitia, Sister Sapientia, etc.) were given along with their character names. Pafnutius was the tallest of the eight; like the others she wore a white habit but had a black rather than white headdress. Throughout the character was pompous and self-assured but hardly in command: the four disciples barely concealed their mockery during the failed lesson. The use of male dress items (a fedora for Pafnutius when he prepared to go to the city, backwards baseball caps for Thais' lovers) and masculine body movements and gestures aroused audience laughter. (To be sure, the English supertitles helped; *ipsa nostratium est ignis* became "We've all got the hots for her!")

Over her white habit Thais wore a shimmery gold cloak, a transparent red veil, and gold jewelry; her black hair flowed free. She delivered her lines about the "secret place" facing downstage, looking into space, clearly moved; when Pafnutius denounced her he marched towards her, forcing her down the stairs backward until he towered over her as he shouted. But soon he tried to put his arm around her shoulder; she shook it off. Thais threw her veil, cloak, and jewelry at the base of the cross; the amazed lovers took them

away. The “cell” was composed of four nuns who turned their backs on Thais so that she was barely visible. The Abbess reached in and gave her food and water. Pafnutius was utterly amazed that the heavenly bed was destined for Thais. When she came out of the cell, Thais collapsed and never recovered; the Abbess and nuns stretched her out on the floor and cradled her as she prayed “You who made me, have mercy on me” and died. Pafnutius’ final prayer was cut; the voices of women singing a beautiful hymn were heard, and the cross lit up, glowing brightly as a sign that Thais was indeed being welcomed into Heaven.

4 Terence

After this experiment I felt more confident about Hrotsvit’s style and effect but still unclear about her connection with Terence. How exactly was something like *The Conversion of Thais* a response to Terence? Do Terence’s plays depict “base sexual acts of lascivious women” and “the hateful madness of unlawful lovers and their evil sweet rhetoric” (Pascal 1989: 7)—and do they do so uncritically? When I reviewed all six of Terence’s plays, *Eunuch* seemed to have the strongest connections with *Conversion*—with its courtesan named Thais and a central character, Chaerea, who disguises himself as a eunuch to gain access to Pamphila, as Pafnutius disguises himself as a lover to reach Thais (for the plot of *Eunuch*, see chapter 14, this volume).

Like *Conversion* this script has issues problematic to a contemporary reader: slavery, of course, but also the premeditated rape of a virgin, the forced marriage of the rape victim to her rapist, and the arrangement of a *ménage à trois* without consulting the woman involved. There is no agreement among scholars on whether these incidents are presented critically or not, and of course no way to determine how the Roman audience might have responded (see the extensive discussion in chapters 9 and 14, this volume).

5 Performing Terence and Hrotsvit

I decided to do another experiment: a double production of *Eunuch* and *Conversion*. The goals were two: first, to investigate how to stage each play so that contemporary audiences could understand them despite the very different circumstances, social and theatrical, which separate the plays from each other and each of them from us; second, to see what connections and what differences between Hrotsvit and Terence might emerge.

The choice of a *Eunuch* translation was easy: Douglass Parker, the premier twentieth-century translator of ancient comedy into English, had produced

one, and he generously granted me permission not only to use his translation but also to make some cuts and changes for production. My primary consideration in adapting this translation was to make the play tight, theatrical, and funny. I eliminated the Prologue, jumping *in medias res* with Phaedria's and Parmeno's entrance. I cut stage directions in the dialogue, such as references to actors entering. Some phrases which seemed dated were changed to contemporary Americanese. At times, I pressed potential double entendres, as when Thraso describes what a favorite he was of the King: "when he was tired / by affairs of state, and dealing with so many people, / when he wanted to rest you know what I mean?" Gnatho replied: "Oh, yes. He wanted to squirt out all his cares." Since Gnatho, though white, was portrayed as a wannabe rapper, he often (ridiculously) spoke "gangsta": on first seeing Parmeno "What up, P-funk? G-natho comin' at ya! How's it hangin'?" Here is an interchange in the first scene as done by Parker and then in my revision:

PHAE.	It isn't fair. I see it all now: She's a bitch and I'm a wretch. It makes my gorge rise, and yet the rest of me burns with love. With wisdom and forethought, All faculties working, fully alive ... I'm dying And don't know how to stop.
PAR.	I do. You're held For ransom; buy your way out. As cheap as you can, Of course, but hang the expense. Pay what you have to; Don't worry about it.
PHAE.	You think I should?
PAR.	You know You should. Love itself brings troubles enough; Brace yourself and bear them—but don't go borrowing More. —Oh-oh. Here comes the blight on the family Farm. She gleans the profits before we can reap.
PHAE.	God! I see it all now! She's a bitch and I'm a jerk. It makes me sick—and yet I'm burning up with love.
PAR.	She's holding you for ransom; buy your way out. As cheap as you can, but do it. Stop agonizing!
PHAE.	Is that your advice?
PAR.	If you have any sense. Love has enough troubles. Bear them; don't go trying to borrow more. Speaking of borrowing: here comes the one who's hooked your credit card and won't let go. (<i>Eu.</i> 70–80)

Perhaps the major change was the inclusion of three songs. One major difference between Plautus and Terence is that the latter's plays include far fewer songs (see chapter 5, this volume). My sound designer, however, suggested including songs, and we put in three based on songs popular in 2003. It is challenging to find a modern equivalent for the classical parasite; Gnatho's persona as a wannabe rapper inspired replacing his opening monologue by a version of Geto Boys' hit "Damn it feels good to be a gangsta":

You know all those stupid wannabes
who think they're so smart and so cool?
I make 'em feel great while I fill up my plate
And that's the way I play 'em for a fool

Gnatho then introduced Thraso to the tune of "Gaston" from *Beauty and the Beast*, and Thraso enthusiastically joined in:

THR. No one's smart as Thraso
Has such art as Thraso
GNA. No one's got such an eye for a tart as Thraso!
THR. As a specimen, yes I'm intimidating
GNA. My, what a guy, that Thraso!

And when Chaerea entered brimming with joy after having sex with Pamphila his opening words were set to Devo's "Whip It":

Don't you wanna know
why I'm in this dress?
Don't you wanna know
am I in a mess?
Don't you wanna know
why am I so glad?
Don't you wanna know
if I'm raving mad?

These songs would never work now—but 2003 audiences "got" them. Some might say that this production "plautinized" a Terence script, but *Eunuch* is often identified as Terence's most "Plautine" play, as has been frequently pointed out in this volume. Overall, I believe, this was a translation, not an adaptation; the number of lines was almost the same as in Terence's script, the show lasted about eighty minutes, and the events, the characters, and the themes were (I believe) maintained.

I produced my own translation of *Conversion*, in prose like the original, and whenever possible I kept Hrotsvit's interesting internal rhymes. Pafnutius'

cuius cor contristatur, eius et vultus obscuratur (Pafnutius, Scene I), for example, became “One’s face is sad when his heart is not glad.” The first actor to appear introduced herself as Hrotsvit, welcomed the audience, and in words drawn from Hrotsvit’s *Praefatio* said her mission as a writer was to contradict the portrayal of women by Terence and show women triumphing over men. I eliminated scene VIII, in which Pafnutius returns to his disciples, but otherwise made no significant cuts. Whereas the supertitles for the 2002 production in Latin sought to make the dialogue easily understandable by the audience, this time I worked to avoid colloquialism and maintain the formality and dignity of the original.

I secured the Second Stage, a 200-seat theater on my campus, which is well suited to Roman Comedy because its stage and seating area are wide but not deep. There are also mini-balconies on stage right and left which we used for the domains of Pafnutius and Brother Anthony; while Pafnutius’ classroom had stiff diagrams with Greek and Latin words, Brother Anthony’s had flowing drawings including the yin/yang symbol. Hrotsvit’s dramaturgy is not classical, with one playing space, but medieval, with movement between various locations, and the low stage and wide aisles of this theater made it easy for the actors to move from one scene to the next all around and through the audience. In place of the two house fronts which are the usual set in New Comedy (in *Eunuch*, the house of Thais and presumably that of Phaedria’s and Chaerea’s father), we had only a single structure, a two-story steel frame with an internal stairway. Throughout *Eunuch* and at the beginning of *Conversion* it was Thais’ house, covered by a piece of painted scrim which had some suggestions of a female face (eyelashes over the second-story windows, red lips over the top of the door). In *Conversion*, when Thais burned her possessions flames were projected onto the scrim and then it fell down and was carried off by the lovers; the now bare structure served as the convent.

The *Eunuch* costumes were vaguely Roman but with modern touches: Thais, played by a beautiful and voluptuous actress, had a lowcut top, a red skirt cut short in front and long in back, and stunning high-heeled sandals laced to the knee; Phaedria the *adulescens* wore a short tunic with a leather jacket and sneakers; Thraso the *miles gloriosus* a short tunic, sometimes with a military jacket and boots and officer’s hat; Gnatho the parasite was a wannabe rapper with a sideways cap and exaggerated gestures; as the eunuch Chaerea wore a bolero top with fringe, pants low on his hips, a flowing sash and of course swaying hips and batting eyelashes; Chremes the bumpkin wore a cowboy hat and overalls and chewed a piece of wheat. In retrospect (not intentional, as I recall), the men’s costumes made them look a bit sillier than the women’s. In *Conversion* the costumes were more modern; Thais initially wore a red halter top and mini-skirt with high heels; Pafnutius and his disciplines wore white shirts, black trousers, and ties rather like Mormon

missionaries; he put on Phaedria's leather jacket when approaching Thais. The nuns wore simple white overblouses, long skirts, and shawls, with their hair uncovered; they carried baskets of fruit and flowers. Brother Anthony and his disciple, in long shirts and beads, were vaguely Eastern gurus.

6 Results of the Experiment

Performance seeks to encourage audience reactions, and gender and sexuality, sexual choice, and sexual violence are issues very likely to arouse strong responses in contemporary audiences. In an important article, Slater interrogates the ethics of performing plays which raise issues uncomfortable for contemporary audiences: "How can we perform plays like [Terence's] today? ... Should we perform these plays today, or does their subject matter make them something we should only talk about?" (1999: 4). He offers several approaches, citing an instance in which the director (who was acting a role) stopped the performance (of *Hecyra*), broke out of character and said to the audience that he and his cast did not approve of the play's central figure committing rape, but that "the character and his actions were part of Roman comedy and so had to be endured" (2–3). Another possibility is to "rewrite the play to make articulate the outraged response," but in this case, Slater feels, "Terence disappears and is replaced by what the adapter thinks ... [in] an exercise on a theme from antiquity as seen from our own point of view" (18). A third is to rewrite the prologue as a "new and contemporary defense of the playwright and his ability to speak to us ... We owe it to ourselves and to this long dead young poet to look at his plays without filters or editorializing" (21).

I am a committed feminist, but I also have two strong principles as a director. First, I work collaboratively so that the production is the result of all participants' views and contributions. Second, I never want the production to do the work of the audience in deciding how to respond. For example, as a *meretrix* Thais is neither obviously *bona* nor *mala* (see chapter 9, this volume), but a complex persona who manifests both kindness and practicality. She expertly manipulates Thraso not out of raw greed but in order to get him to give her Pamphila, her virtual sister. Her desire to return Pamphila to her family is motivated both by love for the girl and desire, as a stranger in Athens, to get some Athenian allies. She apparently loves Phaedria—after getting him to do what she wants, she tells the audience "I know I haven't told any lies; I know that I love Phaedria more than anyone else" (*Eu.* 200–1). But before she first enters we had her overhear Phaedria and Parmeno's discussion about her so that she could play her cards right.

Chearea's rape of Pamphila is significantly different from the rapes committed in other Greek and Roman comedies, as James and Christenson

discuss in chapters 9 and 14, this volume. Those rapes usually happened before the play starts, at festivals, at night, when the males involved were drunk (and there is even some question whether these should be considered rape, since the female involved would be less damaged by rape than by consensual sex outside marriage). But Chaerea is not drunk, it is not night, he has carefully premeditated how to get access to the girl he has just seen on the street, and there's no question of consensuality—she is asleep. He compares himself as a “seducer” to Jupiter, and boasts of his “conquest” to a friend with not a single word about the girl's possible reaction. Moreover, when Parmeno says the eunuch disguise to infiltrate a house is “a crime,” Chaerea vents:

This is a whorehouse. It shelters tools of torture who take our youth
And fling it away, who torment us in every possible fashion.
Place me inside to pay them back, to victimize them
As they do us—is this a crime? If the world found out what we're doing
We'd get applause and shouts of “Serves 'em Right.” (*Eu.* 382–7)

Parmeno later congratulates himself that he has taught Chaerea an important moral lesson about what whores are really like (*Eu.* 931–40)—“filth, squalor and underlying ugliness”—and says it is “preposterous” for a man to be arrested for rape inside a brothel (960–1). When describing the rape to Thais, Chaerea calls it “nothing, really” (856); when Pythias explodes that he raped a freeborn Athenian virgin he defends himself “I thought she was one of you slaves” (857). And then there is his costume: Terence carefully makes it impossible for him to change out of it, and in our production his wearing it through the final scene raised (we hoped) questions in the audience's mind about whether, his ability to rape notwithstanding, he is a “real” man.

We thought the script offered plenty of self-incrimination from Chaerea, but it also provides a strong prosecuting attorney. After discovering the raped Pamphila, Pythias calls him “savage” and “thug”; “atrocious wasn't enough for him ... he shredded her dress and ripped out her hair,” and the girl is “crying, too shaken to talk” (see chapter 21, this volume). As a slave she attacks a free citizen, quite a daring move, and our strongest actress was cast as Pythias. Another issue which can come across more powerfully in performance than in reading is female solidarity. Pythias as the fiercer side of Thais is clear, but Dorias, Sophrona and even Pamphila offer important opportunities. And finally there is the ending. Thais exits at 909; Pythias, at 1023. In the three final scenes we learn that Phaedria's father has agreed to Chaerea's marrying Pamphila; he has become Thais' “patron, protector, and sponsor” (so Thais' goal of making an alliance with Athenians is achieved at 1039); and Phaedria will be her only lover, leaving Thraso out. But then Gnatho broaches with Phaedria the idea of sharing Thais with the *miles* in return for his supporting

Thais' expensive habits; because he is "brainless, witless, and senseless" (1079) he will be no threat to Phaedria. Chaerea and Phaedria agree, and the usual ending of comedy—marriage, in this case one actual marriage and another marriage-like arrangement—is staged as a completely male agreement; no women involved.

Overall it seemed amply clear to those working on our production that Terence was offering audiences a critical perspective. But how to suggest this "without filters or editorializing"? Here the modern stage material scrim came in handy. When lit from the front, the scrim drop on the steel frame representing Thais' house was opaque; when lit from the back, it was transparent. This allowed us to make the confrontation between Thais and Chremes inside the house with Thraso and his "soldiers" outside more powerful by having the defenders on a higher level. More important, it allowed us to show two scenes which in the original Roman production were presumably offstage: Pythias discovering the raped, sobbing, partially nude Pamphila and rushing out enraged, and a final tableau of Thais, Pythias, Pamphila, Sophrona, and Dorias watching as the men below decide what to do with Thais, ending when all five of them shake hands and give each other the high-five and go merrily off to party at Demea's house. The women stood separate from each other and said nothing; Pamphila wept and turned for comfort to Sophrona. Only Parmeno remained onstage and looked up at the women as the light faded. This was a happy ending only for some.

With *Conversion* we wanted to create something more subtle than the 2002 production with its cross-gender play. Pafnutius was very harsh with his students, using a conductor's baton to emphasize his points, and they, though confused and annoyed, were afraid of him. He was so disgusted on seeing Thais he could barely look at her, and so angry at her description of God that he threw her to the ground and stood over her as he fiercely denounced her sin. Thais' moment of revelation took time; music played softly as she thought about what he said and then, looking at her skimpy, sexy outfit with disdain, accepted his judgment. Now she acted with determination, taking charge of destroying her house and possessions and rejecting her lovers. Transitions from one scene to another were accomplished as the actors walked through the audience; as Thais followed the now very satisfied Pafnutius she shrank from the audience's gaze. Selections from different Philip Glass compositions were used for these transitions to establish the mood.

Pafnutius was as unclear with the Abbess as with his students; when he said he was bringing a "she-goat, half-dead, just now snatched from the lion's jaws" she asked him to be more precise. When they approached the convent Thais held back at the edge of the stage; the Abbess welcomed her and sent two nuns, smiling, to escort her into the convent, but as they went through the door Pafnutius issued his decree that instead she be walled up in a tiny cell.

The nuns were dismayed, the Abbess angry, but she could not of course say so; instead she said pointedly “you shall be the one to wall her in” with the subtext “your doing, not ours.” The cell was an upright coffin painted black; after examining it Pafnutius declared “I like it.” The nuns surrounded Thais and dressed her in sackcloth. As Thais timidly expressed her dread at being in the cell Pafnutius lectured her fiercely, and the nuns upstage became ever more upset, surrounding the cell as Pafnutius left, where they remained, praying, throughout the Brother Anthony scene.

When Pafnutius returned and Thais fell out of the cell, her garment now worn and stained with excrement, the nuns recoiled and wept, then dressed her in a white garment like theirs. They brought out a huge bed with white satin sheets—the bed of the heavenly vision—and tenderly put her in it, standing at the four corners like the angels; Wiles (2003: 42–3) argues that this vision indicates that the body as well as the soul is resurrected. After she made her last prayer and died, Pafnutius returned to his balcony and began praying, but he did not get the last word. Music started—Glass’s “Open the Kingdom” from *Liquid Days*—and soon drowned out his prayer. Thais awoke, realized what was happening, smiled with joy, slipped out of the bed and ran up the stairs, walking forward slowly with her arms raised in rapture as the music climaxed and the background turned a brilliant blue. This staging of the ending attempted to celebrate the triumph of a weak woman over a powerful male’s misunderstanding and misuse of his religion.

In *Eunuch* and *Conversion* the same actors played Thais/Thais; Phaedria/Pafnutius; Pythias/the Abbess; Parmeno/Brother Anthony; Chaerea/a Disciple; Thraso/a Disciple; Gnatho/Paul; Sophrona/Hrotsvit; Pamphila/a Nun; Dorias/a Nun; Chremes/a Lover of Thais; Dorus/Antipho/Sanga, Demea/a Lover. Some interesting connections came out of this casting: like Phaedria, Pafnutius is trying to get access to and control of Thais; Brother Anthony serves as adviser to Pafnutius just as Parmeno does to Phaedria and Chaerea; and the Abbess, like Pythias, defends Thais (insofar as she can). Since *Conversion* followed *Eunuch* after a brief intermission, the audience could easily make such connections, and they were further suggested by costume touches such as a strip of fabric on Phaedria’s costume which turned into Pafnutius’ tie.

We held audience talkbacks after two of the performances and the responses were as always fascinating. On both occasions there were feminists in the audience to whom Thais’ self-abnegation was unacceptable; they took strong exception to my description in the program of Hrotsvit as the first feminist playwright in Europe. I tried to suggest that the feminism of a devout Christian tenth-century woman who was dealing with a patriarchal church would inevitably be different from twenty-first century ideas, but they were unconvinced.

What the connection(s) between Terence and Hrotsvit may be remains an open question (for a full discussion, see Wilson 1988: 54–86). Did this double production bring us any closer to understanding possible connections? I offer the following suggestion: that both *The Eunuch* and *The Conversion of Thais* provide questions rather than answers, a critique rather than an affirmation of conventional ideas, and provocation rather than reassurance to their audiences. Despite her criticism of Terence's subject matter, Hrotsvit followed the Roman playwright in using the medium of drama to raise significant questions.

FURTHER READING, VIEWING, AND LISTENING

Videos of Terence plays include *That Girl from Andros* (VHS), Meg Twycross, director (New Jersey: Films for the Humanities and Sciences, 1994); *The Brothers* (VHS), Charles Mercier, translator and director (Poughkeepsie, NY: The Terence Project, 1996); *The Eunuch* (VHS), John Barsby, translator, Harry Love and Justine Pierre, directors (Coquitlam, BC: Classroom Video, 1999); *The Eunuch* (DVD), Douglass Parker, translator, Mary-Kay Gamel, director (Department of Theater Arts: University of California at Santa Cruz, 2003).

Videos of Hrotsvit plays include *The Resurrection of Drusiana and Calimachus; The Fall and Repentance of Mary* (VHS), Michael Zampelli, director (Santa Clara University Department of Theatre and Dance, 2001); *The Conversion of Thais* (DVD), Mary-Kay Gamel, translator and director (Department of Theater Arts, University of California at Santa Cruz, 2003); *Calimachus sive Resuscitatio Drusianae* (DVD), Dorota Dutsch, translator, Andrew J. Henkes, director (Department of Classics, University of California at Santa Barbara, 2008).

The story of Thais is taken from the *Vitae Patrum*; see Ward (1987). *Conversion* has had a significant afterlife: it inspired *Thais*, an 1890 novel by Anatol France, which in turn inspired Jules Massenet's opera of the same name in 1894.

References

- Adams, J.N., 1982: *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*, Baltimore.
- Adams, J.N., 1984: "Female Speech in Latin Comedy," *Antichthon* 18, 43–77.
- Adams, J.N., 2003: *Bilingualism and the Latin Language*, New York.
- Adams, J.N. and Mayer, R.G. (eds.), 1999: *Aspects of the Language of Latin Poetry*, Oxford.
- Adkin, N., 1994: "Terence's *Eunuchus* and Jerome," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 137, 187–195.
- Adkin, N., 2003: *Jerome on Virginity: A Commentary on the Libellus de virginitate servanda* (Letter 22), Cambridge.
- Adkin, N., 2006: "Hieronymus Eunuchinus," *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* 58, 327–334.
- Ager, S.L., 1991: "Rhodes: The Rise and Fall of a Neutral Diplomat," *Historia* 40, 10–41.
- Ahl, F., 1985: *Metaformations: Sound Play and Word Play in Ovid and Other Classical Poets*, Ithaca, NY.
- Alexander, J., 1993: "A Quotation from Terence in the *De Correctione Donatistarum* of St. Augustine," *Studia Patristica* 27, 221–224.
- Allardice, J.T., 1929: *Syntax of Terence*, London.
- Altman, J.B., 1978: *The Tudor Play of Mind: Rhetorical Inquiry and the Development of Elizabethan Drama*, Berkeley.
- Amerasinghe, C.W., 1950: "The Part of the Slave in Terence's Drama," *Greece & Rome* 19, 62–72.
- Amherdt, D., 1999: *Sidoine Apollinaire: Le quatrième livre de la correspondance. Introduction et commentaire*, Bern.
- Anderman, G., 2009: "Drama Translation," in Baker and Saldanha, 92–95.
- Andersen, H., 2008: "Naturalness and Markedness," in Willems and Cuypere, 101–119.
- Anderson, W.S., 1984: "Love Plots in Menander and his Roman Adaptors," *Ramus* 13, 124–134.

- Anderson, W.S., 1993: *Barbarian Play. Plautus' Roman Comedy*, Toronto.
- Anderson, W.S., 2000: "The Frustration of Anagnorisis in Terence's *Hecyra*," in Dickison and Hallett, 311–324.
- Anderson, W.S., 2001: "The Problem of Humor for an Ex-Slave" [*Gail A. Burnett Lectures in Classics*, San Diego State University], San Diego.
- Anderson, W.S., 2003–4: "Terence and the Roman Rhetorical Use of the *Andria*," *Leeds International Classical Studies* 3, 1–9.
- Anderson, W.S., 2004: "The Invention of Sosia for Terence's First Comedy, the *Andria*," *Ramus* 33, 10–19.
- Anderson, W.S., 2009: *A Terence Reader: Selections from Six Plays*, Mundelein, IL.
- Anonymous, 1565: *A new Enterlued for Chyldren to playe, named Jacke Jugeler*, London.
- Antela-Bernárdez, I.B. and Nāco del Hoyo, T. (eds.), 2009: *Transforming Historical Landscapes in the Ancient Empires*, Oxford.
- Ardolino, F., 2010: "Misperception and Protestant Reading in Gammer Gurton's *Needle*," *Studies in English Literature* 50.1, 17–34.
- Arduini, P. (ed.), 2008: *Studi offerti ad Alessandro Perutelli*, Rome.
- Arnott, W.G., 1963: "The End of Terence's *Adelphoe*. A Postscript," *Greece and Rome* 10, 140–144.
- Arnott, W.G., 1975: *Menander, Plautus, Terence*, Oxford.
- Arnott, W.G. (ed. and trans.), 1979–2000: *Menander*. 3 vols, Cambridge, MA.
- Arnott, W.G., 1987–8: "The Time-Scale of Menander's *Epitrepontes*," *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik* 70, 19–31 and 72, 26.
- Arnott, W.G., 1993: "Comic Openings," in Slater and Zimmermann, 14–32.
- Arnott, W.G., 2001: "Phormio *Parasitus*: A Study in Dramatic Methods and Characterization," *Greece & Rome* 17, 32–57.
- Ascham, R., 1570: *The Scholemaster*, London.
- Asheri, D., 1963: "Laws of Inheritance, Distribution of Land and Political Constitutions in Ancient Greece," *Historia* 12, 1–21.
- Ashmore, S.G., 1908: *The Comedies of Terence*, 2nd edn, New York.
- Astin, A.E., 1967: *Scipio Aemilianus*, Oxford.
- Attardo, S., 1994a: *Linguistic Theories of Humor*, Berlin.
- Attardo, S., 1994b: "The Linear Organization of Jokes: Analysis of Two Thousand Texts," *HUMOR* 7.1, 27–54.
- Attardo, S., 1997: "The Semantic Foundations of Cognitive Theories of Humor," *HUMOR* 10.4, 395–420.
- Attardo, S., 1998: "The Analysis of Humorous Narratives," *HUMOR* 11.3, 231–60.
- Attardo, S., 2001: *Humorous Texts: A Semantic and Pragmatic Analysis*, Berlin.
- Attardo, S., 2003: "Introduction: The Pragmatics of Humor," *Journal of Pragmatics* 35.9, 1287–1294.
- Attardo, S., 2008: "The Semantics and Pragmatics of Humor," *Language and Linguistics Compass* 2.6, 1203–1215.
- Attardo, S. and Raskin, V., 1991: "Script Theory Revisited: Joke Similarity and Joke Representation Model," *HUMOR* 4.3–4, 293–347.
- Auhagen, U. (ed.), 2001: *Studien zu Plautus' Epidicus*, Tübingen.
- Auhagen, U., 2009: *Die Hetäre in der griechischen und römischen Komödie*, Munich.

- Bader, B., 1970: *Szenentitel und Szeneneinteilung bei Plautus*, Tübingen.
- Bagnall, R., 1993: *Egypt in Late Antiquity*, Princeton.
- Bagnall, R. (ed.), 2007: *Egypt in the Byzantine World, 300–700*, Cambridge.
- Bagnall, R., 2009: *Early Christian Books in Egypt*, Princeton.
- Bagordo, A., 2001: *Beobachtungen zur Sprache des Terenz, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der umgangssprachlichen Elemente*, Göttingen.
- Bagordo, A., 2007: “Langversstil und Senarstil bei Terenz,” in Kruschwitz, Ehlers, and Felgentreu, 127–142.
- Baier, T. (ed.), 2007: *Generationenkonflikte auf der Bühne: Perspektiven im antiken und mittelalterlichen Drama*, Tübingen.
- Bain, D., 1979: “Plautus *vortit barbare*: Plautus, *Bacchides* 526–61 and Menander, *Dis Exapaton* 102–12,” in West and Woodman, 17–34.
- Bain, D., 1984: “Female Speech in Menander,” *Antichthon* 18, 24–42.
- Baker, K. and Saldanha, G. (eds.), 2009: *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*, 2nd edn, New York.
- Baldwin, T.W., 1963: *Shakspeare’s Five-Act Structure: Shakspeare’s Early Plays on the Background of Renaissance Theories of Five-Act Structure from 1470*, Urbana, IL.
- Barnard, J. (ed.), 1968: *Lawrence Echard: Prefaces to Terence’s Comedies and Plautus’s Comedies 1694*, Los Angeles.
- Barnes, T.D., 1996: “Christians and the Theater,” in Slater, 161–180.
- Barsby, J.A. (ed. and trans.), 1986: *Plautus: Bacchides*, Warminster.
- Barsby, J.A., 1991: *Terence: The Eunuch, Phormio, The Brothers. A Companion to the Penguin Translation*, Bristol.
- Barsby, J.A., 1993: “Problems of Adaptation in the *Eunuchus* of Terence,” in Slater and Zimmermann, 160–179.
- Barsby, J.A., 1995: “Plautus’ *Pseudolus* as Improvisatory Drama,” in Benz, Stärk, and Vogt-Spira, 55–70.
- Barsby, J.A. (ed.), 1999a: *Terence: Eunuchus*, Cambridge.
- Barsby, J.A., 1999b: “Love in Terence,” in Braund and Mayer, 5–29.
- Barsby, J.A., 2000a: “Donatus on Terence: The *Eunuchus* Commentary,” in Stärk and Vogt-Spira, 491–513.
- Barsby, J.A., 2000b: “Terence,” in Classe, 1384–1386.
- Barsby, J.A. (trans.), 2001: *Terence*, 2 vols, Cambridge, MA.
- Barsby, J.A., 2002: “Terence and his Greek Models,” in Questa and Raffaelli, 251–277.
- Barsby, J.A., 2007: “Review of Brown 2006,” *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2007.7.47.
- Barthes, R., 1978: *A Lover’s Discourse: Fragments*, trans. R. Howard, New York.
- Barwick, K., 1928: “Die Gliederung der *narratio* in der rhetorischen Theorie,” *Hermes* 63, 261–287.
- Basore, J.W., 1909: “Quintilian on the Status of the Later Comic Stage,” *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 40, xxi–xxii.
- Bassett, S.E., 2008: “The Late Antique Image of Menander,” *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 48, 201–225.
- Beacham, R.C., 1991: *The Roman Theater and its Audience*, Cambridge, MA.
- Beard, M., North, J., and Price, S. (eds.), 1998: *Religions of Rome. Vol. I: A History*, Cambridge.

- Beare, W., 1964: *The Roman Stage*, 3rd edn, London.
- Bendlin, A. and Rüpke, J. (eds.), 2009: *Römische Religion im historischen Wandel: Diskursentwicklung von Plautus bis Ovid*, Munich.
- Benfey, T., 1837: *Publius Terentius im Versmaß der Urschrift übersetzt. Vol. IV: Der Selbstquäler*, Stuttgart.
- Benson, L.D. (ed.), 1974: *The Learned and the Lewed: Studies in Chaucer and Medieval Literature*, Cambridge, MA.
- Bentley, R. (ed.), 1726: *Publii Terentii Afri Comoediae*, London and Cambridge.
- Benyamin, A. (ed.), 1988: *Post-structuralist Classics*, London.
- Benz, L., 1995: "Die römisch-italienische Stegreifspieltradition zur Zeit der Palliata," in Benz, Stärk, and Vogt-Spira, 139–54.
- Benz, L., Stärk, E., and Vogt-Spira, G. (eds.), 1995: *Plautus und die Tradition des Stegreifspiels*, Tübingen.
- Berg, D. and Parker, D. (trans.), 1999: *Plautus and Terence: Five Comedies*, Indianapolis.
- Bergmann, B. and Kondoleon, C. (eds.), 1999: *The Art of Ancient Spectacle*, New Haven.
- Bergson, H., 1911: *Laughter: An Essay on the Meaning of the Comic*, trans. C. Brereton and F. Rothwell, London.
- Bernard, R. (trans.), 1598: *Terence in English: Fabulae comici facetissimi et elegantissimi poetae Terentii omnes anglicae factae*, Cambridge.
- Bernhardy, G., 1872: *Grundriss der Römischen Litteratur*, 5th edn, Brunswick.
- Berschin, W. (ed.), 2001: *Hrotsvit Opera Omnia*, Munich.
- Berthiaume, G., 1982: *Les rôles du mâgeiros: Études sur la boucherie, la cuisine et le sacrifice dans la Grèce ancienne*, Leiden.
- Bethe, E., 1903: *Terentius. Codex Ambrosianus H. 75 inf. phototypice editus*, Leiden.
- Bettini, M., 1982: "Verso un' antropologia dell' intreccio: Le strutture semplici della trama nelle commedie di Plauto," *Materiali e Discussioni* 7, 39–101.
- Betts, J.H., Hooker, J.T., and Green, J.R. (eds.), 1986: *Studies in Honour of T.B.L. Webster. Vol. 1*, Bristol.
- Bianco, O., 1962: *Terenzio. Problemi e aspetti dell'originalità*, Rome.
- Bianco, O. (ed.), 1993: *Commedie di Publio Terenzio Afro*, Turin.
- Bickel, E., 1942: "Menanders Urwort der Humanität," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 91, 186–191.
- Bieber, M., 1961: *The History of the Greek and Roman Theater*, Princeton.
- Bilde, P., Engberg-Pedersen, T., Hannestad, L., Zahle, J., and Randsborg, K. (eds.), 1993: *Centre and Periphery in the Hellenistic World*, Aarhus.
- Blanchard, A., 1983: *Essai sur la composition des comédies de Ménandre*, Paris.
- Blank, M., Brunauer, D.H., and Izzo, D.G. (eds.), 1999: *Thornton Wilder: New Essays*, West Cornwall.
- Blänsdorf, J., 1974: "Das Bild der Komödie in der späten Republik," in Reinhardt and Sallmann, 141–157.
- Blänsdorf, J., 1982: "Die Komödienintrige als Spiel im Spiel," *Antike und Abendland* 28, 131–154.
- Blänsdorf, J. (ed.), 1990: *Theater und Gesellschaft im Imperium Romanum*, Tübingen.
- Blänsdorf, J. (ed.), 1995: *Fragmenta Poetarum Latinorum*, 3rd edn, Stuttgart.

- Blänsdorf, J., 2009: "Terentius Afer, P," *Brill's New Pauly Encyclopaedia of the Ancient World* 14, 283–88, Brill.
- Bloch, H., 1945:, "A New Document of the Last Pagan Revival in the West, 393–394 A.D.," *Harvard Theological Review* 38, 199–244.
- Bloomer, W.M., 1997: *Latinity and Literary Society at Rome*, Philadelphia.
- Bodel, J., 2008: "Cicero's Minerva, Penates, and the Mother of the Lares: An Outline of Roman Domestic Religion," in Bodel and Olyan, 248–275.
- Bodel, J. and Olyan, S.M. (eds.), 2008: *Household and Family Religion in Antiquity*, Malden, MA.
- Boedeker, D., 2008: "Family Matters: Domestic Religion in Classical Greece," in Bodel and Olyan, 229–247.
- Boegehold, A., 2004: "Kallimachos Epigram 28: What Does Echo Echo?," *New England Classical Journal* 31, 121–123.
- Boegehold, A. and Scafuro, A. (eds.), 1994: *Athenian Identity and Civic Ideology*, Baltimore.
- Bömer, F., 1981: *Untersuchungen über die Religion der Sklaven in Griechenland und Rom. Vol. I: Die wichtigsten Kulte und Religionen in Rom und im Lateinischen Westen*, 2nd edn, Wiesbaden.
- Bonfante, L. (trans.), 1986: *The Plays of Hrotswitha of Gandersheim*, Oak Park, IL.
- Bonner, S.F., 1977: *Education in Ancient Rome from the Elder Cato to the Younger Pliny*, Berkeley.
- Borgmeier, R., 2001: "'The God's Messenger and Secretary'?—Thornton Wilder and the Classical Tradition," *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 7, 344–365.
- Bovie, P. (ed.), 1974: *The Complete Comedies of Terence*. New Brunswick, NJ. repr. in Slavitt and Bovie 1992.
- Boyle, A.J., 2004: "Introduction: Terence's Mirror Stage," *Ramus* 33, 1–9.
- Braun, L., 1970a: *Die Cantica des Plautus*, Göttingen.
- Braun, L., 1970b: "Polymetrie bei Terenz und Plautus," *Wiener Studien* 83: 66–83.
- Braund, S., 2005: "Marriage, Adultery, and Divorce in Roman Comic Drama," in Smith, 39–70.
- Braund, S.M. and Mayer, R. (eds.), 1999: *Amor Roma: Essays presented to E. J. Kenney on his Seventy-Fifth Birthday*, Cambridge.
- Braunmuller, A.R. and Hattaway, M. (eds.), 1990: *The Cambridge Companion to English Renaissance Drama*, Cambridge.
- Bresson, A. and Descat, R. (eds.), 2001: *Les Cités d'Asie Mineure occidentale au II^e siècle a.C.*, Bordeaux.
- Brothers, A.J., 1980: "The Construction of Terence's *Heautontimorumenos*," *Classical Quarterly* 30, 94–119.
- Brothers, A.J. (ed. and trans.), 1988: *Terence: The Self-Tormentor*, Warminster.
- Brothers, A.J. (ed. and trans.), 2000: *Terence: The Eunuch*, Warminster.
- Brotherton, B., 1926: *The Vocabulary of Intrigue in Roman Comedy*, Diss. University of Chicago.
- Brown, J.R. (ed.), 1995: *The Oxford Illustrated History of Theatre*, Oxford.
- Brown, J.R. and Harris, B. (eds.), 1966: *Elizabethan Theatre*, London.
- Brown, P. (trans.), 2006: *Terence: The Comedies*, Oxford.

- Brown, P., 2007: "Movement of Characters and Pace of Action in Terence's Plays," in Kruschwitz, Ehlers, and Felgentreu, 175–188.
- Brown, Phyllis, 2004: "Hrotsvit's Sapientia as a Foreign Woman," In Brown, McMillin, and Wilson, 160–176.
- Brown, P.R., McMillin, L. A., and Wilson, K. M. (eds.), 2004: *Hrotsvit of Gandersheim: Contexts, Identities, Affinities, and Performances*, Toronto.
- Brown, R.M., 1934: *The Circle of Scipio: A Study of the Scipionic Circle*, Diss., University of Iowa.
- Bruder, H.W., 1970: *Bedeutung und Funktion des Verswechselfs bei Terenz*, Zurich.
- Brugnoli, G., 1965: "Donato e Girolamo," *Vetera Christianorum* 2, 139–149.
- Brunner, J. (ed.), 1912: *Vitae Vergilianae*, Leipzig.
- Bruns, P.J. (ed.), 1811: *P. Terentii Afri Comoediae Sex*, Halle.
- Büchner, K., 1974: *Das Theater des Terenz*, Heidelberg.
- Bullough, G., 1957–75: *Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare*, London.
- Burrow, C., 2004: "Shakespeare and Humanistic Culture," in Martindale and Taylor, 9–27.
- Burton, P., 2007: *Language in the Confessions of Augustine*, Oxford.
- Bushnell, R.W., 1996: *A Culture of Teaching: Early Modern Humanism in Theory and Practice*, Ithaca, NY.
- Bussmann, H., 1996: *Routledge Dictionary of Language and Linguistics*, trans. G. Trauth and K. Kazzazi, London.
- Bustos, M.N., 2009: "Los hermanos de Terencio: Un conflicto de caracteres," *Circe* 13, 65–73.
- Butler, M.M., 1960: *Hrotsvitha: The Theatricality of Her Plays*, New York.
- Byvanck, A.W., 1938: "Antike Buchmalerei II: Das Vorbild der Terenzillustrationen," *Mnemosyne* 7, 115–135.
- Cabrillana, C., 2000: "Virtualidades del espacio extra-escénico en la *Hecyra* de Terencio," *Pallas* 54, 269–287.
- Cain, A., 2006: "Vox clamantis in deserto: Rhetoric, Reproach, and the Forging of Ascetic Authority in Jerome's Letters from the Syrian Desert," *Journal of Theological Studies* 57, 500–525.
- Cain, A., 2009a: *The Letters of Jerome: Asceticism, Biblical Exegesis, and the Construction of Christian Authority in Late Antiquity*, Oxford.
- Cain, A., 2009b: "Jerome's *Epistula* 117 on the *subintroductae*: Satire, Apology, and Ascetic Propaganda in Gaul," *Augustinianum* 49, 119–143.
- Calboli, G., 1997: "Zur Pindarode: Horaz und Terenz," *Philologus* 141, 86–113.
- Callier, F., 1982: "A propos des *Adelphes* de Térence: Le personnage d'Hégion et la morale aristocratique," *Latomus* 41, 517–527.
- Cameron, A., 1999: "The Last Pagans of Rome," in Harris, 109–121.
- Carlson, M., 1998: "Impassive Bodies: Hrotsvit Stages Martyrdom," *Theatre Journal* 50, 473–487.
- Carney, T.F., 1963: *P. Terenti Afri Hecyra*, Pretoria.
- Carrubba, R.W., 1968: "The Rationale of Demea in Terence's *Adelphoe*," *Dioniso* 42, 16–26.
- Cartwright, K., 2010: *A Companion to Tudor Literature*, Malden, MA.

- Casarino, S. and Raschieri, A.A. (eds.), 2010: *Il senso del comico e la commedia: Atti del convegno Sala Ghislieri, Mondovì CN, 19 e 23 marzo, 14 aprile 2010*, Rome.
- Case, S.-E., 1983: "Re-viewing Hrotsvit," *Theatre Journal* 35.4, 533–540.
- Castronovo, D., 1986: *Thornton Wilder*, New York.
- Ceccarelli, L., 1992: *Primi sondaggi sulla tradizione manoscritta di Terenzio*, Rome.
- Chapman, A. and Foot, H. (eds.), 1977: *It's a Funny Thing, Humour*, Oxford.
- Charitonidis, S., Kahil, L., and Ginouvès, R., 1970: *Les mosaïques de la maison du Ménandre à Mytelène*, Bern.
- Chiarugi, E., 1978: "Solivertiator," *Atene e Roma* 23, 87–93.
- Christenson, D.M. (ed.), 2000: *Plautus: Amphitruo*, Cambridge.
- Christenson, D.M. (trans.), 2010: *Roman Comedy: Five Plays by Plautus and Terence*, Newburyport, MA.
- Christenson, D.M. forthcoming, "Metatheatre," in Dinter.
- Churchill, L., Brown, P.R. and Jeffrey, J.E. (eds.), 2002: *Women Writing Latin. From Roman Antiquity to Early Modern Europe. Volume 2: Medieval Women Writing Latin*, New York.
- Cicu, L., 1996: "Spectator extra fabulam: la nascita del dramma assoluto," *Sandalion* 19, 41–91.
- Citroni, M., 2005: "The Concept of the Classical and the Canons of Model Authors in Roman Literature," in Porter, 204–234.
- Classe, O. (ed.), 2000: *Encyclopedia of Literary Translation into English*, 2 vols, London and Chicago.
- Classen, A., 2010: "Sex on the Stage and in the Library of an Early Medieval Convent: Hrotsvit of Gandersheim. A Tenth-Century Convent Playwright's Successful Competition against the Roman Poet," *Orbis Litterarum* 65, 167–200.
- Clayton, F.W. (trans.), 2006: *The Comedies of Terence, Introduced by Matthew Leigh*, Exeter.
- Cohen, D., 1991: *Law, Sexuality, and Society: The Enforcement of Morals in Classical Athens*, Cambridge.
- Cole, P. and Morgan, J. (eds.), 1975: *Syntax and Semantics, Vol. 3: Speech Acts*, New York.
- Coleman, R.G.G., 1999: "Poetic Diction, Poetic Discourse and the Poetic Register," in Adams and Mayer, 21–93.
- Colman, G. (trans.), 1765: *The Comedies of Terence. Translated into Familiar Blank Verse*, 2 vols, London.
- Comerci, G., 1994: "Humanitas, Liberalitas, Aequitas: Nuova paideia e mediazione sociale negli *Adelphoe* di Terenzio," *Bollettino di Studi Latini* 24, 3–44.
- Conte, G.B., 1986: *The Rhetoric of Imitation: Genre and Poetic Memory in Virgil and Other Latin Poets*, Ithaca, NY.
- Conte, G.B., 1994: *Latin Literature: A History*, trans. J. Solodow, Baltimore.
- Cooke, T. (ed. and trans.), 1734: *Terence's Comedys, translated into English, with critical and explanatory notes*, 2 vols, London.
- Cooper, F., 1895: *Word Formation in the Roman Sermo Plebeius*, New York.
- Copley, F.O. (trans.), 1967: *The Comedies of Terence*, Indianapolis.
- Corbier, M., 2001: "Child Exposure and Abandonment," in Dixon, 52–73.

- Cornell, T.J., 1995: *The Beginnings of Rome: Italy and Rome from the Bronze Age to the Punic Wars (C. 1000–264 BC)*, New York.
- Coulter, C., 1929: "The Terentian Comedies of a Tenth Century Nun," *Classical Journal* 24, 515–529.
- Courcelle, P., 1972: "Ambroise de Milan face aux comiques latins," *Revue des Études Latines* 50, 223–231.
- Courtney, E., 1993: *The Fragmentary Latin Poets*, Oxford.
- Cribiore, R., 1996: *Writing, Teachers, and Students in Graeco-Roman Egypt*, Atlanta.
- Cribiore, R., 2001: *Gymnastics of the Mind: Greek Education in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, Princeton.
- Cribiore, R., 2007: "Higher Education in Early Byzantine Egypt: Rhetoric, Latin, and the Law," in Bagnall, 47–66.
- Crisafulli, T., 1998: "Representations of the Feminine: The Prostitute in Roman Comedy," in Hillard *et al.*, 223–229.
- Csapo, E. and Slater, W.J., 1995: *The Context of Ancient Drama*, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Cupaiuolo, G., 1984: *Bibliografia Terenziana 1470–1983*, Naples.
- Cupaiuolo, G., 1991: *Terenzio. Teatro e società*, Naples.
- Currie, H. McL., 1996: "English Translations of the Classics in the 19th Century," in Jocelyn 1996, 51–58.
- Dahlmann, H., 1935, "Caesars Schrift über die Analogie," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 84, 258–275.
- Dalby, A., 2003: *Food in the Ancient World from A to Z*, New York.
- Damen, M.L., 1987: "Reconstructing the Beginning of Menander's *Adelphoi* B," *Illinois Classical Studies* 12, 67–84.
- Damen, M.L., 1992: "Translating Scenes: Plautus' Adaptation of Menander's *Dis Exapaton*," *Phoenix* 46, 205–231.
- Damen, M.L., 1995: "'By the Gods, Boy . . . Stop Bothering Me! Can't You Tell Menander from Plautus?' or How *Dis Exapaton* Does Not Help Us Understand *Bacchides*," *Antichthon* 29, 15–29.
- Damen, M.L., 1997: "Hrotswitha of Gandersheim's *Dulcitius* and *Callimachus* in a new translation," *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 18, 18–110.
- Damen, M.L., 2002: "Hrotsvit's *Callimachus* and the Art of Comedy," in Churchill, Brown, and Jeffrey, 37–91.
- Damon, C., 1997: *The Mask of the Parasite: A Pathology of Roman Patronage*, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Danese, R., 1989: "Revisione del PVindob L103 Terenzio," *Studi classici e orientali* 39, 133–157.
- Dauster, M., 2003: "Roman Republican Sumptuary Legislation: 182–102," *Studies in Latin Literature and Roman History* 11, 65–93.
- Davidson, C., Johnson, R., and Stroupe, J.H. (eds.), 1993: *Drama and the Classical Heritage: Comparative and Critical Essays*, New York.
- Davidson, J., 1998: *Courtesans and Fishcakes: The Consuming Passions of Classical Athens*, London.
- De Luca, K., 1974: "Hrotsvit's Imitation of Terence," *Classical Folia* 28, 89–102.

- De Melo, W.D.C., 2007: *The Early Latin Verb System: Archaic Forms in Plautus, Terence, and Beyond*, Oxford.
- Deacy, S. and Pierce, K. (eds.), 1997: *Rape in Antiquity*, London.
- Del Corno, D., 1990: *Publio Terenzio Afro: Il punitore di se stesso*, Milan.
- Della Casa, A., 1977: *Arusianus Messius, Exempla Elocutionum*, Milan.
- Denzler, B., 1968: *Der Monolog bei Terenz*, Zurich.
- Dessen, C.S., 1995: "The Figure of the Eunuch in Terence's *Eunuchus*," *Helios* 22, 123–139.
- Detienne, M., 1989: "The Violence of Wellborn Ladies: Women in the Thesmophoria," in Vernant and Detienne, 129–147.
- Deufert, M., 2002: *Textgeschichte und Rezeption der plautinischen Komödien im Altertum*, Berlin.
- Deufert, M., 2003: *Eine verkannte Terenzbiographie der Spätantike: Untersuchungen zur Vita Ambrosiana*, Göttingen.
- Di Benedetto, A., 1962: "Echi terenziani in Orazio," *Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli* 37, 35–57.
- Di Benedetto, A., 1981: "Satira e commedia. Ancora sugli echi terenziani in Orazio," in Gallo, 291–322.
- Dickison, S.K. and Hallett, J.P. (eds.), 2000: *Rome and Her Monuments: Essays on the City and Literature of Rome in Honor of Katherine A. Geffcken*, Wauconda, IL.
- Dihle, A., 1957: "Analogie und Attizismus," *Hermes* 85, 170–205.
- Dillon, M., 2002: *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion*, London.
- Dingel, J., 1981: "Herren und Sklaven bei Plautus," *Gymnasium* 88, 489–504.
- Dinter, M. (ed.), forthcoming, *The Cambridge Companion to Roman Comedy*, Cambridge.
- Dixon, S. (ed.), 2001: *Childhood, Class, and Kin in the Roman World*, London and New York.
- Dodwell, C.R., 2000: *Anglo-Saxon Gestures and the Roman Stage*, Cambridge.
- Dohm, H., 1964: *Mageiros: Die Rolle des Kochs in der griechisch-römischen Komödie*, Munich.
- Domingo-Forasté, D., 1989: "Piety in Menander," *Laetaberis* 7, 1–8.
- Dorey, T.A., 1962: "A Note on the *Adelphi* of Terence," *Greece & Rome* 9, 37–9.
- Drabble, M., 1985: *The Oxford Companion to English Literature*, London.
- Dronke, P., 1984: *Women Writers in the Middle Ages: A Critical Study of Texts from Perpetua to Marguerite Porete*, New York.
- Dronke, P., 1994: *Nine Medieval Latin Plays*, Cambridge.
- Duckworth, G.E., 1952: *The Nature of Roman Comedy: A Study in Popular Entertainment*, 2nd edn, Princeton 1994: with foreword and bibliographical appendix by R. Hunter, Norman, OK.
- Dugan, J., 2005: *Making a New Man: Ciceronian Self-Fashioning in the Rhetorical Works*, Oxford.
- Dugdale, E., 2008: *Greek Theatre in Context*, Cambridge.
- Dumont, J.C., 1966: "La stratégie de l'esclave Plautinien," *Revue des Études Latines* 44, 182–203.
- Duncan, D., 1987: "Gammer Gurton's Needle and the Concept of Humanist Parody," *Studies in English Literature* 27.2, 177–196.

- Dunsch, B., 1999: "Some Notes on the Understanding of Terence, *Heauton Timorumenos* 6: *comoedia duplex*, *argumentum simplex*, and Hellenistic Scholarship," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 50, 97–131.
- Dunsch, B., 2009: "Religion in der römischen Komödie: Einige programmatische Überlegungen," in Bendlin and Rüpke, 17–56.
- Dutsch, D., 2008: *Feminine Discourses in Roman Comedy: On Echoes and Voices*, Oxford.
- Dziatzko, K., 1866: "Über die terentianischen Didascalien," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 21, 64–92.
- Dziatzko, K., 1892: "Review of Rötter 1892," *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 13, 1459–1460.
- Earl, D.C., 1962: "Terence and Roman Politics," *Historia* 11, 469–485.
- Easterling, P. and Hall, E. (eds.), 2002: *Greek and Roman Actors: Aspects of an Ancient Profession*, Cambridge.
- Echard, L. *et al.* (trans.), 1694: *Terence's Comedies Made English*, London.
- Eckstein, A.M., 2006: *Mediterranean Anarchy, Interstate War, and the Rise of Rome*, Berkeley.
- Edmondson, J.C., 1999: "The Cultural Politics of Public Spectacle in Rome and the Greek East, 167–166 BCE," in Bergmann and Kondoleon, 77–95.
- Edmunds, L., 2001: *Intertextuality and the Reading of Roman Poetry*, Baltimore.
- Edwards, C., 1993: *The Politics of Immorality in Ancient Rome*, Cambridge.
- Edwards, W.A., 1933: *Plagiarism*, Cambridge.
- Eisenberger, H. (ed.), 1990: *Hermeneumata. Festschrift H. Hörner*, Heidelberg.
- Elam, K., 1996: "The Fertile Eunuch: *Twelfth Night*, Early Modern Intercourse, and the Fruits of Castration," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 47.1, 1–36.
- Elvers, K.-L., 2001: "Scipionenkreis," *Der neue Pauly: Enzyklopädie der Antike* 11, 298.
- Enk, P.J., 1960: "Terence as an Adapter of Greek Comedies," *Mnemosyne* 13, 81–93.
- Enos, R.L., 1995: *Roman Rhetoric: Revolution and the Greek Influence*, Prospect Heights, IL.
- Evans Grubbs, J., 2002: *Women and the Law in the Roman Empire: A Sourcebook on Marriage, Divorce and Widowhood*, London.
- Fairclough, H.R. (trans.), 1926: *Horace: Satires, Epistles and Ars Poetica*, Cambridge, MA.
- Fantham, E., 1968: "Terence, Diphilus and Menander: A Re-examination of Terence, *Adelphoe* Act II," *Philologus* 112, 196–216.
- Fantham, E., 1971: "*Hautontimorumenos* and *Adelphoe*: A Study of Fatherhood in Terence and Menander," *Latomus* 30, 970–998.
- Fantham, E., 1972: *Comparative Studies in Republican Latin Imagery*, Toronto.
- Fantham, E., 1975: "Sex, Status, and Survival in Hellenistic Athens: A Study of Women in New Comedy," *Phoenix* 29, 45–58.
- Fantham, E., 1989a: "Mime: The Missing Link in Roman Literary History," *Classical World* 82, 153–163.
- Fantham, E., 1989b: "Erasmus and the Latin Classics," in Rummel, ed.
- Fantham, E., 2002: "Orator and/or Actor," in Easterling and Hall, 362–376.
- Fantham, E., 2004: "Terence and the Familiarisation of Comedy," *Ramus* 33, 20–34.
- Faraone, C.A., 2008: "Household Religion in Ancient Greece," in Bodel and Olyan, 210–228.

- Faraone, C.A. and McClure, L. (eds.), 2006: *Prostitutes and Courtesans in the Ancient World*. Madison, WI.
- Faraone, C.A. and Naiden, F.S. (eds.), 2012: *Greek and Roman Sacrifice: Ancient Victims, Modern Observers*, Cambridge.
- Farrell, J., 2005: "Intention and Intertext," *Phoenix* 59, 98–111.
- Feeney, D., 1998: *Literature and Religion at Rome: Cultures, Contexts, and Beliefs*, Cambridge.
- Ferrary, J.L., 1988: *Philhellénisme et impérialisme: Aspects idéologiques de la conquête romaine du monde hellénistique, de la seconde guerre de Macédoine à la guerre contre Mithridate*, Rome.
- Finkielsztejn, G., 2001: "Politique et commerce à Rhodes au II^e s. a.C.: Le témoignage des exportations d'amphores," in Bresson and Descat, 183–196.
- Fiske, G.C., 1920: *Lucilius and Horace: A Study in the Classical Theory of Imitation*, Madison, WI.
- Fleckeisen, A. (ed.), 1857: *P. Terenti Comoediae*, Leipzig.
- Focardi, G., 1978: "Lo stile oratorio nei prologhi terenziani," *Studi Italiani di Filologia Classica* 50, 70–89.
- Focardi, G., 1990: "Ambientazione forense e parodia nel *Phormio* di Terenzio," *Sileno* 16, 107–115.
- Fontaine, M., 2007: "*Parasitus Colax*: Terence, *Eunuchus* 30," *Mnemosyne* 60, 298–299.
- Fontaine, M., 2010: *Funny Words in Plautine Comedy*, Oxford.
- Forehand, W.E., 1973: "Syrus' Role in Terence's *Adelphoe*," *Classical Journal* 69, 52–56.
- Forehand, W.E., 1985: *Terence*, Boston.
- Forsythe, G., 1991: "A Philological Note on the Scipionic Circle," *American Journal of Philology* 112, 363–364.
- Fortson, B.W., 2008: *Language and Rhythm in Plautus: Synchronic and Diachronic Studies*, Berlin.
- Foxhall, L. and Salmon, J. (eds.), 1998: *Thinking Men: Masculinity and Its Self-Representation in the Classical Tradition*, London.
- Fraenkel, E., 2007: *Plautine Elements in Plautus*, trans. T. Drevikovsky and F. Muecke, Oxford.
- France, P. (ed.), 2000: *Oxford Guide to Literature in English Translation*, Oxford.
- Frangoulidis, S.A. 1994: "Performance and Improvisation in Terence's *Eunuchus*," *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 48, 121–130.
- Frangoulidis, S.A., 1995: "The Parasite as Poet-Playwright and the Slave as Parasite in Terence's *Phormio*," *Bolletino di Studi Latini* 25, 397–425.
- Frangoulidis, S.A., 1996: "Metatheatre as Therapy in Terence's *Phormio*," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 47, 169–206.
- Frank, T., 1928: "Terence's Contribution to Plot-Construction," *American Journal of Philology* 49, 309–22.
- Frankforter, A.D., 1979: "Hroswitha of Gandersheim and the Destiny of Women," *Historian* 41, 295–314.
- Franko, G.F., 2004: "Ensemble Scenes in Plautus," *American Journal of Philology* 125, 27–59.
- Frauenfelder, D.W., 1996: "Respecting Terence, *Adelphoe* 155–75," *Classical World* 90, 23–32.

- Frye, N., 1957: *Anatomy of Criticism: Four Essays*, Princeton.
- Frye, N., 1965: *A Natural Perspective: The Development of Shakespearean Comedy and Romance*, New York.
- Gabrielsen, V., 1993: "Rhodes and Rome after the Third Macedonian War," in Bilde *et al.*, 132–161.
- Gabrielsen, V., Bilde, P., Engberg-Pedersen, T., Hannestad, L., and Zahle, J. (eds.), 1999: *Hellenistic Rhodes: Politics, Culture and Society*, Aarhus.
- Gaiser, K., 1967: "Menander und der Peripatos," *Antike und Abendland* 13, 8–40.
- Gaiser, K., 1970: "Die plautinischen *Bacchides* und Menanders *Dis Exapaton*," *Philologus* 114, 54–87.
- Gaiser, K., 1973: "Menanders Komödie 'Der Schild'," *Grazer Beiträge* 1, 111–136a.
- Gallo, I. (ed.), 1981: *Studi salernitani in memoria di R. Cantarella*, Salerno.
- Gardner, J.F., 1991: *Women in Roman Law and Society*, Bloomington, IN.
- Gärtner, T., 2004: "Die Musen im Dienste Christi: Strategien der Rechtfertigung christlicher Dichtung in der lateinischen Spätantike," *Vigiliae Christianae* 58, 424–446.
- Gärtner, U., Lefèvre, E., and Sier, K. (eds.), 2005: *Ekkehard Stärk: Kleine Schriften zur römischen Literatur*, Tübingen.
- Garton, C., 1972: *Personal Aspects of the Roman Theater*, Toronto.
- Gellar-Goad, T.H.M., 2008: *Sacrifice and Ritual Imagery in Menander, Plautus, and Terence*, M.A. Thesis University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.
- Gellar-Goad, T.H.M., 2011–12: "The *Servus Callidus* and Ritual Imagery in Plautus' *Epidicus*," *Classical Journal* 107, 149–164.
- Georgescu, C., 1968: "L'analyse du *locus sententiosus* dans la comédie de caractère avec référence spéciale à la comédie *Adelphoe*," *Studii Clasice* 10, 93–113.
- Ghadessy, M. (ed.), 1988: *Registers of Written English*, London.
- Giacobello, F., 2008: *Larari pompeiani: Iconografia e culto dei Lari in ambito domestico*, Milan.
- Giannetto, N., 1985: *Bernardo Bembo, umanista e politico veneziano*, Firenze.
- Gibbons, B., 1980: *Jacobean City Comedy: A Study of Satiric Plays by Jonson, Marston, and Middleton*, 2nd edn, London.
- Gillespie, S., 2000: "Latin," in *Classe*, 804–809.
- Gillespie, S. and Hopkins, D. (eds.), 2005: *The Oxford History of Literary Translation in English: Volume 3, 1660–1790*, Oxford.
- Gillespie, S. and Wilson, P., 2005: "The Publishing and Readership of Translation," in Gillespie and Hopkins, 38–51.
- Gilula, D., 1979–80: "Terence's *Hecyra*: A Delicate Balance of Suspense and Dramatic Irony," *Studia Classica Israelica* 5, 137–157.
- Gilula, D., 1980: "The Concept of the *Bona Meretrix*: A Study of Terence's Courtesans," *Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica* 108, 142–165.
- Gilula, D., 1981: "Who's Afraid of Rope-Walkers and Gladiators? Ter. *Hec.* 1–57," *Athenaeum* 59, 29–37.
- Gilula, D., 1989a: "The First Realistic Roles in European Theatre: Terence's Prologues," *Quaderni Urbinati di Cultura Classica* 33, 95–106.

- Gilula, D., 1989b: "How Rich was Terence?," *Scripta Classica Israelica* 8–9, 74–78.
- Gilula, D., 1991a: "A Walk through Town Ter. *Ad.* 573–584," *Athenaeum* 69, 245–247.
- Gilula, D., 1991b: "Divining the Divine Prologue Ter. *Phormio*, II,3 and V,1," *Athenaeum* 69, 435–444.
- Giora, R., 1988: "On the Informativeness Requirement," *Journal of Pragmatics* 12, 547–565.
- Giora, R., 1991: "On the Cognitive Aspects of the Joke," *Journal of Pragmatics* 16, 465–485.
- Gold, B., 1997: "*Hrotswitha Writes Herself: Clamor Validus Gandershemensis*," in Gold, Miller, Platter, 41–70.
- Gold, B., Miller, P.A., and Platter, C. (eds.), 1997: *Sex and Gender in Medieval and Renaissance Texts: The Latin Tradition*, Albany, NY.
- Gold, M., 1930: "Wilder: Prophet of the Genteel Christ," *The New Republic* 64, 266–267.
- Goldberg, S.M., 1977: "*The Woman of Andros*: Terence Made Wilder," *Helios* 5.1, 11–19.
- Goldberg, S.M., 1980: *The Making of Menander's Comedy*, London.
- Goldberg, S.M., 1981–2: "The Dramatic Balance of Terence's *Andria*," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 33, 135–143.
- Goldberg, S.M., 1983: "Terence, Cato, and the Rhetorical Prologue," *Classical Philology* 78, 198–211.
- Goldberg, S.M., 1986: *Understanding Terence*, Princeton.
- Goldberg, S.M., 1993: "Terence and the Death of Comedy," in Davidson, Johnson, and Stroupe, 52–64.
- Goldberg, S.M., 1998: "Plautus on the Palatine," *Journal of Roman Studies* 88, 1–20.
- Goldberg, S.M., 2005: *Constructing Literature in the Roman Republic*, Cambridge.
- Goldstein, J.H. and McGhee, P.E. (eds.), 1972: *The Psychology of Humor: Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Issues*, New York.
- Goold, G.P., 1970: "Servius and the Helen Episode," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 74, 101–168.
- Gordon, Mr. (trans.), 1852: *Comedies of Terence, Translated into English Prose*, London.
- Gowers, E., 2004: "The Plot Thickens: Hidden Outlines in Terence's Prologues," *Ramus* 33, 150–166.
- Grant, J.N., 1973: "The Role of Canthara in Terence's *Adelphoe*," *Philologus* 117, 70–75.
- Grant, J.N., 1975: "The Ending of Terence's *Adelphoe* and the Menandrian Original," *American Journal of Philology* 96, 42–60.
- Grant, J.N., 1980: "The beginning of Menander, Ἀδελφοί, β," *Classical Quarterly* 30, 341–355.
- Grant, J.N., 1986: *Studies in the Textual Tradition of Terence*, Toronto.
- Grant, M. and Kitzinger, R. (eds.), 1988: *Civilization of the Ancient Mediterranean: Greece and Rome*, New York.
- Gratwick, A.S., 1982: "Drama," in Kenney and Clausen, 77–137.

- Gratwick, A.S. (ed. and trans.), 1999: *Terence, The Brothers*, 2nd edn, Warminster.
- Gratwick, A.S., 2007: "Review of Clayton 2006," *Bryn Mawr Classical Review* 2007.01.07.
- Gratwick, A.S. and Lightley S.J., 1982: "Light and Heavy Syllables as Dramatic Colouring in Plautus and Others," *Classical Quarterly* 32, 124–133.
- Graves, R. (ed.), 1962: *The Comedies of Terence: Echard's Translation*, Chicago.
- Green, J.R., 1985: "Drunk Again: A Study in the Iconography of the Comic Theater," *American Journal of Archaeology* 89, 465–472.
- Greenberg, N.A., 1979–80: "Success and Failure in the *Adelphoe*," *Classical World* 73, 221–236.
- Greenblatt, S. (ed.), 2008: *The Norton Shakespeare: Based on the Oxford Edition*, 2nd edn, New York.
- Grice, P., 1975: "Logic and Conversation," in Cole and Morgan, 41–59.
- Grimal, P., 1982: "Considérations sur les *Adelphes* de Térence," *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 38–47.
- Groton, A.H., 1987: "Anger in Menander's *Samia*," *American Journal of Philology* 108, 437–443.
- Gruen, E.S., 1984: *The Hellenistic World and the Coming of Rome*, 2 vols, Berkeley.
- Gruen, E.S., 1990: *Studies in Greek Culture and Roman Policy*, Leiden.
- Gruen, E.S., 1992: *Culture and National Identity in Republican Rome*, Ithaca, NY.
- Gundel, H., 1953: "Porcius 48," *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 22.1, 232–233.
- Habinek, T.N., 1998: *The Politics of Latin Literature: Writing, Identity, and Empire in Ancient Rome*, Princeton.
- Haffter, H., 1953: "Terenz und seine künstlerische Eigenart," *Museum Helveticum* 10, 1–20 and 73–102.
- Haffter, H., 1967: *Terenz und seine künstlerische Eigenart*, Darmstadt.
- Hagendahl, H., 1958: *Latin Fathers and the Classics: A Study on the Apologists, Jerome and other Christian Writers*, Göteborg.
- Hagendahl, H., 1967: *Augustine and the Latin Classics*, 2 vols., Göteborg.
- Haight, A.L., 1965: *Hrotswitha of Gandersheim: Her Life, Times, and a Comprehensive Bibliography*, New York.
- Hall, E., 2002: "The Singing Actors of Antiquity," in Easterling and Hall, 3–38.
- Halliday, M.A.K., 1978: *Language as Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*, London.
- Halliday, M.A.K., 1988: "On the Language of Physical Science," in Ghadessy, 162–168.
- Halporn, J., 1993: "Roman Comedy and Greek Models," in Scodel 1993b, 191–213.
- Handley, E.W., 1968: *Menander and Plautus. A Study in Comparison*, London.
- Handley, E.W., 1975: "Plautus and his Public: Some Thoughts on New Comedy in Latin," *Dioniso* 46, 117–132.
- Handley, E.W., 1983: "Menander. *Colax*," *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 50, 49–50.
- Handley, E.W., 1992: "Pap. Oxy. 3966. Menander, *Karchedonios*, *Phasma* or Another Play," in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 59, 51–59.

- Handley, E.W., 2002: "Acting, Action and Words in New Comedy," in Easterling and Hall, 165–188.
- Hanson, J.A., 1959: "Plautus as a Source Book for Roman Religion," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 90, 48–101.
- Hardie, C. (ed.), 1957: *Vitae Vergilianae Antiquae*, Oxford.
- Hardin, R.F., 2007: "Encountering Plautus in the Renaissance: A Humanist Debate on Comedy," *Renaissance Quarterly* 60, 789–818.
- Hardison, O.B. (trans.), 1987a: "Donatus: *On Comedy*," in Preminger, Hardison, Kerrane, and Golden, 45–49.
- Hardison, O.B. (trans.), 1987b: "Evanthius: *On Drama*," in Preminger, Hardison, Kerrane, and Golden, 41–45.
- Harries, J., 1994: *Sidonius Apollinaris and the Fall of Rome, AD 407–485*, Oxford.
- Harris, E.M., 1990: "Did the Athenians Regard Seduction as a Worse Crime than Rape?," *Classical Quarterly* 40, 370–377.
- Harris, W.V., 1979: *War and Imperialism in Republican Rome, 327–70 B.C.*, Oxford.
- Harris, W.V. (ed.), 1999: *The Transformations of Urbs Roma in Late Antiquity*, Portsmouth, RI.
- Harrison, A.R.W., 1968: *The Law of Athens I: The Family and Property*, Oxford.
- Harrison, S.J., Hilton, J., and Hunink, V. (trans.), 2001: *Apuleius: Rhetorical Works*, Oxford.
- Harsh, P.W., 1955: "The Intriguing Slave in Greek Comedy," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 86, 135–142.
- Haytock, J., 1999: "Women, Philosophy, and Culture: Wilder's Andrian Legacy," in Blank, Brunauer, and Izzo, 207–216.
- Hazlitt, H., 1930: "Mr. Wilder Turns to Terence," *Nation*, February 26, 246.
- Henderson, Jeffrey, 1991: *The Maculate Muse: Obscene Language in Attic Comedy*, New York.
- Henderson, John, 1988: "Entertaining Arguments: Terence *Adelphoe*," in Benyamin, 192–226.
- Henderson, John, 1999: *Writing down Rome: Satire, Comedy, and other Offences in Latin Poetry*, Oxford.
- Henderson, John, 2004: "Terence's Selbstaussöhnung: Payback Time for the Self *Hautontimorumenos*," *Ramus* 33, 53–81.
- Hendrickson, G.L. (trans.), 1962: *Cicero: Brutus*, Cambridge, MA.
- Henry, G.K., 1916: "The Meaning of *Stataria* as Applied to the Comedies of Terence," *Studies in Philology* 13, 72–80.
- Henry, M., 1986: "Ethos, Mythos, Praxis: Women in Menander's Comedy," *Helios* 13, 141–150.
- Herford, C.H., Simpson, E., and Simpson, P. (eds.), 1925–63: *Ben Jonson*, Oxford.
- Herrick, M.T., 1962: *Tragicomedy: Its Origin and Development in Italy, France, and England*, Urbana, IL.
- Herrick, M.T., 1964: *Comic Theory in the Sixteenth Century*, Urbana, IL.
- Herrmann, L., 1930–2: "César ou Cicéron?," *Musée Belge* 34, 243–245.
- Herrmann, M., 1962: *Die Entstehung der berufsmäßigen Schauspielkunst im Altertum und in der Neuzeit*, Berlin.

- Herrmanowski, E., 1892: *Quaestiones Terentianae selectae*, Diss. Halle.
- Hersch, K.K., 2010: *The Roman Wedding: Ritual and Meaning in Antiquity*, Cambridge.
- Hiatt, V.E., 1946: *Eavesdropping in Roman Comedy*, Chicago.
- Hillard, T.W., Kearsley, R.A.C., Nixon, E.V., and Nobbs, A.M. (eds.), 1998: *Ancient History in a Modern University*, Grand Rapids, MI.
- Hinds, S., 1998: *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry*, Cambridge.
- Hofmann, J.B., 1936: *Lateinische Umgangssprache*, Heidelberg.
- Holland, L.L., 2012: "Women and Roman Religion," in James and Dillon, 204–214.
- Holloway, J.B., 2002/2010: *Latin with Laughter: Terence through Time*, <http://www.umilta.net/terence.html>, accessed June 15, 2012.
- Homeyer, H. (ed.), 1970: *Hrotsvithae Opera mit Einleitungen und Kommentar*, Munich.
- Hoole, C. (ed. and trans.), 1663: *Publii Terentii ... Comediae sex Anglo-Latinae*, London.
- Hopkins, D., 2005: "Dryden and his Contemporaries," in Gillespie and Hopkins, 55–66.
- Hornback, R., 2010: "Reformation Satire, Scatology, and Iconoclastic Aesthetics in Gammer Gurton's Needle," in Cartwright, 309–323.
- Horsfall, N.M., 1984: "Aspects of Virgilian Influence in Roman Life," in *Atti del Convegno mondiale scientifico di studi su Virgilio, 1981*, 2.47–63, Milan.
- Horsfall, N.M. (ed.), 1995a: *A Companion to the Study of Virgil*, Leiden.
- Horsfall, N.M., 1995b: "Virgil's Impact at Rome: The Non-Literary Evidence," in Horsfall 1995a, 249–55.
- Hosley, R., 1966: "The Formal Influence of Plautus and Terence," in Brown and Harris, 131–145.
- Hough, J.N., 1945: "The *numquid vis* Formula in Roman Comedy," *American Journal of Philology* 66, 282–302.
- Hough, J.N., 1947: "Terence's Use of Greek Words," *Classical World* 41, 18–21.
- Hubbell, H.M. (trans.), 1960: *Cicero: De inventione, De optimo genere oratorum, Topica*, Cambridge, MA.
- Hubert, H. and Mauss, M., (1899): *Essai sur la nature et la fonction du sacrifice*, Paris.
- Hudson, R., 1996: *Sociolinguistics*, 2nd edn, Cambridge.
- Hunter, R.L., 1985: *The New Comedy of Greece and Rome*, Cambridge.
- Hunter, R.L., 2002: "'Acting Down': The Ideology of Hellenistic Performance," in Easterling and Hall, 189–206.
- Hunter, R.L. and Fantuzzi, M., 2002: *Musa e Modelli: La Poesia Ellenistica da Alessandro Magno ad Augusto*, Rome and Bari.
- Hunter, V.J. and Edmondson, J.C., 2000: *Law and Social Status in Classical Athens*, Oxford.
- Intagliata, A., 2010: "Il problema educativo secondo Terenzio (*Disciplina secundum Terentium Afrum*)," in Casarino and Raschieri, 81–91.
- Ireland, S. (ed. and trans.), 1990: *Terence: The Mother in Law*, Warminster.
- Isenberg, M., 1975: "The Sale of Sacrificial Meat," *Classical Philology* 70, 271–273.

- Jachmann, G., 1924: *Die Geschichte des Terenztexes im Altertum*, Basel.
- Jachmann, G., 1929: *Terentius. Codex Vaticanus latinus 3868 picturis insignis, ex auctoritate procuratorum Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae phototypice editus*, Leipzig.
- Jachmann, G., 1934: "Terentius," *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 5a, 598–650.
- Jakobi, R., 1996: *Die Kunst der Exegese im Terenzkommentar des Donat*, Berlin.
- Jakobi, R., 2007: "Das *Commentum Brunsonianum*," in Kruschwitz, Ehlers, and Felgentreu, 37–49.
- Jakobson, R., 1960: "Closing Statement: Linguistics and Poetics," in Sebeok, 350–385.
- James, S.L., 1998a: "Introduction: Constructions of Gender and Genre in Roman Comedy and Elegy," *Helios* 25, 3–16.
- James, S.L., 1998b: "From Boys to Men: Rape and Developing Masculinity in Terence's *Hecyra* and *Eunuchus*," *Helios* 25, 31–48.
- James, S.L., 2005: "Effeminate Elegy, Comic Women, and the Gender of Language: Recovering a Female Voice in Latin," Paper contributed to Latin Seminar at APA Meeting, Boston.
- James, S.L., 2006: "A Courtesan's Choreography: Female Liberty and Male Anxiety at the Roman Dinner Party," in Faraone and McClure, 224–262.
- James, S.L., forthcoming, "*Mater, Oratio, Filia*: Listening to Mothers in Roman Comedy."
- James, S.L. forthcoming, "Rethinking Rape in Menander's Comedy."
- James, S.L. and Dillon, S. (eds.), 2012: *A Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, Malden, MA.
- Janko, R., 1984: *Aristotle on Comedy: Towards a Reconstruction of Poetics II*, London.
- Jauss, H.R., 1982: *Toward an Aesthetic of Reception*, Minneapolis.
- Jeffrey, J.E., 2004: "Dramatic Convergence in Times Square: Hrotsvit's *Sapientia* and Collapsable Giraffe's 3 *Virgins*," in Brown, McMillin, and Wilson, 251–264.
- Jocelyn, H.D. (ed.), 1967: *The Tragedies of Ennius*, Cambridge.
- Jocelyn, H.D., 1973: "*Homo sum: humani nil a me alienum puto* (Terence, *Heauton Timorumenos* 77)," *Antichthon* 7, 14–46.
- Jocelyn, H.D. (ed.), 1996: *Aspects of Nineteenth-Century British Classical Scholarship*, Liverpool.
- Jocelyn, H.D., 2001: "Gods, Cult, and Cultic Language in Plautus' *Epidicus*," in Auhagen, 261–296.
- Johnson, W.R., 1968: "Micio and the Perils of Perfection," *California Studies in Classical Antiquity* 1, 171–186.
- Johnston, M., 1933: *Exits and Entrances in Roman Comedy*, New York.
- Jones, C.P., 1993: "Greek Drama in the Roman Empire," in Scodel 1993b, 39–52.
- Jones, L.W. and Morey, C.R., (1930–31): *The Miniatures of the Manuscripts of Terence prior to the Thirteenth Century*, 2 vols., Princeton.
- Jory, E.J., 1963: "Algebraic Notation in Dramatic Texts," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 10, 65–78.
- Jory, E.J., 1986: "Continuity and Change in the Roman Theatre," in Betts, Hooker, and Green, 143–152.

- Jürgens, H., 1972: *Pompa diaboli. Die lateinischen Kirchenväter und das antike Theater*, Stuttgart.
- Karakasis, E., 2002: "Quantum mutatus ab illo: Terence in Hroswitha," *Hellenika* 52, 279–293.
- Karakasis, E., 2003: "A Note on Terentian Metre," *Materiali e Discussioni* 50, 169–183.
- Karakasis, E., 2005: *Terence and the Language of Roman Comedy*, Cambridge.
- Karakasis, E., 2011: "Phormio," *The Literary Encyclopedia*. <http://www.litencyc.com/php/sworcs.php?rec=true&UID=13477>, accessed June 15, 2012.
- Karamalengou, E., 2001: "Le théâtre de Térence et l'image cicéronienne du 'cercle de Scipion'," *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* 60, 357–378.
- Karsten, H. (ed.), 1912–13: *Commenti Donatiani ad Terenti fabulas scholia spuria et genuina probabiliter separare conatus est H. T. Karsten*, Leiden.
- Kaster, R., 1980: "The Grammarian's Authority," *Classical Philology* 75, 216–241.
- Kaster, R., 1988: *Guardians of Language: The Grammarian and Society in Late Antiquity*, Berkeley.
- Kauer, R., 1901: "Zu den *Adelphoe* des Terenz," *Wiener Studien* 23, 87–105.
- Kauer, R. and Lindsay, W.M. (eds.), 1926: *P. Terenti Afri Comoediae*, Oxford.
- Kauer, R., Lindsay, W.M., and Skutsch, O. (eds.), 1958: *P. Terenti Afri Comoediae*, Oxford.
- Kellett, E.E., 1933: *Literary Quotation and Allusion*, Cambridge.
- Kenney, E.J. and Clausen, W.V. (eds.), 1982: *The Cambridge History of Classical Literature. Volume II: Latin Literature*, Cambridge.
- Kent, R.G. (trans.), 1938: *Varro: On the Latin Language*, Cambridge, MA.
- Kewes, P., 2005: "Drama," in Gillespie and Hopkins, 241–252.
- King, J.E. (trans.), 1950: *Cicero: Tusculan Disputations*, Cambridge, MA.
- Kleve, K., 1996: "How to Read an Illegible Papyrus: Towards an Edition of *PHerc.* 78, Caecilius Statius, *Obolostates sive Faenerator*," *Cronache Ercolanesi* 26, 5–15.
- Klose, D., 1966: *Die Didaskalien und Prologe des Terenz*, Freiburg.
- Klowski, J., 2000: "Terenz' *Adelphen* und die modernen Erziehungsstile," *Gymnasium* 107, 109–127.
- Knapp, C., 1919: "References to Literature in Plautus and Terence," *American Journal of Philology* 40, 231–261.
- Knight, W.F.J., 1971: *Roman Vergil*, New York.
- Knorr, O., 1995: "The Character of Bacchis in Terence's *Heautontimorumenos*," *American Journal of Philology* 116, 221–235.
- Knorr, O., 2007: "Metatheatrical Humor in the Comedies of Terence," in Kruschwitz, Ehlers, and Felgentreu, 167–174.
- Knorr, O., 2008: "Theatralisches Spektakel und Metatheater in der *Andria* und *Hecyra* des Terenz," *Gymnasium* 115, 435–451.
- Knox, P.E., 1988: "Phaethon in Ovid and Nonnus," *Classical Quarterly* 38, 536–551.
- Knox, P.E. (ed.), 2009: *A Companion to Ovid*, Malden, MA.
- Köhne, E. and Ewigleben, C. (eds.), 2000: *Gladiators and Caesars. The Power of Spectacle in Ancient Rome*, Berkeley.
- Konstan, D., 1974: "Terence's *Hecyra*," *Far-Western Forum* 1, 23–34.
- Konstan, D., 1983: *Roman Comedy*, Ithaca, NY.

- Konstan, D., 1986: "Love in Terence's *Eunuch*: The Origins of Erotic Subjectivity," *American Journal of Philology* 107, 369–393.
- Konstan, D., 1995: *Greek Comedy and Ideology*, Oxford.
- Körte, A., 1931: "Menandros," *Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 15.1, 707–761.
- Koutsoudaki, M., 1991: "The Presence of a 'Greek Past' in Thornton Wilder's *The Woman of Andros*," *Parousia* 7, 253–262.
- Koutsoudaki, M., 1994: *Thornton Wilder: A Nostalgia for the Antique*, Athens.
- Kraemer, C.J., 1928: "In Defense of Chaerea in the *Eunuch* of Terence," *Classical Journal* 23, 662–667.
- Kruschwitz, P., 2001: "Verszahlresponionen bei Terenz," *Philologus* 145, 312–323.
- Kruschwitz, P., 2004: *Terenz*, Hildesheim.
- Kruschwitz, P., Ehlers, W.-W., and Felgentreu, F. (eds.), 2007: *Terentius Poeta*, Munich.
- Kuiper, W.E.J., 1936: *Grieksche Origineelen en Latijnsche Navolgingen. Zes Komédies van Menander bij Terentius en Plautus*, Amsterdam.
- Kuiper, W.E.J., 1938: *Two Comedies by Apollodorus of Carystus*, Leiden.
- Kurke, L., 1997: "Inventing the *Hetaira*: Sex, Politics, and Discursive Conflict in Archaic Greece," *Classical Antiquity* 16, 106–153.
- Kyffin, M. (trans.), 1588: *Andria: The First Comoedie of Terence, in English*, London.
- Lada-Richards, I., 2004: "Authorial Voice and Theatrical Self-Definition in Terence and Beyond: The *Hecyra* Prologues in Ancient and Modern Contexts," *Greece & Rome* 51, 55–82.
- Laidlaw, W.A., 1938: *The Prosody of Terence: A Relational Study*, London.
- Lana, I., 1947: "Terenzio e il movimento filellenico in Roma," *Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica* 25, 44–80, 155–175.
- Lape, S., 2001: "Democratic Ideology and the Poetics of Rape in Menandrian Comedy," *Classical Antiquity* 20, 79–119.
- Lape, S., 2004a: "The Terentian Marriage Plot: Reproducing Fathers and Sons," *Ramus* 33, 35–52.
- Lape, S., 2004b: *Reproducing Athens: Menander's Comedy, Democratic Culture, and the Hellenistic City*, Princeton.
- Latte, K., 1960: *Römische Religionsgeschichte*, Munich.
- Layton, R., 2002: "Plagiarism and Lay Patronage of Ascetic Scholarship: Jerome, Ambrose, and Rufinus," *Journal of Early Christian Studies* 10, 489–522.
- Lazarus F.M., 1985: "On the Meaning of *Fors Fortuna*. A Hint from Terence," *American Journal of Philology* 106, 359–67.
- Leach, E.W., 1971: "Horace's *pater optimus* and Terence's Demea. Autobiographical Fiction and Comedy in *Sermo* I.4," *American Journal of Philology* 92, 616–632.
- Leeman, A.D., 1963: *Orationis Ratio: The Stylistic Theories and Practice of the Roman Orators, Historians and Philosophers*. 2 vols, Amsterdam.
- Lefèvre, E., 1969: *Die Expositionstechnik in den Komödien des Terenz*, Darmstadt.
- Lefèvre, E., 1973a: "Der 'Heautontimorumenos' des Terenz," in Lefèvre 1973b, 443–62.
- Lefèvre, E. (ed.): 1973b: *Die römische Komödie: Plautus und Terenz*, Darmstadt.
- Lefèvre, E. (ed.), 1978a: *Das römische Drama*, Darmstadt.

- Lefèvre, E., 1978b: "Plautus-Studien II: Die Briefintrige in Menanders *Dis exapaton* und ihre Verdoppelung in den *Bacchides*," *Hermes* 106, 518–538.
- Lefèvre, E., 1978c: "Review of Büchner 1974," *Gnomon* 50, 15–26.
- Lefèvre, E., 1983: "La structure des *Adelphes* de Térence comme critère d'analyse," in *Théâtre et spectacles dans l'antiquité: Actes du colloque de Strasbourg, 5-7 Nov., 1981*: 169–79, Leiden.
- Lefèvre, E., 1988: "Saturnalien und Palliata," *Poetica* 20, 32–46.
- Lefèvre, E., 1994: *Terenz' und Menanders Heautontimorumenos*, Munich.
- Lefèvre, E., 1995: *Plautus und Philemon*, Tübingen.
- Lefèvre, E., 1999: *Terenz' und Apollodors Hecyra*, Munich.
- Lefèvre, E., 2003: *Terenz' und Menanders Eunuchus*, Munich.
- Lefèvre, E., 2007: "Die Inszenierung des Zweikampfs zwischen Simo und Davos in Terenz' *Andria*," in Kruschwitz, Ehlers, and Felgentreu, 189–205.
- Lefèvre, E., 2008: *Terenz' und Menanders Andria*, Munich.
- Lefèvre, E., Stärk, E., and Vogt-Spira, G. (eds.), 1991: *Plautus barbarus: Sechs Kapitel zur Originalität des Plautus*, Tübingen.
- Leffingwell, G.W., 1918: *Social and Private Life at Rome in the Time of Plautus and Terence*, New York.
- Lehmann, A., 2003: "Varron et l'esthétique de Terence sur la base du début des *Adelphes*," *Latomus* 62, 543–559.
- Leigh, M., 2002: "Ovid and the Lectisternium (*Metamorphoses* 8.651–60)," *Classical Quarterly* 52, 625–627.
- Leigh, M., 2004: *Comedy and the Rise of Rome*, Oxford.
- Leisner-Jensen, M., 2002: "Vis comica: Consummated Rape in Greek and Roman New Comedy," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 53, 173–196.
- Leo, F., 1912: *Plautinische Forschungen. Zur Kritik und Geschichte der Komödie*, 2nd edn, Berlin.
- Leo, F., 1913: *Geschichte der römischen Literatur*, Berlin.
- Levenson, J., 1990: "Comedy," in Braunmuller and Hattaway, 263–300.
- Levin, R., 1971: *The Multiple Plot in English Renaissance Drama*, Chicago.
- Lieberg G., 1988: "Das pädagogisch-dramatische Problem der *Adelphen* des Terenz," *Grazer Beiträge* 15, 73–84.
- Lieberg, G., 1989: "Il monologo e le parole conclusive di Demea negli *Adelphoe* di Terenzio," in *Mnemosynum: Studi in onore di Alfredo Ghiselli*, 355–73, Bologna.
- Lindsay, H., 2009: *Adoption in the Roman World*, Cambridge.
- Lindsay, W.M., 1922: *Early Latin Verse*, Oxford.
- Lindsay, W.M., 1931: "Pugilum Gloria," *Classical Quarterly* 25, 144–145.
- Lloyd-Jones, H., 1973: "Terentian Technique in the *Adelphi* and the *Eunuchus*," *Classical Quarterly* 23, 279–284.
- Löfstedt, E., 1913: "Die Bembinusscholien und Donatus," *Eranos* 12, 43–63.
- López López, M., 1991: *Los personajes de la comedia plautina: Nombre y función*, Lleida.
- Lord, C., 1977: "Aristotle, Menander and the *Adelphoe* of Terence," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 107, 183–202.
- Lowe, J.C.B., 1983: "The *Eunuchus*: Terence and Menander," *Classical Quarterly* 33, 428–444.

- Lowe, J.C.B., 1985a: "Cooks in Plautus," *Classical Antiquity* 4, 72–102.
- Lowe, J.C.B., 1985b: "The Cook Scene of Plautus' *Pseudolus*," *Classical Quarterly* 35.2, 411–416.
- Lowe, J.C.B., 1997: "Terence's Four-Speaker Scenes," *Phoenix* 51, 152–169.
- Lowe, J.C.B., 1998a: "Terence, *Adelphoe*: Problems of Dramatic Space and Time," *Classical Quarterly* 48, 470–486.
- Lowe, J.C.B., 1998b: "The Intrigue of Terence's *Heauton Timorumenos*," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 141, 163–75.
- Lowe, J.C.B., 2009: "Terence and the Running-Slave Routine," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 152, 225–234.
- Lowe, N.J., 2000: *The Classical Plot and the Invention of Western Narrative*, Cambridge.
- Lowe, N.J., 2007: *Comedy*, Cambridge.
- Lübeck, E., 1872: *Hieronymus quos noverit scriptores et ex quibus hauserit*, Leipzig.
- Ludwig, W., 1968: "The Originality of Terence and his Greek Models," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 9, 169–182.
- Lund, J., 1999: "Rhodian Amphorae in Rhodes and Alexandria as Evidence of Trade," in Gabrielsen *et al.*, 187–204.
- MacCary, W.T., 1969: *Servus gloriosus: A Study of Military Imagery in Plautus*, Stanford.
- MacKendrick, P., 1954: "Demetrius of Phalerum, Cato, and the *Adelphoe*," *Rivista di Filologia e d'Istruzione Classica* 32, 18–35.
- Maier, N., 1932: "A Gestalt Theory of Humour," *British Journal of Psychology* 23.1, 69–74.
- Maltby, R., 1979: "Linguistic Characterization of Old Men in Terence," *Classical Philology* 74, 136–147.
- Maltby, R., 1983: "The Last Act of Terence's *Heautontimorumenos*," *Liverpool Latin Seminar* 4, 27–41.
- Maltby, R., 1985: "The Distribution of Greek Loan-Words in Terence," *Classical Quarterly* 35, 110–123.
- Maltby, R., 2007: "Distribution of Imagery by Plays and Characters in Terence," in Kruschwitz, Ehlers, and Felgentreu, 143–165.
- Mann, N. and Munk Olsen, B. (eds.), 1997: *Medieval and Renaissance Scholarship: Proceedings of the Second European Science Foundation Workshop on the Classical Tradition in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* London, Warburg Institute, 27–28 November, 1992, Leiden.
- Mannell, R., 1977: "Vicarious Superiority, Injustice, and Aggression in Humour: The Role of the Playful Judgmental Set," in Chapman and Foot, 273–276.
- Manuwald, G., 2011: *Roman Republican Theatre*, Cambridge.
- Marouzeau, J., (trans.) 1942–9, *Térence: Comédies*, 3 vols., Paris.
- Marouzeau, J., 1946: *Traité de stylistique appliquée au Latin*, Paris.
- Marrou, H.-I., 1948: *Histoire de l'éducation dans l'antiquité*. Vol. 2: *Le monde romain*, Paris.
- Marshall, C.W., 2006: *The Stagecraft and Performance of Roman Comedy*, Cambridge.
- Marti, H., 1963: "Terenz 1909-1959," *Lustrum* 8, 5–101.

- Marti, H., 1974: "Zeugnisse zur Nachwirkung des Dichters Terenz im Altertum," in Reinhardt and Sallmann, 158–178.
- Martin, C., 2009: "Translating Ovid," in Knox, 469–484.
- Martin, R.H. (ed.), 1959: *Terence: Phormio*, London.
- Martin, R.H. (ed.), 1976: *Terence: Adelphoe*, Cambridge.
- Martindale, C. and Taylor, A.B. (eds.), 2004: *Shakespeare and the Classics*, Cambridge.
- Marzano, A., 2009: "Hercules and the Triumphal Feast for the Roman People," in Antela-Bernárdez and Naco del Hoyo, 83–97.
- Massioni, M., 1998: *Il tropo e Terenzio: Teofrasto e Menandro*, Bologna.
- Matthew, H.C.G. and Harrison, B. (eds.), 2004: *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford.
- Mattingly, H., 1959: "The Terentian Didascaliae," *Athenaeum* 37, 148–173.
- Mattingly, H., 1960: "The First Period of Plautine Revival," *Latomus* 19, 230–252.
- Mattingly, H., 1963: "The Chronology of Terence," *Rivista di Cultura Classica e Medievale* 5, 12–61.
- Mauger-Plichon, B., 2000: "Térence et le problème de l'éducation: Réflexions sur les *Adelphes* et l'*Héautontimorouménos*," *Latomus* 59, 802–818.
- Maurach, G., 1961: "Kurzvers und System bei Terenz," *Hermes* 89, 373–378.
- May, J. and Wisse, J. (trans.), 2001: *Cicero: On the Ideal Orator*, Oxford.
- May, R., 2006: *Apuleius and Drama: The Ass on Stage*, Oxford.
- Mayvaert, P., 1973: "The Medieval Monastic Clastrum," *Gesta* 12, 53–59.
- McCarthy, K., 2000: *Slaves, Masters and the Art of Authority in Plautine Comedy*, Princeton.
- McCarthy, K., 2004: "The Joker in the Pack: Slaves in Terence," *Ramus* 33, 100–119.
- McCartney, E.S., 1936–7: "The Superstitions of Terence, *Phormio* 705–710," *Classical Journal* 32, 557–560.
- McClure, L.K., 2003: *Courtesans at Table: Gender and Greek Literary Culture in Athenaeus*, New York.
- McElduff, S., 2004: "More than Menander's Acolyte: Terence on Translation," *Ramus* 33, 120–129.
- McGarrity, T.K., 1977: *Thematic Analysis of the Plays of Terence*. Diss. University of Missouri at Columbia.
- McGarrity, T.K., 1978: "Thematic Unity in Terence's *Andria*," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 108, 103–114.
- McGhee, P.E., 1972: "On the Cognitive Origins of Incongruity Humor: Fantasy Assimilation versus Reality Assimilation," in Goldstein and McGhee, 61–80.
- McGhee, P.E., 1977: "A Model of the Origins and Early Development of Incongruity-Based Humour," in Chapman and Foot, 27–40.
- McGowan, M.M., 2009: *Ovid in Exile: Power and Poetic Redress in the Tristia and Epistulae ex Ponto*, Leiden.
- McGregor, B. (trans.), 1978: "Erasmus: On the Method of Study," in Thompson, 661–692.
- McLeish, K., 1976: *Roman Comedy*, London.

- McPherson, D., 1981: "Roman Comedy in Renaissance Education: The Moral Question," *Sixteenth Century Journal* 12.1, 19–30.
- Mercier, C. (trans.), 1996: *Terence Brothers*, Newburyport, MA.
- Mette, H.J., 1962: "Die περιεργία bei Menander," *Gymnasium* 69, 398–406.
- Miller, J., 1986: *Subsequent Performances*, New York.
- Milner, G., 1972: "*Homo Ridens*: Toward a Semiotic Theory of Humor and Laughter," *Semiotica* 5, 1–30.
- Miola, R.S., 1994: *Shakespeare and Classical Comedy: The Influence of Plautus and Terence*, Oxford.
- Mommsen, T., 1880: *The History of Rome*, trans. W.P. Dickson, London.
- Moodie, E., 2009: "Old Men and Metatheatre in Terence: Terence's Dramatic Competition," *Ramus* 38.2, 145–173.
- Moore, T.J., 1998a: *The Theater of Plautus. Playing to the Audience*, Austin.
- Moore, T.J., 1998b: "Music and Structure in Roman Comedy," *American Journal of Philology* 119, 245–273.
- Moore, T.J., 1999: "Facing the Music: Character and Musical Accompaniment in Roman Comedy," *Syllecta Classica* 19, 130–153.
- Moore, T.J., 2001: "Who is the Parasite? Giving and Taking in *Phormio*," in O'Bryhim, 263–265.
- Moore, T.J., 2007: "Terence as Musical Innovator," in Kruschwitz, Ehlers, and Felgentreu, 93–109.
- Moore, T.J., 2008: "When Did the *Tibicen* Play? Meter and Musical Accompaniment in Roman Comedy," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 138, 3–46.
- Moore, T.J., 2012: *Music in Roman Comedy*, Cambridge.
- Morgan, T., 1998: *Literate Education in the Hellenistic and Roman Worlds*, Cambridge.
- Morreall, J. (ed.), 1987: *The Philosophy of Laughter and Humor*, Albany.
- Mountford, J.F., 1934: *The Scholia Bembina*, London.
- Muecke, F., 1986: "Plautus and the Theatre of Disguise," *Classical Antiquity* 5, 216–229.
- Muir, B.J. and Turner, A.J., 2012: *A Digital Facsimile of Terence's Comedies: Oxford, Bodleian Library Ms. Auct. F. 2.13*, Bodleian Library, University of Oxford.
- Müller, R., 1997: *Sprechen und Sprache: Dialoglinguistische Studien zu Terenz*, Heidelberg.
- Müller, R., 2007: "*Pura oratio* und *puri sermonis amator*: Zu zwei Begriffsklippen der Terenz-Forschung," in Kruschwitz, Ehlers, and Felgentreu, 111–125.
- Munk Olsen, B., 1982–: *L'étude des auteurs classiques latins aux XI^e et XII^e siècles*, 4 vols., Paris.
- Nencini, F., 1891: *De Terentio eiusque fontibus*, Livorno.
- Newlands, C.E., 1986: "Hrotsvitha's Debt to Terence," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 116, 369–391.
- North, J.A., 1988: "Sacrifice and Ritual: Rome," in Grant and Kitzinger, 981–986.
- Norwood, G., 1923: *The Art of Terence*, Oxford.
- O'Bryhim, S. (ed.), 2001: *Greek and Roman Comedy: Translations and Interpretations of Four Representative Plays*, Austin.

- O'Daly, G., 1999: *Augustine's City of God: A Reader's Guide*, Oxford.
- O'Donnell, J., 1980: "Augustine's Classical Readings," *Recherches Augustiniennes* 15, 144–175.
- Oliveira, F. de, 2004–5: "La misogynie chez Térence," *Studii Clasice* 40–1, 57–72.
- Oniga, R., 1994: "L'allitterazione in Plauto e Terenzio: Un esperimento di analisi quantitativa," *Lexis* 12, 117–134.
- Oppermann, H., 1934: "Zur Andria des Terenz," *Hermes* 69, 262–285.
- Orlandini, A., 1982: "Lo scacco di Micione (Ter. *Ad.* 924–97)," *Giornale Italiano di Filologia* 34, 99–112.
- Orr, D.G., 1978: "Roman Domestic Religion: The Evidence of the Household Shrines," *Aufstieg und Niedergang der römischen Welt* 2.16.2, 1557–1591.
- Osborne, R., 1993: "Women and Sacrifice in Classical Greece," *Classical Quarterly* 43, 392–405.
- Otto, A., 1890: *Die Sprichwörter und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten der Römer*, Leipzig.
- Owens, W.M., 1994: "The Third Deception in *Bacchides*: *Fides* and Plautus' Originality," *American Journal of Philology* 115, 381–407.
- Pächt, O. and Alexander, J.J. (eds.), 1981: *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian*, Oxford.
- Packman, Z.M., 1993: "Call it Rape: A Motif in Roman Comedy and its Suppression in English-Speaking Publications," *Helios* 20, 42–55.
- Packman, Z.M., 1997: "*Adulescens* as *Virgo*: A Note on Terence's *Eunuch* 908," *Akroterion* 42, 30–35.
- Paduano, G., 2008: "Plauto traduttore," in Arduini, 301–310.
- Palmer, L., 1954: *The Latin Language*, London.
- Parker, D. (trans.), 1974: "*The Eunuch*," in Bovie 1974.
- Parker, H.N., 1989: "Crucially Funny or Tranio on the Couch: The *servus callidus* and Jokes about Torture," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 119, 233–246.
- Parker, H.N., 1996: "Plautus vs. Terence: Audience and Popularity Re-examined," *American Journal of Philology* 117, 585–617.
- Pascal, P., 1989: *Hrotsvitha: Dulcitius and Paphnutius*, Bryn Mawr, PA.
- Pasquali, G., 1951: *Stravaganze quarte e supreme*, Venice.
- Pasquali, G., 1952: *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*, Florence.
- Patrick, S. (ed. and trans.), 1745: *Terence's Comedies Translated into English Prose*, 2 vols. London.
- Penwill, J.L., 2004: "The Unlovely Lover of Terence's *Hecyra*," *Ramus* 33, 130–149.
- Pepe, G.M., 1972: "The Last Scene of Terence's *Eunuchus*," *Classical World* 65, 141–145.
- Perelli, L., 1973: *Il teatro rivoluzionario di Terenzio*, Florence.
- Pernerstorfer, M.J. (ed.), 2009: *Menanders Kolax. Ein Beitrag zu Rekonstruktion und Interpretation der Komödie*, Berlin.
- Perry, C., 2003: "Commerce, Community, and Nostalgia in *The Comedy of Errors*," in Woodbridge, 39–51.

- Perry, F. (trans.), 1929: *The Comedies of Terence Translated into English*, London.
- Philippides, K., 1995: "Terence's *Eunuchus*: Elements of the Marriage Ritual in the Rape Scene," *Mnemosyne* 48, 272–284.
- Pierce, K., 1997: "The Portrayal of Rape in New Comedy," in Deacy and Pierce, 163–184.
- Pierce, K., 1998: "Ideals of Masculinity in New Comedy," in Foxhall and Salmon, 130–147.
- Pociña Pérez, A., Rabaza, B., and Silva, M.F.S., 2006: *Estudios sobre Terencio*, Granada.
- Porter, J.I. (ed.), 2005: *Classical Pasts: The Classical Traditions of Greece and Rome*, Princeton.
- Posani, M., 1990: *Terenzio, Andria*, Bologna.
- Pöschl, V., 1973: "Die neuen Menander-papyri und die Originalität des Plautus," *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse*, Heidelberg.
- Powell, J.G.F. (ed. and trans.), 1990: *Cicero: On Friendship and the Dream of Scipio*, Warminster.
- Preminger, A., Hardison, O.B., Kerrane, K., and Golden, L. (trans.), 1987: *Medieval Literary Criticism: Translations and Interpretations*, New York.
- Prescendi, F., 2007: *Décrire et comprendre le sacrifice. Les réflexions des Romains sur leur propre religion à partir de la littérature antiquaire*, Stuttgart.
- Prete, S. (ed.), 1952: *P. Terenti Afri Comoediae*, Heidelberg.
- Prete, S., 1970: *Il codice di Terenzio Vaticano Latino 3226. Saggio critico e riproduzione del manoscritto*, Vatican City.
- Pucci, J., 1998: *The Full-Knowing Reader: Allusion and the Power of the Reader in the Western Literary Tradition*, New Haven.
- Putnam, M.C.J., 2010: "Virgil and Wilder's *The Cabala*," *New England Classical Journal* 37, 113–119.
- Questa, C., 2007: *La metrica di Plauto e di Terenzio*, Urbino.
- Questa, C. and Raffaelli, R. (eds.), 2002: *Due seminari Plautini. La tradizione del testo; i modelli*, Urbino.
- Radice, B. (trans.), 1969: *Pliny the Younger: Letters and Panegyricus*, Cambridge, MA.
- Radice, B. (trans.), 1976, *Terence: The Comedies*. Harmondsworth. Originally published in 2 vols., *The Brothers and Other Plays*, 1965; *Phormio and Other Plays*, 1967.
- Raffaelli, R. and Tontini, A. (eds.), 1998–present: *Lecturae Plautinae Sarsinates*, Urbino.
- Rainolds, J., 1629: *Th'Overthrow of Stage-Playes*, Oxford.
- Rand, E.K., 1931: *The Magical Art of Vergil*, Cambridge, MA.
- Rand, E.K., 1932: "The Art of Terence's *Eunuchus*," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 63, 54–72.
- Raskin, V., 1985a: *Semantic Mechanisms of Humor*, Dordrecht.
- Raskin, V., 1985b: "Script-based Semantics: A Brief Outline," *Quaderni di Semantica* 6.2, 306–313.
- Raskin, V. and Attardo, S., 1994: "Non-literalness and Non-Bona-Fide in Language: An Approach to Formal and Computational Treatments of Humor," *Pragmatics and Cognition* 2.1, 31–69.

- Rawson, B. (ed.), 1991: *Marriage, Divorce, and Children*, Canberra.
- Rawson, E., 1991: *Roman Culture and Society: Collected Papers*, Oxford.
- Redfield, J., 2012: "Animal Sacrifice in Comedy: An Alternative Point of View," in Faraone and Naiden, 167–179.
- Rees, R. (ed.), 2004: *Romane Memento: Vergil in the Fourth Century*, London.
- Reeve, M.D., 1983: "Terence," in Reynolds, 412–420.
- Reinhardt, V. and Sallmann, K. (eds.), 1974: *Musa Iocosa: Arbeiten über Humor und Witz, Komik und Komödie der Antike*, Hildesheim.
- Reiter, W., 1988: *Aemilius Paullus: Conqueror of Greece*, New York.
- Reynolds, L.D. (ed.), 1983: *Texts and Transmission. A Survey of the Latin Classics*, Oxford.
- Riccotilli, L., 2003: "Lettura pragmatica del finale degli *Adelphoe*," *Dioniso* 2, 60–83.
- Richardson, J., 2008: *The Language of Empire: Rome and the Idea of Empire from the Third Century BC to the Second Century AD*, Cambridge.
- Richardson, L., 1992: *A New Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome*, Baltimore.
- Richardson, L., 1997: "The Moral Problems of Terence's *Andria* and Reconstruction of Menander's *Andria* and *Perinthia*," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 38, 173–185.
- Richardson, L., 2006: "The Terentian Adaptation of the *Heauton Timorumenos* of Menander," *Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies* 46, 13–36.
- Richlin, A., 2006: "Roman Comedy and the Near East: Geopolitics and Cultural Work" [*Gail A. Burnett Lectures in Classics*, San Diego State University], San Diego.
- Richter, G.M.A., 1984: *The Portraits of the Greeks*, Ithaca, NY.
- Riehle, W., 1990: *Shakespeare, Plautus, and the Humanist Tradition*, Cambridge.
- Rieth, O., 1964: *Die Kunst Menanders in den "Adelphen" des Terenz*, Hildesheim.
- Riley, H.T. (trans.), 1853: *The Comedies of Terence. Literally Translated into English*, London.
- Riou, Y.-F., 1973: "Essai sur la tradition manuscrite du *Commentum Brunsonianum* des comédies de Térence," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 3, 79–113.
- Riou, Y.-F., 1997: "Les commentaires médiévaux de Térence," in Mann and Munk Olsen, 33–49.
- Ritchie, W. (trans.), 1927: *The Plays of Terence Translated into Parallel English Metres*, London.
- Rizzo, S., 1990: "Da Chrisalo a Siro: per una Ricostruzione del *DIS EXAPATON* di Menandro," in *Dicti Studiosus: Scritti di Filologia Offerti a S. Mariotti dai suoi Allievi*, 9–48, Urbino.
- Roberts, A.J., 1901: "Did Hrotswitha Imitate Terence?," *Modern Language Notes* 16, 478–481.
- Roberts, C.H., 1957: "P. Oxy. 2401," in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* 24, 110–123.
- Rolfe, J.C. (trans.), 1914: *Suetonius*, 2 vols., Cambridge, MA.
- Ronconi, A., 1970: "Sulla fortuna di Plauto e di Terenzio nel mondo romano," *Maia* 22, 19–37.
- Rosa, F., 1987: "Appunti sulla presenza di Terenzio nell'opera di S. Agostino," in *Teatro e pubblico nell'antichità*, 114–37, Trento.
- Rosenthal, E., 1972: *The Illuminations of the Vergilius Romanus Cod. Vat. Lat. 3867: A Stylistic and Iconographical Analysis*, Zurich.

- Rosivach, V.J., 1998: *When a Young Man Falls in Love: The Sexual Exploitation of Women in New Comedy*, London.
- Rötter, E., 1892: *De Heautontimorumeno Terentiana*, Bayreuth.
- Ruiz Arzálluz, I., 2010: *Francesco Petrarca. La Vita Terrentii de Petrarca*, Rome.
- Rummel, E. (ed.), 1989: *Collected Works of Erasmus. Literary and Educational Writings* 7, Toronto.
- Russell, D. (trans.), 2001: *Quintilian: The Orator's Education*, Cambridge, MA.
- Sabbadini, R., 1894: "Il commento di Donato a Terenzio," *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 2, 1–134.
- Salingar, L., 1974: *Shakespeare and the Traditions of Comedy*, Cambridge.
- Sallmann, K., 1990: "Christen vor dem Theater," in Blänsdorf, 243–259.
- Sandbach, F.H., 1978: "Donatus' Use of the Name Terentius and the End of Terence's *Adelphoe*," *Bulletin of the Institute of Classical Studies* 25, 123–145.
- Sandbach, F.H., 1982: "How Terence's *Hecyra* Failed," *Classical Quarterly* 32, 134–135.
- Sargeant, J. (trans.), 1912: *Terence*, 2 vols, Cambridge, MA.
- Saunders, C., 1966: *Costume in Roman Comedy*, New York.
- Saylor, C.F., 1975: "The Theme of Planlessness in Terence's *Eunuchus*," *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 105, 297–311.
- Scafuro, A., 1994: "Witnessing and False Witnessing: Proving Citizenship and Kin Identity in Fourth-Century Athens," in Boegehold and Scafuro, 156–198.
- Scafuro, A., 1997: *The Forensic Stage: Settling Disputes in Graeco-Roman Comedy*, Cambridge.
- Schadewaldt, W., 1931: "Bemerkungen zur Hecyra des Terenz," *Hermes* 66, 1–29.
- Scheid, J., 1992: "The Religious Roles of Roman Women," in Schmitt Pantel, 377–408.
- Scheid, J., 1995: "Graeco Ritu: A Typically Roman Way of Honoring the Gods," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 97, 15–31.
- Schlee, F. (ed.), 1893, *Scholia Terentiana*, Leipzig.
- Schmid, G.W., 1959: "Menanders *Dyskolos* und die Timon Legende," *Rheinisches Museum* 102, 157–182.
- Schmitt Pantel, P. (ed.), 1992: *A History of Women in the West. Vol. I* (A. Goldhammer, trans.), Cambridge, MA.
- Schorsch, F., 2011: *Das commentum Monacense zu den Komödien des Terenz: Eine Erstedition des Kommentars zu 'Andria,' 'Heautontimorumenos' und 'Phormio'*, Tübingen.
- Schultheiß, J., 2007: "Die Komödie des Terenz als Abbild von Lebenswirklichkeit und Quelle für Sentenzen: Bemerkungen zur Rezeption der *Adelphoe* bei Cicero und Augustinus," in Baier, 161–181.
- Schultz, C.E., 2006: *Women's Religious Activity in the Roman Republic*, Chapel Hill, NC.
- Scodel, R., 1993a: "Tragic Sacrifice and Menandrian Cooking," in Scodel (1993b), 161–176.
- Scodel, R. (ed.), 1993b: *Theater and Society in the Classical World*, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Scullard, H.H., 1974: *The Elephant in the Greek and Roman World*, Ithaca, NY.

- Seaford, R., 1990: "The Imprisonment of Women in Greek Tragedy," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 110, 76–90.
- Sebeok, T. (ed.), 1960: *Style in Language*, Cambridge, MA.
- Segal, C., 1993: *Euripides and the Poetics of Sorrow: Art, Gender and Commemoration in Alcestis, Hippolytus and Hecuba*, Durham, NC.
- Segal, E., 1987: *Roman Laughter: The Comedy of Plautus*, 2nd edn, Oxford.
- Segal, E., 2001: *The Death of Comedy*, Cambridge, MA.
- Segal, E. and Moulton, C., 1978: "Contortor legum: The Hero of the *Phormio*," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 121, 276–288.
- Sewart, D., 1974: "Exposition in the *Hecyra* of Apollodorus," *Hermes* 102, 247–260.
- Sharrock, A.R., 1996: "The Art of Deceit: *Pseudolus* and the Nature of Reading," *Classical Quarterly* 46, 152–174.
- Sharrock, A.R., 2000: "Latin Drama," in France, 531–535.
- Sharrock, A.R., 2008: "The Theatrical Life of Things: Plautus and the Physical," *Dictynna* 5, 171–189.
- Sharrock, A.R., 2009: *Roman Comedy: Poetics and Playfulness in Plautus and Terence*, Cambridge.
- Sherberg, B., 1995: *Das Vater-Sohn-Verhältnis in der griechisch-römischen Komödie*, Tübingen.
- Shipp, G.P. (ed.), 1960: *Terenti Afri Andria*, 2nd edn. London. repr. 2002.
- Sifakis, G.M., 1966: "Comedia: An Actress of Comedy," *Hesperia* 35, 268–273.
- Silber, P., 2004: "Hrotsvit and the Devil," in Brown, McMillin, and Wilson, 177–192.
- Skutsch, O., 1957: "Der zweite Schluß der *Andria*," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 100, 53–68.
- Slater, N.W., 1985: *Plautus in Performance. The Theatre of the Mind*, Princeton.
- Slater, N.W., 1988: "The Fictions of Patriarchy in Terence's *Hecyra*," *Classical World* 81, 249–260.
- Slater, N.W., 1999: "*Humani nil a me alienum puto*: The Ethics of Terentian Performance," *Syllecta Classica* 10, 1–21.
- Slater, N.W., 2000: "The Market in Sooth: Supernatural Discourse in Plautus," in Stärk and Vogt-Spira, 345–363.
- Slater, N.W. and Zimmerman, B. (eds.), 1993: *Intertextualität in der griechisch-römischen Komödie*, Stuttgart.
- Slater, W.J. (ed.), 1996: *Roman Theater and Society*, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Slavitt, D.R. and Bovie, P. (eds.), 1992: *The Complete Roman Drama in Translation*, Baltimore.
- Smith, B.R., 1988: *Ancient Scripts and Modern Experience on the English Stage 1500–1700*, Princeton.
- Smith, J.A., 2004: "Buy Young, Sell Old: Playing the Market Economies of *Phormio* and Terence," *Ramus* 33, 82–99.
- Smith, Leslie, 1989: *Modern British Farce: A Selective Study of British Farce from Pinero to the Present Day*, Totowa, NJ.
- Smith, L.P., 1994: "Audience Response to Rape: Chaerea in Terence's *Eunuchus*," *Helios* 21, 21–38.

- Smith, W.S. (ed.), 2005: *Satiric Advice on Women and Marriage: From Plautus to Chaucer*, Ann Arbor, MI.
- Soubiran, J., 1988: *Essai sur la versification dramatique des Romains: Sénèque iambique et septénaire trochaïque*, Paris.
- Soubiran, J., 1991: "Une glose grecque sur un papyrus de Térence P.Vindob. L 103," *Wiener Studien* 104, 115–118.
- Spranger, P., 1984: *Historische Untersuchungen zu den Sklavenfiguren des Plautus und Terenz*, Stuttgart.
- Stace, C., 1968: "The Slaves of Plautus," *Greece & Rome* 15, 64–77.
- Stärk, E., 1989: *Die Menaechmi des Plautus und kein griechisches Original*, Tübingen.
- Stärk, E., 2005: "Plautus' *uxores dotatae* im Spannungsfeld literarischer Fiktion und gesellschaftlicher Realität," in Gärtner, Lefèvre, and Sier, 23–33.
- Stärk, E. and Vogt-Spira, G. (eds.), 2000: *Dramatische Wäldchen: Festschrift für Eckard Lefèvre zum 65. Geburtstag*, Hildesheim.
- Stehle, E., 2012: "Women and Religion in Greece," in James and Dillon, 191–203.
- Stewart, R., 2012: *Plautus and Roman Slavery*, Malden, MA.
- Sticca, S., 1970: "Hrotswitha's *Dulcitius* and Christian Symbolism," *Medieval Studies* 32, 108–127.
- Strasburger, H., 1965: "Poseidonios on Problems of the Roman Empire," *Journal of Roman Studies* 55, 40–53.
- Strasburger, H., 1966: "Der Scipionenkreis," *Hermes* 94, 60–72.
- Strobel, N., 2004: *Männliche Perspektive, weibliche Identität: Frauenbilder und Rollenkonzeptionen in den Komödien des Terenz*, St. Katharinen.
- Stroh, W., 2000: "'Give us Your Applause': The World of the Theatre," in Köhne and Ewigleben, 103–124.
- Sully, J., 1902: *Essay on Laughter*, New York.
- Sutton, D.F., 1993: *Ancient Comedy: The War of the Generations*, New York.
- Talbot, R., 2004: "Hrotsvit's Dramas: Is There a Roman in These Texts?" in Brown, McMillin, and Wilson, 147–159.
- Taliercio, A., 1988: "Imitatio-aemulatio nei rapporti fra l'*Hecyra* di Terenzio e l'*Ἑκυρά* di Apollodoro di Caristo," *Orpheus* 9, 38–54.
- Tansey, P., 2001: "New Light on the Roman Stage: A Revival of Terence's *Phormio* Rediscovered," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 144, 22–43.
- Teuber, A., 1881: *De auctoritate commentorum in Terentium quae sub Aelii Donati nomine circumferuntur*, Eberswalde.
- Teuber, A., 1891: "Zur Kritik der Terentiuscholien des Donatus," *Jahrbücher für Philologie* 143, 353–367.
- Theiner, P., 1974: "The Medieval Terence," in Benson, 231–247.
- Thierfelder, A., 1960: "Knemon – Demea – Micio," in *Menandrea: Miscellanea Philologica*, 107–112.
- Thierfelder, A. (trans.), 1981: *P. Terentius Afer: Heautontimorumenos, Einer straft sich selbst*, Stuttgart.
- Thomas, R., 1979: "New Comedy, Callimachus and Roman Poetry," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 83, 179–206.

- Thomas, R., 1986: "Virgil's *Georgics* and the Art of Reference," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 90, 171–198.
- Thompson, C.R., 1978: *Collected Works of Erasmus. Volume 23-24: Literary and Educational Writings*, Toronto.
- Thumiger, C., 2009: "On Ancient and Modern Metatheatres: Definitions and Practices," *Materiali e Discussioni* 63, 9–58.
- Timpanaro, S., 1986: *Per la storia della filologia virgiliana antica*, Rome.
- Todd, S.C., 1993: *The Shape of Athenian Law*, Oxford.
- Tolliver, H.M., 1952: "Plautus and the State Gods of Rome," *Classical Journal* 48, 49–57.
- Tomsin, A., 1952: *Étude sur le commentaire virgilien d'Aemilius Asper*, Paris.
- Traill, A., 2001: "A Haruspicy Joke in Plautus," *Classical Quarterly* 54, 117–127.
- Traill, A., 2008: *Women and the Comic Plot in Menander*, Cambridge.
- Traina, A., 1999: *Forma e Suono: Da Plauto A Pascoli*, Bologna.
- Tränkle, H., 1972: "Micio und Demea in den terenzischen *Adelphen*," *Museum Helveticum* 29, 242–255.
- Treggiari, S., 1991: "Divorce Roman Style: How Easy and How Frequent Was It?," in B. Rawson, 31–46.
- Trenscényi-Waldapfel, I., 1957: "Une comédie de Térence, jouée aux funérailles de L. Aemilius Paullus," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 5, 129–165.
- Tromaras, L.M., 1985: "*Ibi inerat pictura haec Terent. Eunuch. 584–9*," *Hellenika* 36, 268–277.
- Trout, D., 1999: *Paulinus of Nola: Life, Letters, and Poems*, Berkeley.
- Udall, N., 1534: *Floures for Latine spekyng, selected and gathered oute of Terence, and the same translated in to Englyssh*, London.
- Umbrico, A., 2010: *Terenzio e i suoi nobiles. Invenzione e realtà di un controverso legame*, Pisa.
- Umpfenbach, F. (ed.), 1870: *P. Terenti Comoediae*, Berlin.
- Valero-Garcés, C. (ed.), 2010: *Dimensions of Humour: Explorations in Linguistics, Literature, Cultural Studies and Translation*, Valencia.
- Van Elk, M., 2009: "'This sympathized one day's error': Genre, Representation, and Subjectivity in *The Comedy of Errors*," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 60.1, 47–72.
- Varwig, F.R., 1990: "Die antiken Terenzillustrationen," in Eisenberger, 257–305.
- Vergeest, A., 1950: *Poetarum Enarratio: Leraren en Schoolauteurs te Rome van Cicero tot Quintilianus*, Rotterdam.
- Vernant, J.P. and Detienne, M. (eds.), 1989: *The Cuisine of Sacrifice Among the Greeks* (P. Wissing, trans.), Chicago.
- Verweij, M., 2004: "Comic Elements in 16th-Century Latin School Drama in the Low Countries," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 53, 175–190.
- Victor, B., 1989: "Review of Grant 1986," *Classical Philology* 84, 260–266.
- Victor, B., 1996: "A Problem of Method in the History of Texts and its Implications for the Transmission of Terence in Antiquity," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 26, 269–287.
- Victor, B., 1998: "Ménandre, Térence et Eckard Lefèvre," *Les Études Classiques* 66, 53–60.
- Victor, B., 2007a: "Terentiana," *Classical Quarterly* 57, 117–124.

- Victor, B., 2007b: "New Manuscript Sources of the Terence-text," in Kruschwitz, Ehlers, and Felgentreu, 1–14.
- Victor, B., 2012: "Terentius Orator an Poeta: The Endings of *Eunuchus* and *Adelphoe*," *Classical Quarterly* 62, 671–691.
- Victor, B. and Quesnel, B., 1999: "The Colometric Evidence for the History of the Terence-text in the Early Middle Ages," *Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 29, 139–166.
- Villa, C., 1984: *La 'lectura Terentii' da Ildemaro a Francesco Petrarca*, Padova.
- Villa, C., 2007: "Commenti medioevali alle commedie di Terenzio," in Kruschwitz, Ehlers, and Felgentreu, 29–35.
- Vincent, H., 2010: "Roman Satire and the General Theory of Verbal Humor," in Valero-Garcés, 417–450.
- Vincent, H., 2011: "Narrative Strategy and Humor in Juvenal 15," *New England Classical Journal* 38.3, 239–266.
- Vishnia, R.F., 1996: *State, Society and Popular Leaders in Mid-Republican Rome, 241–167 BC*, New York.
- Vivis, A., 2000: "Drama: Translating into English," in Classe, 371–373.
- Von Albrecht, M., 1997: *A History of Roman Literature*, 2 vols, Leiden.
- Von Winterfeld, P., 1902: *Hrotsvithae Opera. MGH SS rerum Germanicarum* 34, Berlin.
- Wackermann, O., 1888: *Über das Lectisternium*, Hanau.
- Wailles, S.L., 2000: *Spirituality and Politics in the Works of Hrotsvit of Gandersheim*, Cranbury, NJ.
- Wailles, S.L., 2001: "Beyond Virginity: Flesh and Spirit in the Plays of Hrotsvit of Gandersheim," *Speculum* 76, 1–27.
- Walbank, F.W., 1979: *A Historical Commentary on Polybius: Volume III, Commentary on Books XIX–XL*, Oxford.
- Wall, W., 2002: *Staging Domesticity: Household Work and English Identity in Early Modern Drama*, Cambridge.
- Warmington, E.H. (trans.), 1967: *Remains of Old Latin, Vol. III*, Cambridge, MA.
- Watson, A., 1967: *The Law of Persons in the Later Roman Republic*, Oxford.
- Webb, R., 2002: "Female Entertainers in Late Antiquity," in Easterling and Hall, 282–303.
- Webbe, J., 1629a: *The First Comedy of Pub. Terentius, Called Andria*, London.
- Webbe, J., 1629b: *The Second Comedy of Pub. Terentius, Called Eunuchus*, London.
- Webster, T.B.L., 1960: *Studies in Menander*, Manchester.
- Webster, T.B.L., 1974: *An Introduction to Menander*, Manchester.
- Webster, T.B.L., 1995: *Monuments Illustrating New Comedy. Vol. 1*, 3rd edn. revised by J.R. Green and A. Seeberg, London.
- Weismann, W., 1972: *Kirche und Schauspiele. Die Schauspiele im Urteil der lateinischen Kirchenväter unter besonderer Berücksichtigung von Augustin*, Würzburg.
- Weitzmann, K., 1959: *Ancient Book Illustration*, Cambridge, MA.
- Welch, K.E., 2007: *The Roman Amphitheatre: From its Origins to the Colosseum*, Cambridge.
- Wessner, P. (ed.), 1902–8: *Aeli Donati Commentum Terenti*, Leipzig.
- Wessner, P., 1907: "Der Terenzkommentar des Eugraphius," *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* 62, 203–228.

- West, D. and Woodman, T. (eds.), 1979: *Creative Imitation and Latin Literature*, Cambridge.
- West, M.L., 1973: *Textual Criticism and Editorial Technique*, Stuttgart.
- West, M.L., 1974: *Studies in Greek Elegy and Iambus*, Berlin.
- Westaway, K.M., 1917: *The Original Element in Plautus*, Cambridge.
- Weston, K.E., 1903: "The Illustrated Terence Manuscripts," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 14, 37–54.
- Wheeler, A.L. and Goold, G.P. (trans.), 1988: *Ovid: Tristia and Ex Ponto*, Cambridge, MA.
- Wiesen, D., 1964: *St. Jerome as a Satirist*, Ithaca, NY.
- Wilder, T., 2003: *The Ides of March*, New York.
- Wilder, T., 2006a: *The Cabala and The Woman of Andros*, New York.
- Wilder, T., 2006b: *Three Plays: Our Town, The Skin of Our Teeth, and The Matchmaker*, New York.
- Wiles, D., 1991: *The Masks of Menander. Sign and Meaning in Greek and Roman Performance*, Cambridge.
- Wiles, D., 1995: "Theatre in Roman and Christian Europe," in Brown, 72–75.
- Wiles, D., 1999: "Hrosvitha of Gandersheim: The Performance of her Plays in the Tenth Century," *Theatre History Studies* 19, 133–150.
- Wiles, D., 2003: *A Short History of Western Performance Space*, Cambridge.
- Wille, G., 1967: *Musica Romana: Die Bedeutung der Musik im Leben der Römer*, Amsterdam.
- Willems, K. and Cuypere, L. de (eds.), 2008: *Naturalness and Iconicity in Language*, Amsterdam.
- Williams, M.H., 2006: *The Monk and the Book: Jerome and the Making of Christian Scholarship*, Chicago.
- Willis, J., 1972: *Latin Textual Criticism*, Urbana, IL.
- Wilson, J.P., 1994: "Gre^x Scipionis in *de Amicitia*: A Reply to Gary Forsythe," *American Journal of Philology* 115, 269–271.
- Wilson, K., 1988: *Hrotsvit of Gandersheim: The Ethics of Authorial Stance*, Leiden.
- Wilson, K. (trans.), 1989: *The Plays of Hrotsvit of Gandersheim*, New York.
- Wilson, K., 1998: *Hrotsvit of Gandersheim: A Florilegium of her Works*, Cambridge.
- Wilson, K., 2004: "Introduction," in Brown, McMillin, and Wilson, 3–10.
- Woodbridge, L. (ed.), 2003: *Money and the Age of Shakespeare: Essays in New Economic Criticism*, New York.
- Wray, D., 2003: "What Poets Do: Tibullus on 'Easy' Hands," *Classical Philology* 98, 217–250.
- Wright, D.H., 1992: *Codicological Notes on the Vergilius Romanus*, Vatican City.
- Wright, D.H., 1993a: "The Forgotten Early Romanesque Illustrations of Terence in Vat. lat. 3305," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 56, 183–206.
- Wright, D.H., 1993b: *The Vatican Vergil: A Masterpiece of Late Antique Art*, Berkeley.
- Wright, D.H., 2001: *The Roman Vergil and the Origins of Medieval Book Design*, Toronto.
- Wright, D.H., 2006: *The Lost Late Antique Illustrated Terence*, Vatican City.

- Wright, J., 1974: *Dancing in Chains. The Stylistic Unity of the Comoedia Palliata*, Rome.
- Young, K., 1933: *The Drama of the Medieval Church*, Vol. 1, Oxford.
- Zampelli, M.A., 2004: "Playing with Hrotsvit: Adventures in Contemporary Performance," in Brown, McMillin, and Wilson, 265–282.
- Zetzel, J.E.G., 1972: "Cicero and the Scipionic Circle," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 76, 173–179.
- Zetzel, J.E.G., 1975: "On the History of Latin Scholia," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 79, 335–354.
- Zetzel, J.E.G., 1981: *Latin Textual Criticism in Antiquity*, New York.
- Zietsman, J.C., 1998: "A Comic Scene with a Stoic Message: Terence's *Eunuchus* in Persius *Satire* 5.161–175," *Akroterion* 43, 43–51.
- Ziv, A., 1984: *Personality and Sense of Humor*, New York.
- Zoccola, V., 2007: "L'ironia nell'*Hecyra* di Terenzio," *Orpheus* 28, 265–301.

General Index

This index is selective and does not include the names of the *dramatis personae* in the various plays of Greek and Roman Comedy, which are discussed extensively in the individual chapters, or dates. Passages discussed extensively in the chapters are indexed in the Index Locorum.

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p><i>A Funny Thing Happened on the Way to the Forum</i> (1966) 39</p> <p>Accius 367, 382</p> <p>Acro 352</p> <p>actors 271</p> <p>Admetus 59–61</p> <p><i>advocatus</i> 197</p> <p>Aemilius Asper 344, 352</p> <p>Aemilius Paullus 116, 136, 140, 146, 148–51, 154, 298, 321, 323, 380</p> <p>Afranius 5–6, 366–7</p> <p>Alcestis 59–61</p> <p>Alexis 176</p> <p>altar 168</p> <p>Altman, Joel 412</p> <p>Ambivius Turpio 48–9, 55, 70, 147, 228, 232–3, 299, 363, 386</p> <p>Ambrose 388–9</p> <p>Ammonius 383</p> <p>Amphipolis 149</p> <p>Anicius Gallus 149</p> <p>Antiochus III the Great 138, 152</p> | <p>Antiochus IV Epiphanes 138–9, 149, 152</p> <p>Apamea 138–9</p> <p>Apollo 53–4, 59, 160</p> <p>Apollodorus of Carystus 6, 19–20, 24, 27, 133, 139, 154, 182, 221, 245, 296, 299</p> <p>Appius Claudius 185</p> <p>Archilochus 53</p> <p>Aristodemus 139</p> <p>Aristophanes 53, 55, 440</p> <p>Aristotle 63, 66, 71, 320, 327–8, 411–13</p> <p>Arruntius Celsus 352</p> <p>Arusianus Messius 347, 382–3</p> <p>Ascham, Roger 415–16</p> <p>Atellan farce 41, 211, 254–6</p> <p>Athenaeus 439</p> <p>Atilius 5–6, 34, 377</p> <p>Atilius Praenestinus 363</p> <p>augury 158</p> <p>Augustine 387, 390–2, 394, 398</p> <p>Ausonius 383, 388–90</p> |
|--|--|

- Badius, Jodocus 411
 Bernard, Richard 411, 415, 449–52,
 456, 458, 463
 Bion 455
 Boccaccio 397
 Bohn Classical Library 458–9

 Caecilius Epirota 382
 Caecilius Statius 2–6, 23, 34–5,
 39–40, 44–7, 50, 228, 298,
 366–7, 376
 Caelius Rufus 372–3
 Callimachus 53–4
 Calliopius 346, 363, 386
Cantica 89, 94, 322
 Carthage 1–2
 Cato the Elder 67, 115, 121, 147,
 151, 157, 323, 327, 370
 Catullus 52, 61
 Ceres 160
 Chapman, George 420
 Chaucer 397
 Christine de Pizan 403
 Cicero 5–6, 66–8, 115–31, 343, 351,
 366, 368–9, 382, 394,
 411–12, 415, 447, 455
 Claudius Pulcher 154
 Codex Bezae Cantabrigiae 344–5, 363–4,
 385–6
 Colman, George (the Elder)
 456–8, 463
 comic effect (σῆμα *comicum*) 30,
 135
 Commedia dell'Arte 41
Commentum Brunsonianum 360–1
Commentum Monacense 361
comoedia palliata
 “death of comedy” 320
 language 219–21
 performance 3–5, 197, 466–7, 481
 Roman tradition 33–51, 156, 261
 stock characters 38
 structure 39
 Terence's use of 39–40
 Cooke, Thomas 454–5, 458, 465

 Crassus 121–3
 Crates of Mallus 81
 Creusa 268
 Cybele *see* Magna Mater

 Danae 56, 172, 264–5
 Dante 397, 399
 Demetrius I Soter 139
deverbia 89
 Diana 135–6
didascaliae 3, 46, 89, 128–9, 132,
 155, 227, 321, 343–4, 351,
 360, 363
 Diocletian 400, 403, 408
 Dionysus 57, 158, 408
 Diphilus 18–20, 23, 37, 176, 211,
 299, 321, 324
 Donatus 6, 20–4, 42, 48, 70, 135, 139,
 147, 170, 253, 327, 347–8,
 352–60, 363, 381, 392, 411–13
 Dryden 453, 465
 Duke Liudolf of Saxony 400

 Echard, Laurence 452–4, 456, 458,
 463–4
ekkyklema 330
 Ennius 17, 23, 34, 36–7, 56–9, 65,
 86, 139, 229, 265, 366, 382,
 430
 Epicharmus 367
epikleros 142, 178
 Erasmus 398, 411, 413–15
 Eugraphius 70, 147, 358–60
 Euripides 57–9, 408, 439, 445
 Evanthius 70, 358, 411–13

 Fabius Maximus Aemilianus 146
fabula
 motoria 69–70
 stataria 69–70
 Fenestella 126–8
 Fescennine verse 254–6
 Fleury Liturgical Dramas 397
Fors Fortuna 134, 290
 Forum Boarium 135

- Forum Cuppedinis 135
 Forum Pisca(to)rimum 135
 freedmen (*liberti*) 197, 201
 Fulvius Nobilior 5, 126
 Furius Philus 1, 115, 126, 131, 147

 Gaius Fannius 115
 Gaius Memmius 4, 126–8, 131
 Gerberga 399
 Goethe 245
 Gordon, Mr. 456, 458, 463

 Hadrian 400
 Heracles 59–61
 Hesiod 455
hetaira see *meretrix*
 Hipponax 53
 Hoole, Charles 451–4, 456, 463
 Horace 366–70, 376, 411–12
 Horatia 185
 Hrotsvit of Gandersheim 397–409,
 467–72
 names 399
 life 399–400
 performance 472–3, 476
 virginity 402–6
 works
 Gesta Ottonis 400
 Legends 399–400
 Plays (*Abraham, Callimachus,*
 Dulcitius, Gallicanus,
 Paphnutius, Sapientia) 400
 Primordia Coenobii
 Gandesheimensis 400
 humor
 theory of verbal 71

 Isidore 360

Jacke Jugeler 417
 Jerome 360, 387–8, 392–4
 Johnson, Ben 426–7
 Julius Caesar 6, 45, 70–1, 365,
 368–70, 394, 401
 Juno 160

 Lucina 185
 Jupiter 56, 172, 264–5

 Kyffin, Maurice 411

 Laelius 1, 4, 115–16, 118–31, 143,
 147, 252, 259, 323
 Lar Familiaris 169
Lares compitales 157
Lares viales 157
 Latomus, Jacobus 411
lectisternium 159, 166
 Lemnos 142, 179, 291–2
lena/leno 184, 195–8, 208–9, 215
lex Fannia cibaria 139–40, 154
 Licinius 5–6, 34, 366
 Livius Andronicus 137
lorarius 215
 Loyola, Ignatius 398
 Lucilius 114, 116, 118–19, 122–4,
 130
 Lucretia 185
ludi 3–5, 140, 155, 158–9, 227, 298
 Luscius Lanuvinus 20, 31, 34, 36–8,
 50, 53–4, 145, 228, 233,
 366
 Lutatius Catulus 115, 117
 Luther 398

 Macellum 30, 135, 138, 140
 μάγειρος 162–3, 165
 Magna Mater 262
 eunuch priests 262
 temple on the Palatine 262
 Mars 160
 Marston, John 427
matrona
 materfamilias 142, 181–2,
 196–8, 316
 morigera 181, 219
 uxor dotata 177, 281, 287, 293
 Melanchthon 411
 Menander
 anagnorisis 328
 ethos 248, 258–60

- Menander (*cont'd*)
 intrigue 258
 marriage 175–6
 oaths 158
 plays
Adelphoi 22, 320, 322
Andria 21, 36, 229–30, 232, 365
Aspis 29, 162, 176, 178, 212,
 251, 300, 329, 337
Demourgos 256
Dis Exapaton 44, 212, 253, 325,
 331
Dyskolos 168–9, 175, 183, 248,
 329–30, 339
Epitrepontes 20, 58, 175–7, 182,
 186–7, 192, 194, 248, 253,
 256, 329, 337
Eunouchos 18, 22–3, 26, 253, 277
Georgos 176, 194
Heauton Timoroumenos 18, 133
Heros 176–7, 186, 192, 194
Hiereia 177, 186, 194
Kitharistes 194
Kolax 18, 23, 25–6, 277
Misoumenos 175, 177, 183, 329
Perikeiromene 21, 175, 177,
 182, 329
Perinthia 17, 20–2, 25, 36, 161,
 168, 229–30, 232, 365
Phasma 175, 177, 194
Samia 177–8, 182, 186, 194,
 251, 253, 329, 331–2, 339
Sikyonioi 183, 329
Synaristosai 246
Theophoroumene 175
 rape 186–7
 sacrifice 156–7, 161–4
 slaves 211–12
 τρόπος 328–31
 φιλανθρωπία 247, 259
meretrix 38, 179, 188–92, 196–8,
 201, 204, 207–8, 219, 270–1,
 299–302, 313, 316, 376, 378,
 424, 439–41, 469–71
 bad 24, 190, 193, 250–3, 270,
 275–6, 477
 good 24, 83, 190, 193, 244–5,
 251–3, 273–7, 477
 pseudo- 184
 meter in Roman Comedy 90–1
 aeolic 94
 bacchiac 94
caesura 109
catalexis 91–4
 colum reizianum 94
 cretic 94
 dactylic 94
 iambic octonarius 93, 321–2
 iambic senarius 91–2, 322
 iambic septenarius 93
 trochaic octonarius 93–4
 trochaic septenarius 92–3
see also Terence
 Middleton, Thomas 427
 Minerva 160
mola salsa 159
 Molière
The School of Husbands 320
 Moschus 455
 Naevius 5–6, 17, 34–8, 47, 56, 229,
 265, 277, 366, 430
 Nepos 126–8, 252
 Nigidius Figulus 351
 Nonius 347
numen 157
 Oda 400
 Orosius 360
 Otto I 399–400
 Otto II 400
 Ovid
Amores 377
Ars Amatoria 377
 Pacuvius 367, 382
 Pan 168
 Panaetius 114–17, 120, 122, 124,
 130, 259
paterfamilias 141–3, 157, 170–1,
 177–82, 193, 195–210
patria potestas 142, 180, 193, 323

- Patrick, Samuel 455–6, 458, 463
 patronage 143–4, 152–4
 Paulinus of Nola 388–90
 Penates 169
 Pentheus 57, 408
 Perseus of Macedon 136–7, 146, 149
 Philemon 176, 211, 299
 pimp 184, 284
 plagiarism *see* Terence, *contaminatio*
 Plato 64, 440
 Plautus
 influence on Terence 33–51
 marriage 176
 oaths 158
 plays
 Amphitruo 160
 Asinaria 46, 170, 176–7, 179, 192
 Aulularia 169, 185–7, 308, 339
 Bacchides 40–1, 44, 176, 179, 253
 Captivi 47, 176
 Casina 39, 42–3, 46, 170, 177, 179, 192, 253
 Cistellaria 177, 179, 184, 186–7, 194, 300, 316
 Commorientes 37, 321
 Curculio 39, 42, 184, 300
 Epidicus 161, 177, 179, 186–7, 192, 194
 Menaechmi 39, 47
 Mercator 39, 170, 176–7, 179, 253
 Miles Gloriosus 39, 41, 176, 300, 417–18, 448, 465
 Mostellaria 39, 47, 168, 176
 Persa 39, 47, 176, 184, 192
 Poenulus 39–40, 42, 47, 179, 184
 Pseudolus 39, 41, 176, 192, 253, 373
 Rudens 42, 179, 184, 192, 205
 Stichus 47
 Truculentus 186–7, 192
 rape 186–7
 sacrifice 156–7, 164–6
 slaves 211–22
 sons 183
 Polybius 114, 116, 118–20, 122, 124, 130
 Pope Liberius 388–9
 Porcius 126–9
 Porta Trigemina 135–6
 Porticus Aemilia 136
 Priscian 347, 360
 prostitute *see meretrix*
 Ptolemy VI 138
 Pydna 138, 140, 148
 Pyrrhus 134

 Quinctius Atta 367, 377

 Rainolds, John 416
 religion 157–61
 Rhodes 137, 154
 Riley, Henry Thomas 458–9, 463
 Rutilius 121, 123

 Sabine women 187
 Santra 126, 128
 Sappho 61–3
 Saturnalian farce 248, 253
 Scaevola 120
 Schonaeus, Cornelius 409
 Scipio Aemilianus 1, 4, 113–31, 140, 146–7, 259, 323, 370
 humanitas 120, 124
 philhellenism 113–17, 120, 122, 124, 147
 Scipio Africanus 117, 120
 Sempronius Gracchus 154
 Shadwell, Thomas 320
 Shakespeare, William 419–27
 All's Well That Ends Well 421
 Comedy of Errors 39, 417, 420–1
 Hamlet 425
 King Lear 420–1, 425
 Measure For Measure 421
 Merry Wives of Windsor 421
 Midsummer Night's Dream 421
 Much Ado about Nothing 40, 421–2
 Othello 421, 425
 Richard III 421

- Shakespeare, William (*cont'd*)
 Taming of the Shrew 421–5
 Tempest 421
 Twelfth Night 410, 420–1, 425–6
 Winter's Tale 421, 425
- Sidonius Apollinaris 384, 387
- slaves 195–222
 ancilla 192–3, 196–7, 201–2, 209
 parasites 38, 195, 198, 201–2, 209, 277–9
 servus callidus (clever slave) 40–1, 143, 160–1, 177, 211–22, 233, 235–7, 240, 272, 294, 301–2
 servus currens (running slave) 19, 295–6, 315
 servus fallax (treacherous slave) 211–22, 285
- Socrates 378
- soldiers (*militēs*) 195, 197–8, 202, 208–9, 215, 219, 476, 478
- Sophocles 57, 445
- Spurius Mummius 116
- Steele, Richard
 The Conscious Lovers 239
- Stevenson, William 417–19
- Stilpo 80–1
- Suetonius 1–6, 352, 358, 380, 386
- Sulpicius Apollinaris 344
- Sulpicius Galba 149
- Sulpicius Gallus 5, 116
- Tarpeia 185
- tibia/tibicen* 89–92, 100, 109, 300, 361
- Telchines 53
- Terence
 act-breaks 25
 adaptation of Greek models 17–32
 adaptation of Roman models 33–51
 Afer 3
 anagnorisis 204, 260, 315
 Callimachean poetics 52–5, 431
 characterization 38–43, 50, 374–7
- Christian 409, 416, 467–71
- contaminatio* 17–32, 36, 232–3, 282, 321, 324, 364–5, 430
- death 4–5
- double plots 40
- editions 411
- elegantia* 125
- epitaphs 5–6
- family and household structure 141–2, 170–210
- fathers and sons 199–203
- gender and sexuality 175–94
- Greek titles 28–9
- homoioteleuton* 75–7, 87
- homosexuality 219
- humor 69–88
- improvised drama traditions 31
- language 43–6, 69–88, 366–70
- legitimacy of babies 204, 305–6
- love poetry intertexts 61–3
- manuscripts 343–50, 385–7, 397
- marriage 199–201, 203–6, 206–7
- meter 46, 89–110, 373–4
- Middle Ages 397–9
- modern editions 350–1
- musical accompaniment 26, 46, 89–110, 300
- neglegentia* 36–7, 229–30, 233–9
- oaths 158, 168
- otium* 150–4
- parechesis* 73, 78, 87
- parody 84–7
- philosophy 63–6
- plays
 Adelphoe 318–39
 Athenian law 322–3
 ethical discourse 64–5, 323
 fathers 151, 178–80, 326–9, 332–9
 first scene 230–3
 Menandrian influence 19, 22, 322–4, 332–9
 patronage 144
 prologue 18, 37, 119, 127, 145, 147–8, 324–5

- rape 186–8
Andria 225–42
 prologue 17, 20–2, 36, 53, 67,
 227–30, 429–31
 rape 186–8
Eunuchus 262–80
 Athenian law 29
 contemporary Roman events
 136–41
 Menandrian influence 24
 metatheater 82–4, 269–73
 metrical analysis 95–110
 Plautine character 45
 prologue 20, 37–8, 55, 145,
 227
 rape 160, 170, 172, 186–8,
 200, 263–9, 406–8, 422–3,
 473–5, 477–9
 social outcasts 277–9
 success 34–5, 148, 380
Heauton Timorumenos 243–61
 Athenian law 29
 defective structure 256–7
 fathers 151–2, 180–1
 mothers 255–6
 Peripatetic influence 259
 Plautine influence 253–4
 plots 244–53
 πολυπράγμων 249–50
 prologue 17–18, 20, 37, 67,
 119, 145
Hecyra 295–317
 comic appeal 315–17
 failure 35, 295–7
 plot twists 302–3
 prologues 19, 297, 364
 rape 186–8, 200, 307–8, 315
 reputation 295–7
Phormio 281–94
 Athenian law (*epidikasia*) 29,
 134, 283, 285–6
 contemporary Roman events
 139, 141
 love as disease 281–94
 metatheater 284
 patronage 144
 polygamy 142, 207, 291–2
 prologue 19–20
 slave-character 41, 201,
 281–94
 puns 77–81
purus sermo 69–71, 368–9
 reception in Early Modern
 England 410–28
 reception in Late Antiquity 380–96
 religion 156–74
 revivals 363–4, 380–2
 rhetoric 66–7, 370–4
 Roman character of plays 29–31,
 132–55, 209–10
 Roman elite 144–6, 150–4
 sacrifice 166–7
 scholarship 7–9
 scholia 351–61
 school text 382–4, 413–17, 446–57
 Scipionic circle (*grex*) 81, 113–31,
 221, 259, 365, 369
 slaves 211–22
 speaking characters 26, 326
 staging and theatricality 46–9,
 363–4, 414–17, 466–81
 tragic intertexts 55–61
 translations 411–12, 446–65
 use of prologues 27–8, 35–8, 52–5,
 66–7, 227–30, 270, 299
 wives and daughters 203–6
Terentius et Delusor 399
 Terentius Lucanus 1, 143
 Theophrastus 63
 Titinius 377
 Trabea 34, 366, 377
 Tubero 116, 120
 Tullia 185
 Turpilius 34, 366

 Udall, Nicholas 411, 414, 417–18,
 446–8, 450, 452, 464

 Valerius Aedituus 62–3
 Valerius Probus 344, 352

- Varro 343, 351, 377
Venus 160, 164
Vergilius Romanus 385
Vergilius Vaticanus 385
Verginia 185
Verrius Flaccus 352
Volcarius Sedigitus 34, 36, 366–7, 376
Vulcatius 4–6
- Webbe, Joseph 448–9
Wilder, Thornton
 Alcestiad 436, 445
 Cabala 432
 Ides of March 436, 445
 Woman of Andros 241, 429–45
Zeno 80

Index Locorum

Aeschines		1460a	377
<i>In Ctesiphontem</i>		Athenaeus	
135	383	2.674c	140
Ambrose		6.244f	139
<i>De Virginitate</i>		8.352b–c	137
3.3.13	389	Augustine	
Ammianus Marcellinus		<i>Confessiones</i>	
14.6.16	388	1.16.26	391, 398
Anonymous		<i>De Anima et eius Origine</i>	
<i>De Comoedia</i>		4.7.9	383
15 CGF Kaibel	299	<i>De Civitate Dei</i>	
Apollodorus of Carystus		19.5	391
18 K-A	133	<i>De Moribus Ecclesiae Catholicae</i>	
Appian		1.33.70	391
<i>Hispanica</i>		<i>Epistulae</i>	
14.84	123	82.31	387
<i>Syriaca</i>		155.14	391
39	139	Ausonius	
45–6	138–9	<i>Epistulae</i>	
Apuleius		26.7–12	388
<i>Apologia</i>		<i>Ludus Septem Sapientum</i>	
9	126	131	383
<i>De Deo Socratis</i>		154–5	383
165	378	191	383
Aristotle		206–10	383
<i>Poetica</i>		219–20	383
1452a29–31	328	<i>Protrepticus ad Nepotem</i>	
1453a	273	56–60	382

Caecilius Statius		<i>De Finibus</i>	
236–7	47	1.7	123, 366
Caesar		<i>De Inventione</i>	
<i>De analogia</i>	368–70	1.27	231, 370–1
Fragments		1.33	231, 372
1 <i>FLP</i> ³	6	<i>De Natura Deorum</i>	
Callimachus		2.60	372
<i>Actia</i> 1		3.72	375
1.3–5 Pfeiffer	53–4	<i>De Officiis</i>	
1.21	54	1.150	141
1.23–4	53–4	2.76	150
Cassiodorus		<i>De Oratore</i>	
<i>Institutiones</i>		1.45	120
1.15.7	382	1.75	120
Cato		1.144	369
<i>Orationes</i>		2.22	123
163–4 <i>ORF</i>	137	2.59	71
169	137	2.154–5	115
173–5	151	2.154	120
Catullus		2.172	231
51	61	2.251	388
95.1	75	2.326–8	231, 372
Charisius		3.87	120
GLK 1.241.28	377	<i>De Republica</i>	
Cicero		1.15	120
<i>Academica</i>		1.34	120, 122
2.20	300	2.27	120
2.75	80	4.3	120
<i>Brutus</i>		<i>De Senectute</i>	
78	116	43–7	128
164	366	49	116
258	369	<i>Epistulae ad Atticum</i>	
261	370	2.18.4	376
<i>De Amicitia</i>		2.19.1	375
1–3	115	4.16	115
69	115, 121	7.3.10	125, 148, 370, 394
87.8	75	9.6.5	376
89	125, 143, 231, 375	13.34	373
93	375	<i>Epistulae ad Familiares</i>	
97	375	1.9.19	373
100–1	115, 121–2	12.25.5	375
<i>De Divinatione</i>		<i>Epistulae ad Quintum</i>	
2.13.1	86	3.5.7	78
<i>De Fato</i>		Fragments	
10.1	80	2 <i>FLP</i> ³	5–6

<i>In Catilinam</i>		214	219
2.2.9	75	221	235
<i>In Milonem</i>		275	324
78.14	75	401	221
<i>In Pisonem</i>		761	23
90.5	75	855	336
<i>Orator</i>		923	235
79	369	935	324
<i>Philippicae</i>		938	22
2.15	373	971	22
5.20.4	75	984	253
9.4	138	992	332
<i>Pro Caecina</i>		1001	22
27	373	<i>Commentum ad Andriam</i>	
<i>Pro Caelio</i>		<i>Praef.</i> 1.6	227
38	373	10	21
<i>Pro S. Roscio Amerino</i>		14	21, 232, 325
47	375	71	441
<i>Tusculanae Disputationes</i>		74	441
3.31	375	226	241
4.76	375	250–1	354
Columella		277–80	354
12.50.2	74	301	21, 239
Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum		716	381
4.1211–12	378	770–1	30
4.1616	378	796	232
4.4555	378	891	24, 241
4.5189	378	939	310
4.5417	378	959	22
4.7102	378	977	21, 239
Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum		<i>Commentum ad Eunuchum</i>	
1.234	137	198	24
2.357	137	228	23
		255–7	30, 135
Diogenes Laertius		420	137
2.113–20	80	426	137
Donatus		507	23
1.190 Wessner	315	539	22
<i>Commentum ad Adelphos</i>		555	353
1	324	590	23
20	147	<i>Commentum ad Hecyram</i>	
80	324	581	355
81	22	825	23
151	325	<i>Commentum ad Phormionem</i>	
155–96	23	49	29, 352

Donatus (<i>cont'd</i>)		2.23	43–4
91	133	2.24.2–6	140
92	29	3.3.4–6	43
149–50	30–1	6.3	137
182	351–2	15.11.1	80, 139
190	351–2	15.24	34, 366
233	351–2	16.10	382
315	48–9	18.5	382
324–5	31	19.9.10	126
338–9	139	20.10.2	382
339–41	22		
393	31	Horace	
841	134	<i>Ars poetica</i>	
<i>De Comoedia</i>		94	388
5.1	374–5	<i>Epistulae</i>	
8.11	300	1.19.35–40	368
		1.20.23	368
Ennius		2.1.50–62	366–7, 382
<i>Andromacha</i>		2.1.56–61	381
27 Jocelyn	56	2.1.66	367
<i>Annales</i>		2.1.69–71	382
275 Skutsch	75	2.1.86–90	367
<i>Medea</i>		2.1.183–6	368
90	56	<i>Sermones</i>	
<i>Saturae</i>		1.2.20–2	376
14–19 Vahlen	139	1.4.105–29	376
Eugraphius		1.6.48	368
ad <i>Ad.</i> 12	147	2.1.71–5	116, 123
ad <i>Ad.</i> 20	147	2.3.262–4	376
ad <i>Ad.</i> 787	359	Hrotsvit	
Euripides		<i>Liber Secundus</i>	
<i>Alcestis</i>		<i>Praefatio</i> 1–3	400–1
711–15	60–1	<i>Praefatio</i> 5	408, 470
1138–9	59–60	<i>Dulcitius</i>	
<i>Ion</i>		IV	403
859–965	268	V–VII	404–5
		VIII	405
Festus		XI	405
42	135	XIV	405–6
418.17	119	<i>Paphnutius</i>	468–71
460	136	I	476
		VIII	476
Gellius		Jerome	
<i>Noctes Atticae</i>		<i>Adversus Iovinianum</i>	
1.10.4	369	1.48	392
1.24.3	45–6		

<i>Apologia contra Rufinum</i>		16	322
1.16	392	<i>Aspis</i>	
23.410	356	540–4	163
<i>Commentaria in Michaeam</i>		<i>Demiourgos</i>	
2 <i>prae</i> f.	393	Test. IV K-A	256
<i>Epistulae</i>		<i>Dyskolos</i>	
22.32	387	32–4	330
50.4	388	65–6	329
54.2	388	107–15	302
54.9	387	125–6	330
Justinian		129–30	330
<i>Digesta</i>		141–2	330
25.4.1.10	30	150	330
Juvenal		153–8	330
6.296	137	169–70	330
		260–4	161, 169
Livy		337	330
<i>Ab Vrbe Condita</i>		447–53	162
1.58	308	474–5	162
2.37.9	221	713–20	329
2.38.5	221	733–5	330
3.44–58	185	742	329
3.46	308	747	329
35.41.10	136	754	330
45.10.4–15	137	770	329
45.12.3–8	138	967–9	163
45.23.16–18	137	<i>Epitrepontes</i>	
45.24.1	137	487–90	267
45.32–3	148–9	908–18	259
45.35–9	149–50	1094–5	329
Lucilius		<i>Fabulae Incertae</i>	
175 Marx	77	6	194
859–60	77	7	162, 168
1138–42	119	Fragments	
		698 K-A	328
Macrobius		804	329
3.17.2–5	140	<i>Georgos</i>	
6.1.4	365	112–14 Arnott	305
Manilius		<i>Heauton Timoroumenos</i>	
5.604	74	127 Koerte-Thierfelder	133
Martial		<i>Karchedonios</i>	
11.90.5–6	382	1 Arnott	171
Menander		<i>Kolax</i>	
<i>Adelphoi</i>		2 K-T	138
3 K-A	322	3	137
12–14	322, 328	8	137

Menander (<i>cont'd</i>)		<i>Epistulae</i>	
<i>Misoumenos</i>		7.3	390
994–6	163	8	390
<i>Perikeiromene</i>		22.2	388
1024	163	Persius	
<i>Plokion</i>		1.76–82	382
335 K–T	305	5.161	22
<i>Samia</i>		Phaedrus	
18	331	<i>Appendix Fabularum</i>	
74–5	156	10.11	74
83	331	10.32	74
273	331	Plato	
309–11	158	<i>Phaedrus</i>	
327	331	230b–c	436
330–3	331	279b–c	436
344	331	<i>Theaetetus</i>	
412	331	172c–177b8	88
415	331	174a–175b	86
419	331	Plautus	
537–8	332	<i>Amphitruo</i>	
637	331	150	221
694–712	259	347–81	215
700–1	332	463	217
706	332	738	159
710	332	903	220
<i>Sikyonioi</i>		979	221
418–20	163	1034a	220
		1061	305
Ovid		<i>Asinaria</i>	
<i>Metamorphoses</i>		11	225
15.202–3	82	249–57	217
<i>Tristia</i>		256–7	213
2.1.353	377	259–64	218
2.1.355	377	446	221
2.1.359	377	598–605	220
		699–710	47
Pacuvius		711–15	164
11	82	712	156
Palladius		830–941	165
<i>Historia Lausiaca</i>		873–4	182
11.4	383	<i>Aulularia</i>	
Paulinus of Nola		40–66	302
<i>Carmina</i>		285–6	219
10.19–30	389–90	373	135

587-607	218	<i>Cistellaria</i>	
691-2	305	120-48	217
713-30	48	465	220
745	308	694	158
794-5	308	<i>Curculio</i>	
<i>Bacchides</i>		96-109	217
224-6	216	123	164
235-8	216	125	168
241-2	216	186	221
244-8	216	474	135
349-65	217-18	567	220
500-1	220	691	219
576	220	<i>Epidicus</i>	
640-62	217-18	59	218
673	216	63	220
734-47	254	81-4	217
751	220	139-40	159
770-841	216	158-9	218
770-1	216	161-3	217
892-5	158	173	170
925-30	40-1	182	218
972	217	184-8	216
1070-1	217	188	218
<i>Captivi</i>		194-5	217
90	218	343	218
266-76	220	616	216
268	220	673-4	165
489	218	<i>Menaechmi</i>	
600	220	110-24	302
659	220	127	221
815	221	288-330	156
860	156	288-93	164
867	219	314-15	164
<i>Casina</i>		466	220
34	225	517	156, 164
65	42	627	220
361	220	787	219
404-8	215	966-85	218
446	220	1007-17	215
449-66	219	<i>Mercator</i>	
452-66	47	1-4	41
621-719	272	82	73
840-54	47	441	220
1013-14	43	495	220

Plautus (<i>cont'd</i>)		271–83	220
675	168	365–7	45
779	220	381–91	215
890	220	381	220
1005–8	47–8	390–a	220
<i>Miles Gloriosus</i>		449–67	156
147	212	550–4	42
411	168	825	84
926	220	916	220
1111–13	219	<i>Pseudolus</i>	
1348	312	125–8	218
1402–25	215	162	159
<i>Mostellaria</i>		169	135
1	220	263	220
10–11	46	351	84
158–247	300	393	220
189	219	394–400	217
200	219	409–14	216
233	44	412	217
313–47	217	453–4	217
681	220	508–9	254
696	182	517–18	254
721a	220	526–9	254
778	254	574–93	216–17
828	218	709	220
858–79	218	759–66	216
895	219	818	74
916	272	839–46	165
925–6	217	940	220
1094–115	161, 168	942	220
<i>Persa</i>		953	75
7–12	218	1051	217–18
175	220	1103–13	218
287	220	1189–90	219
297	221	1218–20	88, 301
455–6	217	1232	218
605	219	1246–335	165
607	158	1246–84	217
753–4	217	1316	255
758–857	165	<i>Rudens</i>	
809–14	215	104	220
829	216	424	220
<i>Poenulus</i>		761–70	168
121–5	40	868–71	215
210–60	300	920–3	218

- | | | | |
|---------------------------|----------|-------------------------------|---------------|
| 979 | 135 | Polybius | |
| 1022 | 220 | 10.3 | 118 |
| 1205–8 | 167 | 10.9 | 118 |
| 1375 | 84 | 11.33.8 | 123 |
| <i>Stichus</i> | | 21.43.12 | 138 |
| 683–775 | 165 | 26.1 | 139 |
| 713 | 47 | 26.4–9 | 149 |
| <i>Trinummus</i> | | 29.27 | 138 |
| 19 | 43, 225 | 30.4 | 137 |
| 39 | 168, 170 | 30.14 | 148 |
| 306–7 | 220 | 30.25–6 | 149 |
| 628 | 220 | 30.25.11 | 138 |
| 1021 | 220 | 30.26.4–8 | 139 |
| <i>Truculentus</i> | | 30.31 | 137 |
| 150 | 219 | 31.2.1–2 | 139 |
| 252 | 221 | 31.2.11 | 138 |
| 391–411 | 234 | 31.11–14 | 139 |
| 476 | 168 | 31.22 | 140, 150 |
| 620 | 221 | 31.23–5 | 118 |
| 897 | 220 | 31.25 | 140 |
| Pliny the Elder | | Porcius Licinus | |
| <i>Naturalis Historia</i> | | 1–5 <i>FPL</i> | 126 |
| 8.195 | 130 | Propertius | |
| 10.139 | 140 | 2.34.61–6 | 382 |
| 18.107 | 136 | | |
| 33.56 | 150 | Quintilian | |
| 33.146 | 130 | <i>Institutio Oratoria</i> | |
| Pliny the Younger | | 10.1.99 | 5, 127, 373–4 |
| <i>Epistulae</i> | | 10.1.101 | 395 |
| 1.16 | 377–8 | 11.3.91 | 302 |
| Plutarch | | 11.3.178–82 | 381 |
| <i>Aemilius Paulus</i> | | 11.3.182 | 374 |
| 28.3–5 | 149 | [Quintilian] | |
| 28.9 | 148 | <i>Declamationes Maiores</i> | |
| 28.10–11 | 150 | 7.8.20 | 82 |
| 30–1 | 149 | | |
| 38.1–2 | 150 | <i>Rhetorica Ad Herennium</i> | |
| 39.10 | 150 | 1.13 | 370 |
| <i>Moralia</i> | | 4.17 | 368–9 |
| 1120a | 81 | Sappho | |
| Pollux | | 31 Voigt | 61–2 |
| <i>Onomasticon</i> | | Scriptores Historiae Augustae | |
| 4.147 | 76 | <i>Numerianus</i> | |
| 4.151 | 76 | 13.5 | 137 |

Seneca the Elder		Tacitus	
<i>Controversiae</i>		<i>Dialogus de Oratoribus</i>	
1 praef. 16	82	20.5	382
Seneca the Younger		21.7	382
<i>Epistulae</i>		Terence	
9.1–3	80	<i>Adelphoe</i>	
9.18	80	1	225
92.19.8	82	1–14	37
Sidonius Apollinaris		6–14	18
<i>Carmina</i>		11–21	145
13.36	384	11–12	321
23.147	384, 394	13	365
<i>Epistulae</i>		15–21	147
1.9.8	384	15–16	119, 365
1.11.5	384, 388	15	364
2.2.2	384	16	225
3.13.1	384, 388	17–19	393
4.12.1–2	384	18–21	368
7.9.19	384, 388	20	147
Stobaeus		25	225
3.40.8	81	40–6	180
4.44.83	81	42	151
Suetonius		43–4	322, 392
<i>Augustus</i>		45	151
89.1	381	60–4	371
<i>De Grammaticis</i>		61–3	333
16.3	382	76	180
24	344, 352	81	22
25.1	80	91–2	335
<i>De Rhetoribus</i>		93	321
1.2	139	103–5	333
<i>Tiberius</i>		110–11	333
44.2	219	120–1	373
<i>Vita Terenti</i>		125	333
1–2	1–2	133–4	336
3–5	3–4	137	334
3	27, 227–8, 262, 299,	154	325
	324	155–96	23, 321
4	132–3, 147, 323	160–1	83–4
5	19, 369	188–9	84
6–7	5–6	193–6	204
7	365, 368, 374	194	30, 357
8–10	6	196–208	215
8	366	213	215
		214	219

220	215	510	75
228-35	220	517	326
244-5	215	519-20	45
247	219	529-32	144
265-80	325	529	218
274-5	202	534	216, 335
281-2	215	536-7	216
284	215	539	220
288-97	325-6	540-91	216
299	19	546	217
309-20	74-6	548	217, 220
311-13	134	556-7	216
330-50	325	573-86	135
334	334	584-6	136
354	326	587	166, 217, 326
364	336	592	326
376-81	166	605-7	152
380	214	610-17	94, 322
384-5	335	645-77	29
385-8	85	645-6	134
394	86	650-2	133
396-7	217	681-3	180
401	221	693-4	134
408-10	86	699-700	168
409-18	376	704-5	168
413-18	86	713-18	135
413	387	713	326
414-17	65	715-16	136
420-6	166	747	142
425-6	86	761	23
428-9	65	763-4	217
429-31	86	763	47
432	220	781	220
436-7	336	789-90	56
440	144	793	334
442	144	813-14	335
448-50	335	814	145
456	144, 152	846-9	338
457	323	855-81	151, 332-7
470-1	186	859	180
486-7	305	866	322
486	197	867-8	391
489-99	152	870-4	180
500-4	152	879	180
505	319	884-5	336

Terence (<i>cont'd</i>)		20-1	229
891-8	145	21	20
896-8	336	24-7	230
911-15	336-7	28-45	143
938	22	38	240
940	337	43-4	232
946	337	47	230
947-55	152	49-51	371-2
951	152	51-2	434
954	337	51	29
957-8	337-8	55-60	434
958	220	61	387
964-5	337	63-8	143
972-3	337	67-8	375
973	134, 192, 209	68	387
975-6	337	69-72	441
978	172	71-2	188
983-95	337-8	73	231, 435
984	329	74-9	441
985-95	332, 462	74-5	188
985	337	75	391
988	326	77-8	188
991	323, 338	82-91	196
992-7	338	84-6	435
995-6	43	88	133
<i>Andria</i>		117-36	443
1-887	386	123	240
1-7	36, 53-4, 66, 227	131-6	84
3	235	138-41	84
4	18	144-9	434
5	225	151-3	84
6-9	17-18	152-3	434
6	364	153	347
7	396	155-6	178
9-18	229	157	372
10	21	164	240
12	45	166-7	236
13	17	168	372
13-16	365	185	373
14	21, 232	189	375, 390
15-21	17-18, 36-7	194	235
16-23	393	209	213
16	235	210	202
17	240	215-24	27
18-19	430	215	435

218-19	73	490-5	48
220-4	204	490-3	83
221	235	540-51	142
224	235	601-2	213
226	241	625-8	94
244	202	683-98	438, 442
250-1	354	694-7	235
256-63	435	714	238
268-70	438	726	168
272-6	442	729	237
274-6	189	734	237
276	235	740-89	28
277-80	354	740-1	48
279-80	189	747	238
283	241	750	48
284-97	84	756	435
286-97	441-2	758	48
286-8	189	766	48
293-7	189	770-1	30
298	235	795	238
301	21, 239	796-819	213
305-6	238	796	232
307-8	213	797-8	188-9
325	238	803-5	442
333-5	238	839	242
361	237	860-5	25
362-9	236	865	238
369	166	891	24, 241
373-4	238	896-8	435
380	235	898	235
406-7	236	909	235
412-25	26	915-16	83
412-14	213	916-17	235
417-18	236	923-50	28
446	236	923-8	205
459-513	254	923	235
461	435	925	235
466	435	959	22
469-70	438	977	21, 239
470-1	308	<i>Eunuchus</i>	
473-7	48	1-206	99
473	197, 305, 437	1-29	346
474-7	83, 234	1-5	145
481-4	94	1	91-2
486-8	442	7-13	20, 37

Terence (<i>cont'd</i>)		224	101
7	225	226-7	453
10	225	228-63	264
18	393	228	23
19-20	18	232-64	23, 78
20-4	227	232-54	101
23-6	18, 277	236	454
23	365	247-54	278
25-43	37-8	252-3	375
26	23	254	92
30-45	346	255-7	30, 135, 141
30-4	18, 137, 277	255	103
31	146	257	166
36	225	258	140
37	275	263-5	139
38	146	265-91	103
39	234	265	141, 278
41	392	292-305	105
45	277	292-3	102
46-80	274	296	93
46-9	374-6	297-8	454
46	24	298-301	100-2
59-63	375	304-5	102
59-61	391	310	142
74-5	453	317-18	77, 82
74	423	319	29
70-80	457, 474	320	100, 102, 263
76-8	24	321-2	103
81-206	27	323-66	100-2
83	274	335-44	88
90	454	336	454
91-2	461	362	263
99-171	274-5	363	220
103-5	453	365-90	263
108-20	205	367	102
108-17	264	369-75	270
110	28, 357	376	101-2
144-5	461	377-83	270
152	461	382-7	478
154	453	382-5	268
163-4	461	386-7	270-1
191-206	275	390	102
191	220	391-538	99
198	24	391-433	25
200-1	477	397-410	138
207-24	105-6	399-400	145

406	75	607-8	357
407-10	141	610-59	266-7
412-17	138	615-28	84, 101, 105
420-33	136	615-23	107
420	137	615	94
426	137	628	107
430-2	137	629-42	84, 101, 275
440-5	373	643-67	101-2, 105, 107-10
446-53	278	645-6	407
454-5	276	653-4	407
454	378	657-8	100
471	47	659	407
472-9	263	683	262
477	265	686-7	263
479	219	689	271
496-8	136	703-26	102
507-31	84	716-17	215
507	23, 103	727-38	103, 217
523-5	204	727	47
524-5	276	732	372, 454
527	273	738-50	104
539-48	103, 357	738	99
539-41	29	739-54	105
539	22	741-2	276
540	133	753-4	103-4
541	170	755-909	102-4
543	93	757-9	145
549-91	102	761	454
549-61	105	769-70	145
549-50	101	770	144
549	263	771-816	26, 47
555	353	774-6	134
557	103	781-3	134
560	262, 264	785	276
561-628	103	786-7	454
565-6	265	788	102
570-5	348	810	276
578-91	263-4	811-13	278
580-91	391-2, 398	816	102
586-91	160, 265	817-942	99
580	454	817-33	101
590	23, 56	824	29
593-6	265	840-7	268-9
598	265	856-8	268
599-606	47, 406-7	856-7	478
601-6	265-6	864-71	268

Terence (<i>cont'd</i>)		7	225
875	268	11-15	67, 73
877-8	268	15	225
880-1	276	16-17	364-5
882	272	19-21	37
885-7	144	20-6	145
887	272	22	364
888-90	268	23-4	365
894-908	269	24	119, 147, 365
909	478	31-2	20
910-1094	276	35-40	69-70
918-33	271-2	39	233
923-43	101	43-5	55
923-40	213	43	225
931-40	478	46-7	70
943-70	272	51-2	145
960-1	478	53-613	243
971-1001	101	53-74	152
971	22	61-4	133, 173
982-96	272	63-4	29
986	272	65-6	179
987	29	75-6	152
998-1001	273	77-9	247
1001	22	77	64, 114, 388
1002-24	103-4	86	376
1015-16	269, 273	96	194
1017-22	349-50	99	180, 259
1023	478	101	180
1025	102	102-12	88
1031-49	26, 103	109-12	151
1032	102	110-12	206
1036	269, 407	112	145
1038-9	276	117	152
1038	144	121-50	152
1039	478	128-39	88
1050	102	154	247, 259
1058-60	141, 279	170-2	257
1068-71	278	213-16	181
1078-88	141	220	206
1079	479	226-7	190
1083-5	273	228-9	142
1087	279	231-4	194
<i>Heauton Timorumenos</i>		245	252
1-2	299	283	145
5-6	359	363	190
7-9	145	373	389

381-409	251	1055	245
381-97	300	1057	245
381-95	274	1060	205
386-94	191	1062-3	76
396-7	184	1063-5	245
404	191	<i>Hecyra</i>	
406-8	184	<i>Didasc.</i> I 10	295
439	180	1-37	386
440-2	259	1-5	297
451-2	257	4-5	146
455-63	190	5-7	299
455-61	257	6	225
457-61	250	9-11	299
470-5	180	9	67
473-4	249	13	225
481	249	22	298
498-508	152	24	225
537-8	249	25-6	364
540	249	26	150
545	214	27	225
562-8	47	29-42	297
599	250	32	364
608-9	249	33-6	146
614-1067	244	43	150
614-67	28	54	297
623-30	205	58-197	301-2
629	194	58	42
632-44	207	60-2	300
647	178	66	316
709-12	254	71	316
723-48	251	85-7	300
723-43	190	101-94	302-3
723-8	252	134	347
733	258	136-7	307
749-804	250	143-5	307
829-41	250	143-56	84
874-8	246-7	157-70	313
876-7	76, 248	159	190
907-8	152	163	145
921-3	248	164-6	206-7
928-31	152	198-280	142, 310
975-6	168	198-204	302-3
1003-66	142	198-201	207
1006-9	255	215	303, 312
1020-2	255	223-7	178
1033-4	152	240-50	142

Terence (<i>cont'd</i>)		796-8	146
242	73	799-807	88, 296
243-5	178, 302	811-12	314
247-50	302	816-40	146, 313
268-9	303	816-32	28
274-360	303-4	821-9	314
294-7	316	822-3	308
316	305	825	23
318-22	305-6	831	328
330-5	306	836	83
337	306	841-80	314
346	306	845-6	58
352-60	306	852-3	59
361-427	304	866-8	83
361-414	306-8, 313	866	83
407-8	316	867-8	59
415-29	214	873-80	296
429-43	304	<i>Phormio</i>	
430-44	296	1-59	362
436-8	349	1	396
439-43	76	2	150
451-3	309	3	225
451	304	5-6	45, 225
456-68	309-10	5	366
470-81	309	6-8	20, 54
474-6	305	9-11	49
495-705	309-13	25-8	19
515	75	30-2	297, 299
531	307	41-50	143
532-4	207	49	29
538-9	316	71-3	134
572-4	27	75-6	212
577-696	142	80-90	196
581	355	80-4	282
592-4	169	88-90	282
595-6	60	92	29
621	83	124-35	133
627-726	296	125-34	204
642-3	306	125-6	29
651-3	306	128	283
682	316	149-50	30-1
706	309	151-2	220
727-98	313	158-60	283
727	316	162	284
790-1	343	179-230	287
793	191, 300	185	284, 286

198–203	284–5	822	289
198	291	824	290
199	293	829–40	288
201–2	289	841–83	290
202	293	841	134
206	284	873	182
210–14	284	878–80	142
231–314	285	894–1055	291–2
232	142, 376	894	84
303–6	142	901	85
307	144	915	85
311–12	169	938–43	144
315	48–9	945	85
323	286	947–51	85
324–5	31	964	134
326–45	139	974–5	73
333	134	990–1055	142
337–45	144	1005	182
339–41	22	1017	76
339	139	1023–4	182
345	166	1051–3	141
356	286		
380–92	78–9	Varro	
393	31	<i>De Lingua Latina</i>	
450–1	29	5.146	135
454	387	5.152	135
479	286	6.63	369
532–66	287	<i>Menippeae</i>	
551–2	289, 293	198 Astbury	255
551	202	399	34, 377, 394
569–90	205	<i>Res Rusticae</i>	
575	287, 292	2.11.11	381
586–7	287, 292	Velleius Paterculus	
587	142	1.13	122
606–81	287	2.9.4	122–4
616–17	288	2.36.2	395
690	288	Virgil	
728–65	288–9	<i>Aeneis</i>	
739–43	80	2.639	82
744	181	6.580–627	293
750	81	<i>Georgica</i>	
755–61	28	1.387	353
787–94	142	2.64	82
804–1055	282	3.258–9	354
815	290		